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EDITED BY

DR. D. C. SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.,  
Government Epigraphist for India



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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

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Page 55, foot-note, 3.—*Read* 1953-54 *for* 1954-55

„ 55, foot-note, 4.—*Read* 424-25 *for* 224-25

„ 230, line 23.—*Add note*: The year 108 when the Kailvan inscription was engraved undoubtedly relates to a date long before the rise of the Imperial Guptas and the foundation of the Gupta era in 319 A. D. This fact shows that the theories assigning the beginning of the Kanishka era to 245 A. D. and later are improbable and that it should better be ascribed to the second half of the first century A. D. and not to the second century. That the Kanishka era is identical with the Śaka era of 75 A. D. is further indicated by the following evidence. The Chorasmian archives from Toprakkala in Central Asia contain documents dated in the years 207 and 231 of some era. Archaeological data suggest that the local palace and the archives were abandoned at the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth. The capital of Chorasmia was transferred from Toprakkala to the city of Kyat on the Amu Darya during the reign of the Chorasmian king Afrig who came to power in 305 A. D. according to Birūnī. Thus the era used in the documents started in the last quarter of the first century A. D. This must be the same as the Śaka era of 75 A. D. and the years in the said documents referred to dates between 285 and 309 A. D. The use of the Śaka era in Central Asia can only be satisfactorily explained if it is identified with the Kanishka era. See *Modern Review*, December 1959, p. 452.

### VOLUME XXXII

*N. B.*—We have ignored a large number of misprints in which the accent sign has been printed for the macron.

Page 2, line 11.—*Read* Brāhmi *for* Brāhmī

„ 8, line 12.—*Read* (XVI) *for* (XVII)

„ „ text line 21.—*Read* (XVI) *for* (XVII)

„ 9, line 23.—*Read* Rāshṭrīka *for* Rāshtrika

„ 11, line 23.—*Read* \*piya[ā] *for* \*piya[ā]

„ 15, line 34.—*Read* Dharma *for* Dharm

„ 23, line 6.—*Read* ma[te]

„ „ line 7.—*Read* [yam sa]ki\*

„ 25, foot-note 6.—*Read* bhāwika

- Page 29, line 27.—Read *bouldara* for *alaba*
- „ „ line 29.—Read *Devā-* for *Devā*
- „ 30, foot-note 1, line 4.—Read in line 26
- „ 31, line 5.—Read to know
- „ 32, note 1, line 1.—Read °chandra for °candra
- „ „ foot-note 2, line 2.—Read °rās-tē for °rās-te
- „ 33, line 4.—Read *Kākatīya* for *Kākatīya*
- „ „ line 9.—Read °kaumudī for °kaumudī
- „ „ foot-note 3, line 2.—Read *Singhapa* for *Singhana*
- „ „ foot-note 6.—Read *Jāṇakōśa* for *Jāṇakōśa*
- „ 34, line 13.—Read *agritē* for *agritē*
- „ 37, text line.—Read °an-ārcin *yathā-*
- „ 38, text line 15.—Read at the end *aya-* for *aya-*
- „ „ foot-note 2.—Read 2 Read for Read
- „ 39, foot-note 1, line 2.—Read *Hammitra* for *Hammitra*
- „ 40, text line 47.—Read *sthiti-* for *sthiti-*
- „ „ text line 55.—Read *uddhūta* for *uddhūta*
- „ „ foot-note 4, line 5.—Read king's for kings
- „ 41, foot-note 3, line 5.—Read to *kṛishṭa* for to *kṛishṭa*
- „ 43, text line 110.—Read at the beginning : | for |
- „ 46, line 30.—Read 814-78 for 814-80
- „ 48, lines 14 ff.—Add note—The word *haṣṭamāṇa* occurs in Kannada inscriptions in the sense of 'the five artisan classes' (cf. *SII*, Vol. IX, Part II, No. 459) Cf. Tamil *aṭṭavayam* in T. N. Subramaniam's *SITI*, Glossary. For Fleet's views on the subject, see above, Vol. XII, pp. 258-59.
- „ 52, text line 22.—Read *tari-droyēna*
- „ 53, text line 41.—Read *dānāch-* for *dānāch-*
- „ 54, text line 60.—Read *amṇa(samṇa)* for *amṇa(samṇa)*
- „ 55, line 8 from bottom.—Read 814-78 for 814-80
- „ 56, foot-note 2.—Read p. 383 for p. 283
- „ 58, foot-note 1. Read *Purāṇa* for *Purāṇa*
- „ 53, line 4.—Read weak for weak



- Page 63 last line.—Read *born* for *horn*
- 65, last line.—Read *mathikā* for *mathikū*
- 69, line 23.—Read *Kantuka* for *Kutuka*
- 70, text line 5.—Read *yadya)varjya* for *yavavajya*
- 70, foot-note 3.—Read *Vasishtha* for *Vasistha*
- 75, text line 20.—Read *-dharalita* for *dharalita*
- 75, text line 38.—Read *aea* for *ea*
- 79, line 18.—Read *pratiṣṭhā* for *pratiṣṭhā*
- 80, foot-note 3.—Read *note 3* for *note 2*
- 80, foot-note 1, line 4.—Read *note 3* for *note 2*
- 81, line 2.—Read *Text<sup>1</sup>* for *Text<sup>11</sup>*
- 81, text line 3.—Read *Sāhityaśāstra* for *Sāhityaśāstra*
- 81, foot-note 3.—Read 1932-33 for 1232-33
- 82, foot-note 1.—Read 1944-45 for 1944-55
- 83, line 6.—Read *Palnad* for *Paland*
- 87, line 31.—Read *line 4* for *line 5*
- 88, line 17 and 25.—Read *propitiatory* for *propitiatory*
- 88, line 19.—Read *Jin<sup>2</sup>* for *Jin<sup>9</sup>*
- 89, line 7.—Read *Dharmakṣā* for *Dharmakṣā*
- 91, last line.—Read *Tarun-* for *Tarun-*
- 92, lines 6 and 8.—Read *Kūram* for *Kurram*
- 93, lines 2 and 7.—Read *Kūram* for *Kurram*
- 94, foot-note 1.—Read *Sāhityaśāstra* for *Sāhityaśāstra*
- 95, line 12.—Read *Brāhmaṇikā* for *Brāhmaṇikā*
- 95, foot-note 1.—Read *have* for *veha*
- 97, text-line 10.—Read *[Mu]* for *[Mu]*
- 101, foot-notes 3 and 9.—Read 8 for 9 and vice versa.
- 102, text line 11.—Read *-ida-* for *-ida-*
- 104, foot-note 8, line 5.—Read *took* for *roke*
- 111, line 6.—Read *Ālappirandān* for *Ālappirandān*



Page 111, line 34.—Read *Paṇiyamāliyar* for *Paṇiyamāliyar*.

„ „ line 28.—Read *Māl-Vējūr* for *Māl-vējūr*

„ 117, foot-note 1.—Read *-ābhīnukhaḥ* . . *-dattaḥ* for *-ābhīnukhaḥ* . . *-dattaḥ*

„ 120, line 27.—Read *Ūhaṇa* for *Ūhēṇa*

„ „ line 40.—Read *Ḍavēha* for *Davēha*

„ 123, text line 41.—Read *Vāstarya* for *Vāstarya*

„ „ text line 42.—Read *Ūhaṇō* for *Ūhēṇō*

„ 130, foot-note 3.—Read *merely* for *Merely*

„ 132, text line 28.—Read *bhrukupī* for *bhrukupī*

„ 133, text line 40.—Read *-pāṇmāṣara* for *pāṇ-māṣara*

„ 135, foot-note 1.—Read *dose* for *dose*

„ „ text line 51.—Read *(hān)* for *(nukān)*

„ 137, text line 3.—Read *bhāpālāḥ* for *bhāpālāḥ*

„ „ text line 12.—Read *rapō(nē)* for *rapē*

„ 139, line 20.—Read *considerable* for *considerable*

„ 141, line 10.—Read *Tēṇi* for *Tēṇi*

„ 147, foot-note 2, line 13.—Read *book* for *book*

„ „ „ line 17.—Read *conquitors* for *conquitors*

„ 151, foot-note 3.—Read *paṭṭa* for *paṭṭa*

„ 153, text line 100.—Read *padam-* for *padam-*

„ 154, text line 105.—Read *śāramāṇaḥ* for *śāramāṇaḥ*

„ „ text line 107.—Read *-Pārāṇya-* for *Pārāṇya-*

„ 156, text line 145.—Read *harita* for *harita*

„ 160, line 4.—Read *he figures* for *the figures*

„ 161, text line 5.—Read *-āhaṇ* for *-āhaṇ*

„ 163, text line 48.—Read *ṭapa* for *ṭapa*

„ „ foot-note 6.—Read *Ed.* for *ED.*

„ 164, text line 73.—Read *muk-ākaḥ* for *muk-ākaḥ*

„ 165, foot-note 2, line 2.—Read *Vijāṇāṣara* for *Vijāṇāṣara*

„ 167, foot-note 4.—Read *Vol. III* for *Vol. II.*

- Page 171, line 10.—Read *Yñu-nārcvara* for *Yñanūre-ara*
- „ 172, foot-note 5.—Read *Nala* for *Nala*
- „ 176, line 8.—Read *Polikēsivallabha* for *Pōlikēsivallabha*
- „ 180, foot-note 8, line 1.—Read *Śakta* for *Sakta*
- „ 182, line 14.—Read *Vaṃgūravāḍi* for *Vaṃguravāḍi*
- „ „ foot-note 3.—Read *tanayaḥ* for *anayaḥ*
- „ 183, foot-note 4.—Read *draya* for *draya*
- „ 188, line 22.—Read 1079-80 A.D. for 1078-79 A.D.
- „ 193, line 17.—Read *Āḍuturai* for *Āḍutturai*
- „ „ line 7 from bottom.—Read *Bellary* for *same*
- „ 194, line 2.—Read *Guntur* for *same*
- „ 195, line 26.—Read *Krishna* for *Guntur*
- „ 196, text line 4.—Read *ḥuday* for *ḥuday*
- „ 197, line 4 from bottom.—Read *-ettumā* for *-ettu mā*
- „ 198, foot-note 3.—Read *letter* for *letters*
- „ 199, foot-note 3.—Read *meaning* for *meanis*
- „ 200, page number.—Read 200 for 290
- „ „ line 15.—Read *Tirakkūḷukkuṇṇam* for *Tirakkāḷikuṇṇam*
- „ „ foot-note 4.—Read *Ālavāyil* for *Ālavāil*
- „ 201 line 35.—Read *bhattārikā* for *bhattārikā*
- „ 202, foot-note 6.—Read *A. R. Ep.* for *R. Ep.*
- „ 205, text line 25.—Read *-vīksha\** for *vīksha\**
- „ 210, text line 22.—Read *-(pau)ṛṇṇamā\** for *[pau] ṛṇṇamā\**
- „ 217, line 33.—Read *caused* for *caused*
- „ 219, text line 8.—Read *-ānaya(yā)* for *-ānaya(yā)*
- „ 220, line 17.—Read *records the grant* for *records of the grant*
- „ 223, foot-note 1.—Read *Brāhmaṇas* for *Brāhmaṇas*
- „ 231, line 41.—Read *Chaitra* for *Chaitra*
- „ 234, foot-note 25.—Read *clearer* for *clearer*
- „ 237, text line 22.—Read *-āga(ga)yil* for *-āga(ga)iyē*



Page 237, foot-note 6.—*Read revised ed. for reviseded.*

„ 243, line 31.—*Read Malik for Nalik*

„ 244, foot-note 1.—*Read taken for took*

„ 245, lines 24-25.—*Read Mussalmans for Eusalmans*

„ „ foot-note 4.—*Read Golachalama for Golachakam-*

„ 253, line 19.—*Read -vāhini- for -cāhini-*

„ 255, line 14.—*Read āgamas for āgama*

„ „ line 15.—*Read scholians for scholarists*

„ „ line 21.—*Read subsequent to for subsequently to*

„ „ line 30.—*Read Tiliaga for Tiluga-*

„ „ line 34.—*Read Kōna-rāshtra or for Kōna-rāshtra of*

„ „ line 36.—*Read Namdampūndi for Namdampūndi*

„ „ line 38.—*Read Kṛishnā for Kṛishnā*

„ „ 256, line 6.—*Read Warangal for Warangi*

„ 257, head line.—*Read Vilasa Grant for A Grant*

„ 269, lines 28 and 29.—*Read -Nalkas for -Nakkas*

„ 271, column 3, item 4.—*Insert a comma after Simha[ach]ja*

„ 283, line 7.—*Read Kāmarūpa for Kamarūpa*

„ 294, line 8 from bottom.—*Read family for famiy*

„ 296, foot-note 4.—*Read Appendix B for Appendix A*

„ „ foot-note 5.—*Read -Bhattārikāya for Bhattārikaya*

„ 301, line 2.—*Add note: The reading of the name read Sadhadras may also be Sadhadra.*

„ 303, text line 1.—*Read -janma for -jannma*

„ „ text line 3.—*Read Prithvibhatt for Prithvibhata*

„ „ foot-note 2.—*Read Expressed for Ezpressed*

„ 311, line 7.—*Insert full-stop after Monday*

„ „ line 27.—*Add note: The reading of the name read as Aptaana may also be Ayitama.*

„ 312, line 11.—*Add note: The reading of the name read as Aptaana-nāyaka may also be Ayitama-nāyaka.*

„ 313, text line 25.—*Read -viklatia for viklatia*



- Page 316, text line 70.—Read *-chaturthā* for *-cha turtthā*
- „ 318, last line.—Read *shrouded* for *shrounded*
- „ 319, line 26.—Read *-prahā(hlā)dana* for *prahādana*
- „ 320, line 11.—Read *-bund* for *-bound*
- „ „ line 11.—Read *Chāṇḍāla* for *chāṇḍāla*
- „ „ text line 4.—Add *kshaya* after *-śkshaya-*
- „ 321 — Add foot-note numbers 1 and 2
- „ 326, line 2.—Read *are* for *is*
- „ „ line 22.—Read *-vijat-* for *-vijāt-*
- „ 329, foot-note 1.—Read *Durbhanga* for *Dardhanga*
- „ „ page number.—Read 333 for 33
- „ 330, line 21.—Read 1108 for 1113
- „ 331, line 7.—Read *bright* for *dark*
- „ 334, line 39.—Read *their* for *his*
- „ 335, line 15.—Read *Brāhmaṇa* dynasty of *Champāraṇa* for *Karṇāṭa* dynasty of *Simraṇa*  
(*Samara-grāma*)
- „ 337, line 2.—Read *Palni* for *Palzu*
- „ „ line 8.—Read *Māraṇjādaiyan* for *Māraṇjādaiyan*
- „ „ foot-note 5.—Read *Māraṇjādaiyan* for *Māraṇjādaiyan*
- Plate facing p. 338.—Read 792 for 972





# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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## No. 1—ERRAGUDI EDICTS OF ASOKA

(5 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

The village of **Erragudi** lies approximately at 77° 39' E. and 15° 12' N. in the Pattikonda Taluk of the Kurnool District of the Andhra State, near the southern border of the District. It is about eight miles to the north-west of Gooty, headquarters of the Taluk of that name in the Anantapur District of the same State, on the Gooty-Pattikonda road. Gooty is a station on the Madras-Rajahmundry line of the Southern Railway. The name of the village is often written in English as *Yerragudi* in accordance with a peculiarity of regional pronunciation. The inscriptions of Asoka<sup>1</sup> are incised on six large boulders in a range of low hills stretching towards the west from the neighbourhood of the village. The hill containing the boulders is locally known as Yenakonda (i.e. 'elephant hillock') or Nallayenakonda (i.e. 'black elephant hillock'). It is difficult to determine whether this name was due to the existence of the figure of an elephant in the vicinity of the inscriptions as in the case of the Rock Edicts of Asoka on the hills at Dhanu, Girnar and Kāst. No representation of an elephant could be traced on the hill near Erragudi.

About the end of the year 1928, A. Ghose of Calcutta, an officer of the Geological Survey of India, discovered the inscriptions on the rocks near Erragudi while prospecting for precious minerals in the Kurnool District. He recognised the letters *Devānaṁ . . . Paganān* in one of the inscriptions and realised that they belong to the great Maurya emperor **Asoka** (c. 272-232 B.C.), whose records of the same kind are known from various places. In January 1929, Ghose communicated full information regarding the whereabouts of the inscriptions to H. Hargreaves, then officiating Director-General of Archaeology in India. A photograph of one of the inscribed rocks received from Ghose was supplied to D. R. Sahni, then Deputy Director-General of Archaeology for Explorations, who was deputed to examine and copy the inscriptions and submit a report on them to the Director-General. Sahni accompanied by H. Sastri, then Government Epigraphist for India, visited Erragudi in the second week of February and examined and copied all the inscriptions on the rocks excepting Rock Edicts VI and XII which were traced and copied in the following August by S. V. Viswanatha, then Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, attached to the Madras Circle. The discovery was announced by the Director-General of Archaeology in the newspapers in a communiqué dated the 11th February 1929.

Sahni and Sastri prepared transcripts of the edicts from the rocks and it was proposed that Sastri would edit the records in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Sastri's article on the subject, however, was not complete before his retirement from the post of Government Epigraphist for India in December 1933. Sahni then wanted to edit the records; but he passed away without finishing the work. N. P. Chakravarti, who succeeded Sastri as Government Epigraphist for India, then under-

<sup>1</sup> Mauryan over *c* and *s* has not been used in the article.



took the responsibility of editing the inscriptions. Chakravarti also visited Erragudi and prepared fresh transcripts of the edicts from the original rocks. But he was transferred from the Epigraphic Branch in May 1940 before the completion of his article on the records. About this time, B. M. Barua of the University of Calcutta appears to have received from Chakravarti a set of impressions of the Erragudi inscriptions and possibly also his tentative transcripts of the edicts. Barua's translation of the records appeared in his *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Part II, which was published by the University of Calcutta in 1943. But he could not publish Part I of the said work (pp. 1-178), in which he had incorporated the text of the Erragudi version of Asoka's edicts, as Chakravarti himself was inclined to publish them. After his retirement from the Department of Archaeology a few years ago, Chakravarti found time to complete his articles on the Hatun rock inscription of Patoladeva<sup>1</sup> and the Brāhmi inscriptions from Bandhogarkh<sup>2</sup> and was going to take up the Erragudi inscriptions for study. In the meantime, in the first half of 1956, I was advised by the Director-General of Archaeology in India to arrange for the publication of all the unpublished inscriptions of Asoka as early as possible. Consequently I began to write on the Rājula-Mandagiri and Gujartī inscriptions myself and was pressing Chakravarti for his article on the Erragudi inscriptions. I received from Chakravarti for scrutiny a copy of his transcripts of the records, which he had prepared long ago. Unfortunately, before the completion of the article, the cruel hand of death snatched him away from us in October 1956. I then tried to secure from Chakravarti's table whatever notes he might have left on the inscriptions, but received only 2½ pages of sparsely typed matter dealing with the story of the discovery of the Erragudi records and the circumstances leading to the delay in their publication.

My association with the study of the Erragudi inscriptions of Asoka dates back to my student days. About the end of 1929, shortly after I had been admitted to the post-graduate classes of the University of Calcutta in Ancient Indian History and Culture, my teacher, the late Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, showed me a copy of the Telugu periodical *Bhūrah* for September 1929. That issue contained a rather unsatisfactory facsimile of an inscription on one of the Erragudi rocks and I was advised to transcribe the epigraph. My tentative transcript of this inscription, containing a version of Asoka's Minor Rock Edicts I-II, was published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VII, 1931, pp. 737 ff. B. M. Barua later published an improved transcript of the edicts in the same journal, Vol. IX, 1933, pp. 113 ff. About this time, D. R. Sahni's transcript of the same inscription appeared with a good facsimile in his paper on the discovery of the Erragudi version of the edicts of Asoka in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1928-29*, 1933, pp. 161 ff. Barua again dealt with the inscription in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, 1937, pp. 132 ff. It will thus be seen that the text of the Minor Rock Edicts I-II found at Erragudi has been published, but that the Erragudi version of the fourteen Rock Edicts remains as yet unpublished.

For the sake of convenience the inscribed **boulders** have been designated A, B, C, D, E and F by Sahni who has provided us with a good account of the whereabouts of the inscriptions that are scattered on the hill. Boulder A is the largest in size and occupies the summit of the hill. The other boulders lie on its eastern slope. The inscribed surfaces of the boulders are very rough and there is no trace of any attempt to smooth them before the inscriptions were engraved. With the exception of the records engraved on Boulders A (northern face), B (right half), D and E, the others are very unsatisfactorily incised or preserved and parts of them can be deciphered with very great difficulty. Many letters of some of these records are unrecognisable on the impressions. Some letters may be somehow discerned on one impression but not on another.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 236 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 160 ff.



Boulder A lies above a precipice about 20 feet high. Its lower portions are cut away at both the inscribed faces in the north and east. The eastern face is 17 feet 6 inches wide and contains Rock Edicts I-II at the left end, Rock Edicts III and VI in the middle and Rock Edict XIV in a depression at the upper right corner. Rock Edicts I-III and VI are not separated from one another and, owing to the unsatisfactory preservation of the writing, it is difficult to determine the end of one edict and the beginning of another. The northern face of this boulder (designated A-1) is 15 feet 6 inches wide and contains Rock Edicts XI, V and VII. Rock Edict XI is engraved at the left end. It comprises six lines of writing, of which lines 1-5 measure between 3 feet 3 inches and 4 feet in length while the last line is only 2 inches long. Rock Edict V, consisting of seven lines of writing, covers a rectangular space measuring 3 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 8 inches, although the last line is only 3 feet long. A blank space, about 3 feet in width, separates this area from the space occupied by Rock Edict XI. Rock Edict VII is engraved on the upper right corner and is separated from Rock Edict V by a blank space only 6 inches wide. It consists of five lines of writing which cover an area measuring 3 feet 3 inches by 1 foot 2 inches. The preservation of the writing of these edicts is fairly satisfactory although a portion at the right end of Rock Edict V is defaced.

Boulder B lies a little to the east of the eastern face of Boulder A. The inscribed eastern face of this boulder is 15 feet in width from north to south. It is pointed towards the top and is divided by a roughly chiselled line, running from top to bottom, into two triangular sections. The portion at the right contains Rock Edicts IV, VIII and X. These edicts are well preserved although three letters at the beginning of line 2 of Rock Edict VIII are defaced. The three edicts contain respectively fourteen, four and five lines of writing and are separated one from another by short chiselled horizontal lines at the left end. The lines of writing are fairly straight in the upper part but irregular in the lower. There is a crack which runs from the left just above the last line of Rock Edict IV upwards to the right. This may have existed before the incision of the edicts as the letters appear to have been engraved outside it. The preservation of the writing on the triangular section in the left part of this boulder (designated B-1) is unsatisfactory. It contains the first 29 lines of Rock Edict XIII, the writing being continued on Boulder C which is 5 feet 6 inches wide and lies a few feet to the south of Boulder B. The lines of Rock Edict XIII on Boulder B are very closely engraved and difficult to decipher. The decipherment is also rendered difficult by the existence of the crack referred to above. Boulder C contains the last seven lines (lines 30-36) of Rock Edict XIII.

Boulder D stands 27 feet to the south-east of the eastern face of Boulder A. It contains Rock Edict XII written in twelve lines. The preservation of the writing is fairly satisfactory. Sahai speaks of faint traces of one line of writing below the last line of the edict at the right extremity.

Boulder E lies 27 feet to the east of Boulder B. It contains Rock Edict IX on its vertical face looking west. The lines of writing (lines 1-11) are not straight and parallel.

Boulder F is situated between Boulders C and E; but its position is lower (i.e. nearer the ground) than that of the latter. It is the most easily accessible among the inscribed rocks near Erragudi and the inscription on it, representing a version of Minor Rock Edicts 1-II, seems to have been engraved earlier than the series of the fourteen Rock Edicts engraved on Boulders A-E. It is indeed worthy of note that the Minor Rock Edicts, which appear to have been issued earlier than any of the known edicts of Asoka, are engraved here on a boulder at the bottom of the hill while Boulder A, bearing the first few edicts (Rock Edicts I-III) of the series of fourteen Rock Edicts, stands on its summit. The Minor Rock Edicts on Boulder F are the most satisfactorily preserved among the edicts of Asoka at Erragudi.



The characters employed in the Erraguḍi edicts are Brāhmī and do not call for any special remark. But the writing of Minor Rock Edicts I-II on Boulder F exhibits some unique characteristics not hitherto noticed in any inscription discovered in India. In the first place, while most of the lines have to be read from left to right as is usual in Brāhmī and its derivatives, some of them are to be read from right to left as in Kharoṣṭhī. Secondly, there are some half lines to be read from left to right as from right to left. Thirdly, there are some lines, one part of which has to be read from the left but the other part from the right. Fourthly, there are several cases where a group of letters is engraved not in its proper place but elsewhere in a different line. Besides these peculiarities, the writing also exhibits several cases of the total omission of groups of letters. These irregularities show that the engraver of the inscription did not do his job carefully. The tendency to write passages to be read from right to left may have been due to the fact that the scribe or engraver was a person who, like Chapaḍa<sup>1</sup> of the Mysore versions of the Minor Rock Edicts, hailed from North-Western Bhārata-varāha and was used to write in Kharoṣṭhī.

As regards the Prākṛit language of the Erraguḍi edicts of Aśoka, a remarkable difference is noticed between the Minor Rock Edicts on the one hand and the Rock Edicts on the other. This seems to be due to the fact that the two sets of edicts were received at the place separately on different occasions and dates.

In respect of language and orthography, the Erraguḍi text of the Minor Rock Edicts resembles that of some other South Indian versions of the same records, such as those in Mysore, while the text of the Rock Edicts at Erraguḍi resembles their Dhauli and Jaugada versions and also in many points the Kāśī version. There are some cases of inconsistency in the use of case-endings with reference to the number and gender of particular words in both the sets.<sup>2</sup> This feature is also noticed in other versions of the edicts of Aśoka.

The language of the Minor Rock Edicts of Aśoka is what is called the Magadha dialect. The Pillar Edicts and Pillar Inscriptions of Aśoka, the Dhauli and Jaugada versions of his Rock Edicts and his Barabar Hill Cave Inscriptions are couched in this dialect, although the Kāśī text of the Rock Edicts also exhibits some features of the same dialect. But, while the chief characteristic of the Magadha dialect is the change of *r* of Sanskrit to *l*, the consonant *r* is retained in the text of the Minor Rock Edicts at Erraguḍi as also at some other places in South India. In this respect, the language of the Erraguḍi version of the Minor Rock Edicts resembles that of the Girnār, Shāhbāgarhī and Māusehri texts of the Rock Edicts.

In spite of the close resemblance of the language of the Erraguḍi version of the Minor Rock Edicts to that of their Mysore texts, referred to above, some differences are also noticed between the two. While the consonant *ṣ* is used in the Mysore versions in some places for Sanskrit *ṣ* or *ś*, it is conspicuous by its absence in the Erraguḍi text of these edicts. In a few cases, the use of *ṣ* for Sanskrit *ś* is noticed in the Mysore versions, but *ṣ* is invariably used for the three sibilants in our text. In these respects, the language of the Erraguḍi version of the Minor Rock Edicts is closer to the Magadha dialect, in which *ṣ* is replaced by *ś* and *ś* and *ṣ* by *ś*. The interesting case of *śauḥ* in the expression *śau-śau* (Sanskrit *śau-śau*), exhibiting the elision of *au*, is found in both the Erraguḍi and Mysore versions; but the Erraguḍi text offers another similar case in the expression *het-āha* (Sanskrit *hetu-āha*) not found elsewhere excepting the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri copy of the same records.<sup>3</sup> The Brahmagiri text of the Mysore versions has *hetu-āha* in its place.

<sup>1</sup> This may stand for Sanskrit Chapaḍa (cf. *maḥiḍa* for Sanskrit *maḥiḍa* in the Girnār version of Rock Edict IX, line 3).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *śiṣṭa-śiṣṭa*, *paṭṭa* (Minor Rock Edict I, lines 9-10), *ṭiṭi* *ṭiṭi* (Rock Edict I, line 5), *maḥiḍa* *śau* *śau* (Rock Edict II, line 2), etc.

<sup>3</sup> The Rājula-Maṇḍagiri text of the Minor Rock Edicts closely resembles their Erraguḍi version. See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 211 ff.



The Erragudi text of Minor Rock Edict I closely follows the text of the Mysore versions. But the passages *sumānā, kāmānā tu kha, iyañ chā atha* and *anāhātā* are absent from our text (V, VIII and XI), while we have *sakya* (VIII) for *sakya* or *ulā, dhānā chā apānā* (IX) for *dhānā(hānā, and khadaka-mahakakā* (X) for *khadaka chā mahāpā chā*. There is considerable difference between the Erragudi text of Minor Rock Edict II and its Mysore versions, from which a number of sentences as found in the Erragudi copy (II-IV, X-XII, etc.) are omitted. For *apā(prā)yaśa* *drakhyataryānā* of the Mysore texts, we have *apā(prā)yaśa day(tarīya* (VII). The sentence mentioning the scribe is wanting in the Erragudi version.

A marked difference between the **language** of the Minor Rock Edicts and that of the Rock Edicts at Erragudi is that the latter exhibits the change of *r* of Sanskrit to *l* in all the cases. The Erragudi version of the Rock Edicts also exhibits other characteristics of the Magadha dialect.<sup>1</sup> It uses *a* for both *ā* and *ṛ*, and *e* for *ī* and *śh*. The nominative singular case-ending for both masculine and neuter words ending in *a* is generally *e* and the locative singular case-ending for the same is *ā*. In point of language, the Erragudi copy of the Rock Edicts closely resembles that of the Dhauli and Jaugada versions; but its draft is in some places closer to the Kāśī text, although it does not exhibit the use of *ś* and *śh* and of the redundant subscript *y* noticed so often at Kāśī. An interesting fact about the **vocabulary** of the Erragudi text of the Rock Edicts is that the word *manā, mānā* or *minā* standing for Sanskrit *puruṣa* occurs in it for no less than seven times.<sup>2</sup> In many of these cases, the corresponding passages in the other versions of the edicts have *puru* or *puru* for Sanskrit *puruṣa*.<sup>3</sup> But *puru* or *puru* (Sanskrit *puruṣa*) itself occurs several times in the Erragudi text of the edicts; cf. Rock Edict XIII, line 30 (XX); Rock Edict XIV, line 4 (V); and Minor Rock Edict II, line 21 (XV). The word *manā* or *minā*, however, occurs in the third sentence of Pillar Edict III of Asoka and it is generally taken to stand for Sanskrit *manūḥ*.<sup>4</sup> But the sense of Sanskrit *puruṣa* in these cases would suit the context equally well.

The relation of the Erragudi text of the Rock Edicts with other versions of the records, especially the Dhauli, Jaugada and Kāśī texts, and some of its linguistic features may be illustrated by an analysis of a few of the edicts. Rock Edict I at Erragudi generally agrees with the Dhauli, Jaugada and Kāśī texts. But we have *ālabhīya* (lines 4-5, VI) and *ālabhīyānti* (line 6, IX) instead of *ālabhayan* and *ālabhayanānti* respectively. The forms of the verb in our text may be compared with those found in the other versions, such as *ālabhien* (Girnār), *ālabhien* (Mānsihra) and *ālabhīyānti* (Shāhībāgarhi). Similar is the case with Rock Edict II. But we have *Satīka-pate* and *asa sāmāntā Antigopasa* (lines 1-2, I) and not *Satīka-pate* (or *Sātīka-pate*), *Kalaka-pate* and *asa Antigopasa sāmāntā*, as also *manā-apaśā chā puru-apaśā chā* (line 3, II) instead of *manā-apaśāni puru-apaśāni chā*. The change of *y* to *k* in *apaka* (Sanskrit *apaga*), found also at Shāhībāgarhi and Mānsihra, is not a characteristic of the Magadha dialect. Our text (lines 4-5, IV) has *lakṣānā lōpāpātāni utupānāni chā khāpāpātāni* after Kāśī and not *utapānāni khāpāpātāni lakṣāni chā lōpāpātāni* as in Dhauli and Jaugada. In line 4 (III), we have *manā aśā aśā nathā* instead of the

<sup>1</sup> In a few cases, our version exhibits the influence of the language of the Shāhībāgarhi and Mānsihra texts; cf. the use of the word *apaka* noticed below.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *manā* in Rock Edict XII line 9 (VIII); Rock Edict XIII, line 22 (XVII); *manā* in Rock Edict VI, line 6 (XI); Rock Edict IX, lines 8 (XII) and 9 (XVI); *minā* in Rock Edict VI, line 3 (VI); Rock Edict IX, line 10 (XVIII).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *puru* in the Shāhībāgarhi Rock Edict VI, lines 14, 15; Mānsihra Rock Edict IX, line 7; Dhauli Rock Edict VI, line 5; Jaugada Rock Edict VI, line 5; *puru* in the Girnār Rock Edict VI, lines 6 and 10; Rock Edict XII, line 9; Rock Edict XIII, line 10; Rock Edict XIV, line 4; Kāśī Rock Edict IX, line 26; Rock Edict XIV, line 21; Shāhībāgarhi Rock Edict IX, lines 19 and 20; Rock Edict XII, line 6; Rock Edict XIII, lines 8 and 10; Rock Edict XIV, line 13; Mānsihra Rock Edict VI, lines 25 and 26; Rock Edict IX, lines 6, 7 and 8; Rock Edict XII, line 15; Rock Edict XIII, line 9; Rock Edict XIV, line 4.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. II, p. 251, note 21; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 122, note 1.



expected *atanta* *atāhi* *atāta*. Rock Edict III of our version has *eyāte* (line 2, III) instead of *eyāsi* after *Urnār* and *Śāhābāgarhi* and *māhamāte* (line 2, III) after *Kālai* in the place of *māhamāte* at *Dhauli* and *Jaugada*. The passage *imāye āhamam-ānumāteye atāhi amāteye pi kāmāne* in the Kṛpigañji-text (line 3, III) follows the order of the expressions as at *Kālai*, while *Dhauli* and *Jaugada* have *atāhi amāteye pi kāmāne imāye āhamam-ānumāteye*. But *Kālai* has *kāmāteye* for *kāmāne*. Instead of the compound *māta-pita-samāsa* (line 3, IV), the *Dhauli*, *Jaugada* and *Kālai* texts have *pitara* separately. For *atāhi-amāhata-māhātāna* (line 4, V), *Kālai* has *\*māhātāna* and *Dhauli* and *Jaugada* *\*māta*. Similarly our text has *samama-brahmanāna* (line 4, V), while the order of the two words in the compound is the reverse in all the other texts, and *Dhauli* and *Jaugada* have *brahmanam-mānāhi* (Sanskrit *brāhmaṇa-mānāhī*). The word *pāṇāna* (line 1, VI) follows *Kālai*, while *Dhauli* and *Jaugada* have *jīva*. The order of the words in the expression *piśamaṇa pūṇā* (line 3, VIII) is the reverse at *Dhauli* and *Jaugada*.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>MINOR ROCK EDICTS<sup>2</sup>

(BOULDER F)

## Minor Rock Edict 1

- 1 (I)<sup>3</sup> Devānampiyā kṛvāka<sup>4</sup> [(\*)] (II) adh[ī]kṛvā<sup>5</sup>
- 2<sup>6</sup> ja haḥam upāsak[ā] [(\*)] (III) no to kṛo ekam samvachharam pakā[m]te<sup>7</sup>
- 3 kṛvāka [(\*)] (IV) + ātīrek[ā] ch[u]<sup>8</sup> kṛo savanāhare yath mayā Saṅghe upayī-
- 4 (a)<sup>9</sup> te hāham oha nu pakamte [(\*)] (V) immā oha kālema a-
- (b)<sup>10</sup> mīka [yā] munisā
- 5<sup>11</sup> āveya to āham mūhāhā [(\*)] (VI) pakamasa hi
- 6(a)<sup>12</sup> [(b)ra[ā]n] [(\*)] (VII) \*mahapeta-eva sakiye [(\*)] (VIII) kṛu-
- (b)<sup>13</sup> ākṛvā pi pakā-

<sup>1</sup> From impressions. Chakravarti's readings have been quoted from his unpublished transcripts of the edicts. But his own exact readings, originally preferred by us but discarded at a later stage on re-examination of the impressions, could not be indicated.

<sup>2</sup> While quoting variant readings, we have referred to Sahni's and Barni's transcripts of these two edicts published respectively in *ARSI*, 1928-29, pp. 166-67, and in *IBQ*, Vol. XIII, pp. 132-34. The text of these edicts quoted in my *School Inscriptions* follows Barni's transcript.

<sup>3</sup> Unless it there is a tracing symbol as in the Ellāla Maṇḍapīya version of these edicts. Sahni and Chakravarti take it to be the asterisk as standing for standard *at* or *ah*.

<sup>4</sup> *kṛvā*, Barni; *ka*, Barni; *kṛvā* as a (Sanskrit *kṛvā*).

<sup>5</sup> The words *adhīkṛvā* and *mūhāhā* appear to have been inadvertently omitted after this by the scribe or engraver.

<sup>6</sup> This entire line has to be read from right to left.

<sup>7</sup> Barni: *pakāte*.

<sup>8</sup> Sahni and Barni: *ah*.

<sup>9</sup> The following sixteen asterisks have to be read from right to left.

<sup>10</sup> The following six asterisks are engraved slightly above at the left end of line 4(a) and have to be read from left to right. The asterisk *pi* is not visible on the impressions. The last asterisk of line 4(a) is contiguous to the last asterisk of line 4(b).

<sup>11</sup> This line actually commences from below the last asterisk (i.e., end of line 4). The six asterisks, viz. *āveya* *pi* *pakā*, meant for the beginning of line 7 (actually the line immediately following the present line, if the beginning of the line is considered), occupy the space before this asterisk at the beginning of line 7.

<sup>12</sup> This is a half line to be read from right to left.

<sup>13</sup> Barni: *ah*. The word *pakā* has been omitted after this by the scribe or engraver through oversight.

<sup>14</sup> The words *āveya* and *pi* have similarly been omitted before this.

<sup>15</sup> The following six asterisks are engraved at the beginning of line 5 before *āveya* and below *pi* at the end of line 4(b).



ERRAGUDI EDICTS OF ASOKA

Distribution of Boulders



(from a Photograph)



I 1 (L.-R.)

2 (R.-L.)

3 (L.-R.)

4b (L.-R.)

6b (L.-R.)

5 (L.-R.)

7b (L.-R.)

7a-c (L.-R.)

8 (L.-R.)

10 (L.-R.)

12 (L.-R.)

II 14 (L.-R.)

15 (R.-L.)

16a (L.-R.)

17 (L.-R.)

16b-18a (L.-R.)

19 (L.-R.)

20a (L.-R.)

20b (L.-R.)

21 (L.-R.)

22 (L.-R.)

23 (L.-R.)

1 (L.-R.)

2 (R.-L.)

3 (L.-R.)

4a (R.-L.)

5 (L.-R.)

6a (R.-L.)

7c (L.-R.)

8 (L.-R.)

9 (R.-L.)

10 (L.-R.)

11 (R.-L.)

12 (L.-R.)

13 (R.-L.)

17 (L.-R.)

18a (L.-R.)

18b (R.-L.)

20a-c (L.-R.)

20d (R.-L.)

21 (L.-R.)

22 (L.-R.)

23 (L.-R.)

24 (R.-L.)



7(a) maminena sakiya vipule svage āhā-

(b)<sup>1</sup> dhetave [i\*] (IX) +

(c)<sup>2</sup> tāya cha<sup>3</sup> aṭṭhāya iyañ

8 [sā]vane sāvite [i\*] (X) athā khudaka-mahalakā<sup>4</sup> imañ p[ī] [pa]kamevā ad-

9<sup>5</sup> tā cha me jāneva chira-tūtikā cha

10 iyañ pakame hota<sup>6</sup> vipulañ pi cha vadhasiṭṭ<sup>7</sup> aparallhiyā divedhiyā h<sup>8</sup> [i\*]

11 (XI)<sup>9</sup> [i]yañ cha sāvane sā-

12 v[ā]p[ite] vyāthana<sup>10</sup> 200 50 6 [i\*]<sup>11</sup>

### Minor Rock Edict II

(I)<sup>12</sup> ha[vañ] Devānañ<sup>13</sup> Devānarūpiya āha [i\*] (II) yathā De-

13<sup>14</sup> vā[nañ]piya āhā<sup>15</sup> tathā kataviya [i\*]

14 (III)<sup>16</sup> rajūke<sup>17</sup> ānapetaviya [i\*]

15 (IV)<sup>18</sup> = dāni jānapada[di]<sup>19</sup> āsa-

16(a) payisatī raṭṭhikāni chā [i\*] (V) mātā-pitāva<sup>20</sup>

(b)<sup>21</sup> susu-

17 sitaviya [i\*] (VI) hama-eva garūva<sup>22</sup> sususitaviya [i\*] (VII) ipā[prā]nesu<sup>23</sup> dayitaviya [i\*]  
(VIII) anche vataviya [i\*] (IX) [i]-

<sup>1</sup> The following four alsharas are engraved above this line in line 6(a) after (i.e. to the left of) *cha*.

<sup>2</sup> The following alsharas are in continuation of line 7(a).

<sup>3</sup> Barua : va.

<sup>4</sup> Barua : mahalakā.

<sup>5</sup> This is a half line to be read from right to left.

<sup>6</sup> The Mysore versions add here *igaa cha aṭṭha* with which a new sentence begins.

<sup>7</sup> Sahni : *kataviya cha ipi v[ā]p[ite] pi*; Chakravarti : *katā [i\*] p[ā]p[ā]pi pi cha vadhasiṭṭ*; Hornu : *hota [i\*] vipule pi cha vadhasiṭṭ*. The rest of this line is incised below the previous line (line 9).

<sup>8</sup> The Mysore versions add the word *vadhasiṭṭ* here. Some letters in this line and in lines 11, 12 and 14 are not clear on the Plate due to defective peeling of two pieces of the impression.

<sup>9</sup> This half line has to be read from right to left.

<sup>10</sup> Barua : *vyāthana*.

<sup>11</sup> The rest of line 12 from here is incised below line 10.

<sup>12</sup> This word is redundant.

<sup>13</sup> The half line consisting of the following twelve alsharas has to be read from right to left. Chakravarti : "The line is very uneven due to a few alsharas being engraved on the chipped portion of the rock."

<sup>14</sup> In Chakravarti's opinion, what looks like medial ā in āhā is a crack in the stone.

<sup>15</sup> This is a half-line consisting of nine alsharas to be read from left to right.

<sup>16</sup> Barua : *rajūke*.

<sup>17</sup> The following nine alsharas, incised below line 14, have to be read from right to left.

<sup>18</sup> Sahni : *jānapada*; Barua : *ānerā jānapada*.

<sup>19</sup> Sahni : *pitāva*; Chakravarti : *pitāva*.

<sup>20</sup> The following two alsharas are engraved at the beginning of line 13. Barua ignores this fact and reads the word *sususa* at the beginning of that line.

<sup>21</sup> Sahni and Chakravarti : *gama*.

<sup>22</sup> Sahni and Chakravarti : *garua*.



19(a)<sup>1</sup> ma dharṇma-guṇā pavatitaviyā [I\*] (X) hevañ tuṇphe ānapayātha Devānampīya<sup>2</sup>-  
vaḥanaena [I\*] (XI) he-

(b)<sup>2</sup> vañ ānapā-

19 yātha<sup>3</sup> bathiy-ārahāni kā[ra]nakāni<sup>4</sup> yūgy-āchariyāni bahhhanāni eha ta[ni]phe<sup>5</sup> [I\*] (XII)  
hevañ nivesayā-

20(a) tha aṇṭevāsini yāriṇā porānā pakiti [I\*] (XIII) iyath samsataviya [I\*] (XIV) apachāyānā  
ya vā āchari-

(b)<sup>6</sup> ya[sa]

(v)<sup>7</sup> sa

(d) \*{he}mveva [I\*]

21 (XV)<sup>8</sup> yathā vā puna āchariyasa<sup>9</sup> nātikāni yathārahañ nātikānā<sup>10</sup> rpa[ra]vatitaviya<sup>11</sup> [I\*]  
(XVII) hevañ pi

22<sup>12</sup> [aṇḍ]teyāsena yathārahañ pavatitaviya yāriṇā porānā pakiti [I\*] (XVII) yathārahañ  
yathā iyañ

23 sa<sup>13</sup> tiro[re]ke siyā hevañ tu[ni]phe ānapayātha nivesa[yā]līm eha aṇṭevāsini [I\*] (XVIII)  
hevañ De-

24<sup>14</sup> vānampīy[ā] ānapayati [I\*]

## TRANSLATION

### Minor Rock Edict I

(I) Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods.

(II) It is (now) more than [two years and a half] that I have been an *upāsaka* (i.e. a lay follower of the Buddha):

<sup>1</sup> The *abhiṣeka* signs are engraved here before *sa* (which Chakravartī reads as *ve*), although their proper place is at the beginning of the previous line.

<sup>2</sup> Barua : *Devānampīya*.

<sup>3</sup> The following four *abhiṣeka*, which are incised below the concluding part of the line, have to be read from right to left. What has been read *above* may be *below* also.

<sup>4</sup> Chakravartī : *gāthā*.

<sup>5</sup> Sahai and Chakravartī : *ārahāṇāni*.

<sup>6</sup> Chakravartī reads the sentence after *eha*. Chakravartī and others read *tuṇhe* here as well as in X *above*.

<sup>7</sup> The following two *abhiṣeka* are engraved at the beginning of the next line (line 21), *ya* being at a higher level than *sa*.

<sup>8</sup> This letter stands at the end of line 20(a).

<sup>9</sup> The following three *abhiṣeka*, at the end of line 20(a)-(c), have to be read from right to left.

<sup>10</sup> The *abhiṣeka* *ya* engraved here before *gāthā* should have to be read at the beginning of the previous line.

<sup>11</sup> Sahai : *apachāyānā vā āchariyasa* [he]vañ = *gāthā vā puna āchariyasa*, etc.; Barua : *apachāyānā ya va* *sa va āchariyasa* *gāthā* *ārahāṇāni āchariyasa* [I\*].

<sup>12</sup> Barua : *adhiṣa* which is the word found in the Mysore versions of the edict.

<sup>13</sup> The damaged *abhiṣeka* *sa*, incised below *sa*, should have to be read at the beginning of the next line. This escaped the notice of Sahai, Barua and Chakravartī.

<sup>14</sup> This *abhiṣeka* is engraved at the beginning of the previous line. Sahai and Chakravartī : *vañ*; Barua : *vañ*.

<sup>15</sup> This line has to be read from right to left.

(III) I was, however, not energetic (in the practice and propagation of Dharma) for one year (at the beginning of the above period).

(IV) It is (now) more than a year that I have indeed been intimately associated<sup>1</sup> with the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Clergy) and have been excessively energetic (in the cause of Dharma).

(V) Those men, who were unmingled (with gods) during this period, have now been mingled with gods.<sup>2</sup>

(VI) This is [the result] of (my) exertion (in the cause of Dharma).

(VII) [Indeed, it is not] attainable only by the rich man.

(VIII) Even the poor man, if he is energetic (in the cause of Dharma), can attain even the great heaven.<sup>3</sup>

(IX) It is for this purpose that the proclamation has been made (by me).

(X) So that the poor and the rich<sup>4</sup> should also be energetic in this exertion (in regard to the practice and propagation of Dharma), that the peoples living beyond the borders (of my empire) should know (this matter) and that (this matter) will increase to a great extent (at least) roughly to one and a half times.

(XI) This proclamation is being issued by me (when I have been) on tour (for) 256 (days).<sup>5</sup>

#### Minor Rock Edict II.

(I) Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods.

(II) You should do as (you have been) told (to do) by the Beloved of the Gods.

(III) The (officers entitled) Rajjuka<sup>6</sup> should be ordered (by you in respect of this matter).

(IV) He (in his turn) will then order the people of the countryside as well as the (officers entitled) Rāshtrika<sup>7</sup> (in the following words):

(V) "One should be obedient to one's parents.

(VI) "One should likewise be obedient to one's elders.

(VII) "One should be kind to the living beings.

(VIII) "One should speak the truth.

(IX) "One should propagate these attributes of Dharma."

(X) Thus you should pass orders in the words of the Beloved of the Gods.

<sup>1</sup> The word *apayita* (Sanskrit *upeta*) seems to have been used in the sense of *associated*, although it has been variously interpreted by scholars. See my *Mastī Inscription of Ashoka*, Hyderabad, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. op. cit., pp. 26-27.

<sup>3</sup> The great heaven was possibly regarded as higher than the world of the gods.

<sup>4</sup> The word *vaśalaka* means 'big', i.e. 'rich' in the present context. Cf. Rock Edict XIV, line 3 (IV). We are inclined to take the word *kāśaka*, i.e. *kāśtra*, in the sense of 'poor'.

<sup>5</sup> See my *Mastī Inscription of Ashoka*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>6</sup> The Rajjukas were probably governors of districts. The present order was apparently addressed by the king to the Mahāmātras stationed at Suvastigiri.

<sup>7</sup> The Rāshtrikas appear to have been governors of parts of a district.



(XI) In this way, you should pass orders on the elephant-riders, the scribes and charioteers and (the teachers of) the Brāhmanas (commonly).<sup>1</sup>

(XII) Thus you should instruct your pupils in accordance with what is the ancient usage.

(XIII) This (order) should be obeyed.

(XIV) Whatever honour is (enjoyed) by the teacher (lies) really in this.

(XV) Then again, this (principle underlying the order) should be propagated in the proper manner by the teacher's male relations among the female<sup>2</sup> relations (he may have).<sup>3</sup>

(XVI) This should also be propagated (by the teacher's relatives) in the proper manner among (his) pupils in accordance with what is the ancient usage.

(XVII) You should thus guide and instruct your pupils in the proper way, so that this (principle underlying the order) grows (among them) abundantly.<sup>4</sup>

(XVIII) Thus orders the Beloved of the Gods.

### ROCK EDICTS I AND II<sup>5</sup>

[BOULDER A (EASTERN FACE—LEFT HALF)]

#### Rock Edict I.

- 1 [I] iyam dhamma-lipi Devānampiyasa Piyadasina [a]j[i]na [ikā]p[ī]tā [I\*] (II) [hida no] kinēhi [five]
- 2 ālabhita pajohitaviy[e] [I\*] (III) n[ā]o p[ā] cha samā[e] k[ā]v[ī]y[e] [I\*] (IV) bahukadh [hi] Devā[nam]piya samāja[s]
- 3 do[sa]m dakhati [I\*] (V) x[ā]hi aka[ā]y[ī]ā vataā[ā] sādhu-matā Devānampiyasa Piyada[sine] lājine [I\*]
- 4 (VI) pule mahānasa Devānampiyasa Piyadasine lājine ann-divasadi bahuni pāna-sata-sahasāni [Aa]

<sup>1</sup> Sahni: "Thus should you command the Kārupakas riding on elephants and the Brāhmanas driving in vehicles." Barnes: "Thus instruct the elephant-riders, the Kārupakas, the chariot-trainers, and the Brāhmanas" (*Descriptions of Ashoka*, Part II, p. 290). At p. 245 of this work, Barnes professes to read *kāramadhā* and equates *kāramadhā* with *kāramadhā* used in the *Mahāvastu* (II, V, 34) in the sense of 'a teacher of the princes'. This meaning also suits the context. The sentence refers to several classes of people who used to initiate pupils in particular professions.

<sup>2</sup> The Nyaosa versions have 'relations' instead of 'female relations'.

<sup>3</sup> Sahni: "Thus should you admonish the pupils: he (i.e. the teacher) should be obeyed according to the ancient rule and so also the relatives of the teacher by way of showing veneration to the teacher, they should also behave in a suitable manner towards (their own) relatives." Barnes: "You should thus establish your pupils according to the good old rule: This is to be hearkened to: whatever is estimable (is me), all that is due to my teacher, the teacher acting properly as teacher. The neighbours are to propound it to the neighbours as far as practicable."

<sup>4</sup> Sahni: "Thus should you direct and admonish the pupils that he (i.e. the teacher) may enjoy three-fold comfort (traya-sukha)." Barnes: "As it may remain unimpaired as far as practicable so should you instruct and establish the pupils." "This is to be respectfully attended to indeed for the sake of the honour of the teacher. Or again, if (there be) relatives of the teacher, this should likewise be fittingly propounded to (his) relations, so also among the citizens should (it) be fittingly propounded, so that it may be extensively bright" (*Descriptions of Ashoka*, op. cit., p. 290).

<sup>5</sup> Many of the letters of these and the other edicts transcribed below are indistinct on the inscriptions.

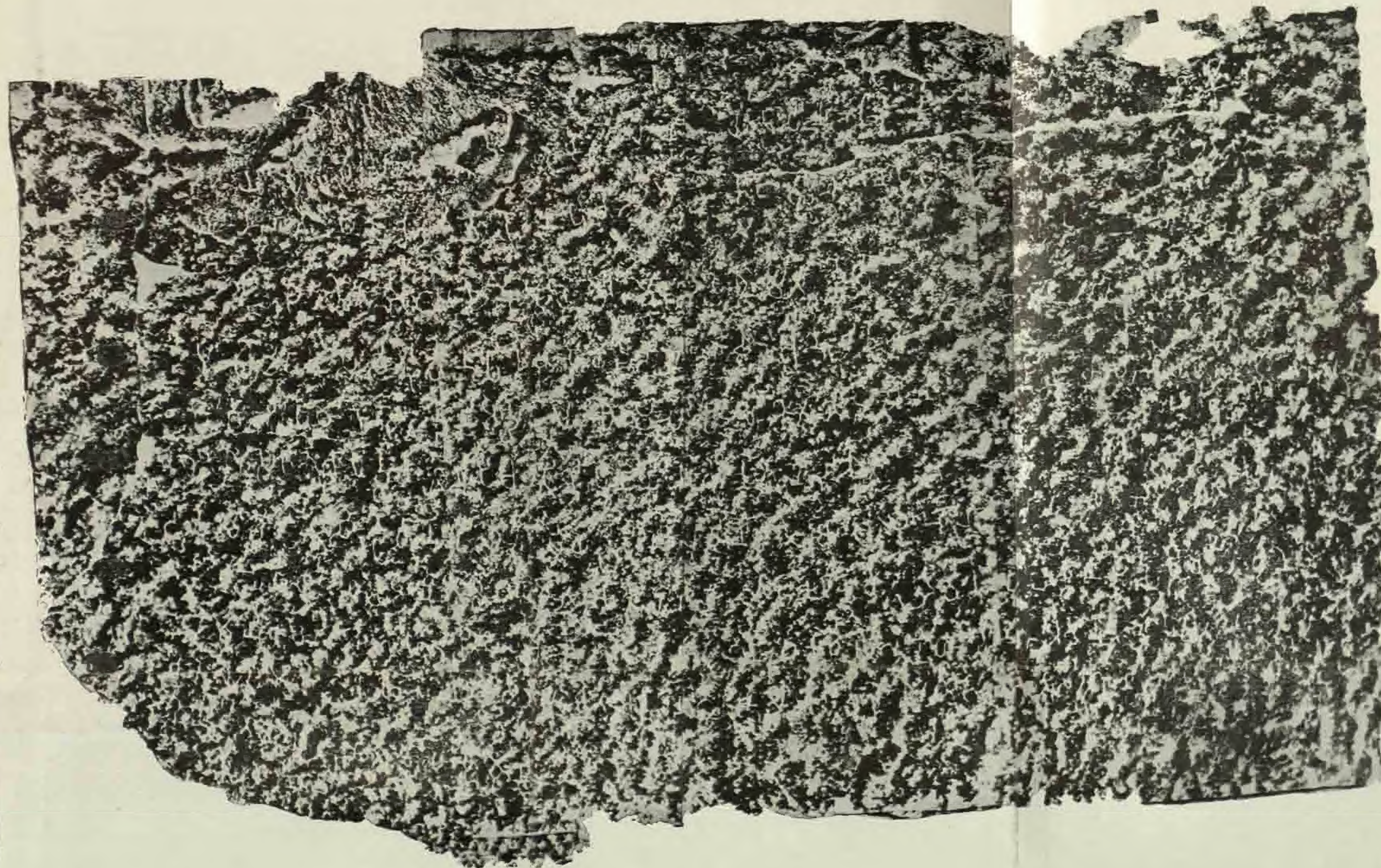
<sup>6</sup> At first he had been written and it was then changed into *je*.



ERRAGUDI EDICTS OF ASOKA.

PLATE II

Rock Edicts I and II [Boulder A (eastern face—left half)]



Scale : One-fourth



III

2

4

VI

2

4

6



Scale : One-sixth



- 5 [bh]i[su]śipāthāy[*e*] [I\*] (VII) [m] idin[*i*] ad[*ā*] [yash] dhammā-bp[*i*] lkhita tadda t[*i*]n[*i*] [yeva  
pā]nāni ālabbhiyanti [duve ma]j[*ū*lā]  
6 eko [ma\*]g[*e*] [I\*] (VIII) = pi [ma\*]g[*e*] nō dhammā [I\*] (IX) [e]tāni pi ehu t[*i*]n[*i*] pānāni  
pachha n[*e*] ālabbhiyanti [I\*]

## TRANSLATION

(I) This record relating to Dharma has been caused to be written by king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods.

(II) Here no living being should be slaughtered for sacrifice.

(III) And also no festive gathering should be held.

(IV) For the Beloved of the Gods sees manifold evil in festive gatherings.

(V) There is, (however,) one kind of festive gatherings, which is considered good, by king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods.

(VI) Many hundred thousands of living beings were formerly slaughtered every day in the kitchen of king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, for the sake of curry.

(VII) But now, when this record relating to Dharma is written, only three living creatures are killed (daily) for the sake of curry, (viz.), two birds and one animal.<sup>a</sup>

(VIII) Even this animal is not (slaughtered) regularly.

(IX) These three living beings too shall not be killed in future.

## Rock Edict II

(below Rock Edict I)

- 1 (I) savatā<sup>b</sup> vijitām Devānampiyasa Piyadasin[*e*] lājine e cha aditā athā [Ch]odā Pandiyā  
Satika-puta<sup>c</sup> Tambaparai<sup>d</sup> Ashtiyō[-]  
2 ge [nāma Yona-lā]ā[*ā*] e cha amno tass [sāmanas] Ashtiyogasa lājāno savatā Devānampiya[*ā*]  
Piyadasine [lājine du] [ve\*] [chikisā]  
3 katā munisa-chikisā[*ā*] cha pasu-chikisā[*ā*] cha [I\*] (II) o[*sa*]dhāni [cha munis-o]pakā [cha]  
pasu-opākā cha ata atā nathi savata [hā]p[*ā*]tā cha lopāp[*ā*]<sup>e</sup>  
4 tā cha [I\*] (III) [hemis]va [mā]lāni cha phallāni [cha savata] ata ata nathi [hā]p[*ā*]t[*ā*]  
cha lopāp[*ā*]tā cha [I\*] (IV) ma[*ga*]su lakkhāni lopāp[*ā*]tāni adupānā[*ā*]ni cha  
5 khā[*ā*]p[*ā*]tāni paṭibhogāye pasu-munisānāni [I\*]

## TRANSLATION

(I) Everywhere in the dominions of king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, and likewise (in) the bordering territories such as (those of) the Choḍas (and) Pāndyas (as well as of) the Satika-putra (and in) Tāmraparai (and in the territories of) the Yavana king named Antiyoḥa and also (of) the kings who are the neighbours of the said Antiyoḥa—everywhere king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, has arranged for two kinds of medical treatment, (viz.), medical

<sup>a</sup> This edict is separated from Rock Edict II by a short line at the left end.

<sup>b</sup> This is generally taken in the sense of 'two-pysooks and one deer'. But see *Selas Inscriptions*, p. 17, note 4.

<sup>c</sup> Chakravarti: "The latter looks like is on the rock."

<sup>d</sup> Other readings have *Samya*<sup>a</sup> or *Samya*<sup>b</sup>. The original form of the name may have been *Satika* or *Somika*. The reference to Koralaputra has been omitted in this text.

<sup>e</sup> The letters are not clear on the impression. Chakravarti: "The letters *chāpāpā* are traceable on the stone."



treatment for men and medical treatment for animals.

(II) And, wherever there were no medicinal herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to animals, everywhere they have been caused to be imported and planted.

(III) In the same way, wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they have been caused to be imported and planted.

(IV) On the roads, trees have been caused to be planted and wells have been caused to be dug for the enjoyment of animals and men.

### ROCK EDICTS III, VI AND XIV

[BOULDER A (EASTERN FACE—RIGHT HALF)]

#### Rock Edict III

(to the right of Rock Edict I)

- 1 (I) [Devānampiye] Piya[dasi kja hevañ] ā[h]ā [I\*] (II) dvādass-vas-ābhisitena [me] iyañ ānapayite [I\*]
- 2 (III) [savata] vij[i]t(e)\* mama yutā lājūke pādesike [cha] pañchasa pañchasa cha vāsesu anusañyānañ nikkhamatū
- 3 et[ā]ye aṭṭhāye [imā]ye dhamm-ānusañhiye athā adunāye pi katāmane [I\*] (IV) sādhu mātā-pitū-susue[ā] [I\*]
- 4 (V) mita-saṁhuta-nātiḡānañ cha samana-bambhañānañ cha sādhu dāne [I\*] (VI) pānānañ anālambe sādhu [I\*] (VII) apa-viyayatā [a]pa\*-bha[m]data[ñh]
- 5 sādhu [I\*] (VIII) [palisā]\* pi chā gaganasi yutāni [ana]payissanti hotute cha viyañjanate cha [I\*]\*

#### TRANSLATION

(I) Thus saith king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods.

(II) The (following) was ordered by me **twelve years after my coronation**.\*

(III) Everywhere in my dominions, the officers,<sup>1</sup> (called) **Rajjuka** (and) **Prādesika**,<sup>2</sup> shall set out every five years on a circuit for inspection (throughout their charges), as much for their other duties as for this (special) purpose of preaching Dharma (in the following words) :

(IV) " Meritorious is obedience to mother and father.

(V) " Meritorious is liberality to friends, acquaintances and relatives and to the Śramapas and Brāhmapas.

(VI) " Meritorious is abstention from the slaughter of living beings.

(VII) " Meritorious is to spend little (and) to store little. "

(VIII) And the Council (of Ministers) shall order the officers<sup>3</sup> about the observance of these rules with reference to (both my) intention and (my) words.

\* The letters in some passages of the following lines of the edict are not clear on the impressions.

<sup>1</sup> The form expected is *vijāṭari*.

<sup>2</sup> Chakravartī : "rightful and".

<sup>3</sup> Chakravartī : *pi* (which *pi* *cha*).

<sup>4</sup> There is a short line dividing this edict from Rock Edict VI.

<sup>5</sup> The expression may possibly also mean 'in the twelfth year after my coronation.'

<sup>6</sup> The Yuktas are regarded generally as a class of officers like the Rajjuka and Prādesika. *Op. Ind., Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 308 ff.

<sup>7</sup> The Prādesika appears to have been the ruler of a group of districts and the Rajjuka that of a single district.



Rock Edict VI<sup>1</sup>

(below Rock Edict III)

- 1 (I) [Devānampīye] Piyadasi lā[ā] hevaṃ āha \*[\*] (II) [atikamītaṃ aṃtalaṃ] no hūta<sup>2</sup>  
puluve savaṃ kālāṃ aṭṭa-ka[m]mo paṭive[da]nā [vā] [\*] (III) so mamayā hevāṃ kaṇe  
[\*] (IV) [savaṃ] kālaṃ
- 2 [adamānasa<sup>3</sup> o]llohana[sī]<sup>4</sup> [gabh-āgāsa] [va]jhaṃ vinitaṃ ny[ā]nasa savatā paṭive[da]kā  
a[ṭṭa]ṇi ja[nasa] pa[ṭi]ve[da]yanta me [\*] (V) savatā cha [ja]nasa a[ṭṭa]ṇi
- 3 [kacchāmi hakaṃ] [\*] (VI) [ya]ṃ pi [cha] kichhi mu[khate] ā[un]pa[ya]mi hakaṃ  
dā[pa]kaṃ vā sāvakāṃ vā [e] vā minā mahāma[ṭṭi]hi atiyāyike ā[un]pa[ya]mi hoti tāye aṭṭa<sup>5</sup>
- 4 [vivade] nūhata [va] samitaṃ pa[h]i[sa]ye [ananta]i<sup>6</sup> yena [pa]<sup>7</sup>[vivedata]viya-mate<sup>8</sup> an[ne] savatā  
savaṃ kālāṃ [\*] (VII) hevaṃ ānapayite mamayā [\*] (VIII) [nathi] hi me toso aṭṭa<sup>9</sup>
- 5 aṭṭa-sa[m]ṭi[ṭi]lanāye cha<sup>10</sup> [\*] (IX) kaṭaviya-mate [hi]<sup>11</sup> me sava-loka-hite [\*] (X)  
[ta]sa cha minā esa mūle uṭṭāne a[ṭṭa]-saṃtilanā cha [\*] (XI) nathi hi kaṃmatale  
sava-loka-hitena [\*] (XII) aṃ cha kichhi
- 6 palakamāmi hakaṃ kiṇi bhūtaṃnān ānāya yehaṃ hida cha kāni sukāpayāmi palat[ā] cha  
eva[sa]vagaṃ<sup>12</sup> [ā]lādhaya[ta] [\*] (XIII) so eṭṭāye<sup>13</sup> [i]yaṃ dhaṇ[ma]ṭṭi [le]<sup>14</sup>[khitā] chila-  
ṭṭi[ka]<sup>15</sup> hoti
- 7 taṭṭā cha me paṭa-natāle palakama[ṭṭi]tu sava-loka-hitāye [\*] (XIV) dukale cha kho  
iyaṃ aṭṭa[ṭā] aṇa[ṭā] palakamaṇā [\*]

## TRANSLATION

(I) Thus saith king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods.(II) Formerly, in the ages gone by, there was no transaction of state-business and no reporting  
(of incidents to the king) at all hours.

(III) So I have made the following (arrangement).

(IV) The reporters should report to me the affairs of the people at any time and place, whether  
I am engaged in eating (or) in the harem (or) in the bed-chamber (or) on a promenade (or) in the  
carriage (or) on the march.<sup>16</sup>

(V) And I am now attending to people's affairs at all places.

<sup>1</sup> Many of the passages of the edict are indistinct on the impressions.<sup>2</sup> Chakravartī: āḥa.<sup>3</sup> Chakravartī: āḥa.<sup>4</sup> Chakravartī: "These letters are indistinct on the rock."<sup>5</sup> The word me is added before this word in the other versions.<sup>6</sup> According to Chakravartī, these letters are partly visible on the rock.<sup>7</sup> Chakravartī: [ko]ṭi vedakapiya-mate.<sup>8</sup> Chakravartī: upāṇa. He also reads upāṇa in line 5 (X) and upāṇa in line 3 (VI).<sup>9</sup> Chakravartī: "These letters are faintly visible on the rock."<sup>10</sup> Chakravartī: "The letter is indistinct on the rock."<sup>11</sup> Chakravartī: Sogga.<sup>12</sup> The word aṭṭa is omitted here.<sup>13</sup> Chakravartī: [aṭṭi]ṭi.<sup>14</sup> The word upāṇa (Sanskrit upāṇa) is generally taken to mean 'a pleasure garden.'



(VI) And, when I issue an order orally in connection with any donation or proclamation or when an urgent work presses itself upon the Mahāmātras (and) in case there is, in connection with that matter, a controversy among (the Ministers of) the Council or an argumentation<sup>1</sup> (in the Council in favour of a particular case), this fact must be reported to me immediately at any place and at any time.

(VII) Thus have I ordered.

(VIII) I am never complacent in regard to (my) exertion and the dispatch of people's business (by me).

(IX) I consider it my (only) duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(X) But exertion and prompt dispatch of business (lie at) the root of that.

(XI) There is verily no duty which is more (important to me) than promoting the welfare of all men.

(XII) And whatever effort I make is made in order that I may discharge the debt which I owe to all living beings, that I may make them happy in this world, and that they may attain heaven in the next world.

(XIII) Therefore this record relating to Dharma has been caused to be written by me (on stone) for the following (purpose, viz.) that it may last for a long time and that my sons and grandsons may exert themselves for the welfare of all men.

(XIV) This, indeed, is difficult to accomplish without the utmost exertion.

#### Rock Edict XIV

[BOULDER A (EASTERN FACE—UPPER RIGHT CORNER)].

- 1 (I) iyaṁ dha(m)ma-lipi Devānampiyena Priyadarśin[ā]<sup>1</sup> lājinā
- 2 l[ī]khā[pi]tā [I\*] (II) athi yeva saṁ[kh]itena<sup>2</sup> athi majhimena athi vithe-
- 3 [tenā] [I\*] (III) na hi savatā sa[va] gha[ti]te cha [I\*] (IV) mahalake hi vijite bahu cha-
- 4 likhite likhāpayissamī<sup>3</sup> ch-eva nikāyaṁ [I\*] (V) athi ehu hetā [pu]ṇa [pu]ṇa lā-
- 5 [pi]te tass tassā aṭṭhass mādhukhyāye vma<sup>4</sup> [ja]te(ne) tathā
- 6 [pa]ṭipajeyā [I\*] (VI) [so siyā ata hi] ekkhi asamati likhite
- 7 dham vā saṁ[kh]ā<sup>5</sup> saṁkhāyāyā kālāmaṁ va<sup>6</sup> ālochayissu
- 8 āpika[ḥ]āpālā]lkena vā ti [I\*]

#### TRANSLATION

(I) This record relating to Dharma has been caused to be written by king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods.

(II) (In the series of records) there are, for sooth, (texts written) in a concise form, or in a medium form, or in an elaborate form.

<sup>1</sup> The word -ijhā is derived from the verb vijhāpessati meaning 'to convince'. The verb is the same as *anvāḍāpessati* in the passage *anvāḍāpessati anva[ḍā]pessati* in Rock Edict XIII, lines 18-19 (XIII).

<sup>2</sup> According to Chakravarti, the letter looks like *va* on the rock.

<sup>3</sup> Chakravarti: *anāheṇa*.

<sup>4</sup> Chakravarti: *āsiṁ*.

<sup>5</sup> Chakravarti: *gama*.

<sup>6</sup> These two *āśāras* are redundant.

<sup>7</sup> Chakravarti: *et*.



(III) And all (*the items of the series*) have not been put together in all places.

(IV) For (*my*) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall certainly cause still a lot (*more*) to be written.

(V) There are (*some topics which*) have been repeated over and over again owing to their sweetness, so that people may act accordingly.

(VI) Thus there may be *some* (*topics which*) have been written incompletely either as the (*particular*) place (*of a record*) was considered (*unsuitable for these*) or as a (*special*) reason for abridgment was believed (*to exist*), and also owing to a fault of the scribe.

### ROCK EDICTS XI, V AND VII

[BOULDER A-1 (i.e. NORTHERN FACE OF BOULDER A)]

#### Rock Edict XI

(at the left end)

- 1 (I) Devāna[rh]piye hevaṃ āhā [i\*] (II) natthi ekaṃ dāma dāma dhamma-dāma dhamma-sa[n]thave
- 2 dhamma-savibhāge dhamma-sambadhe [i\*] (III) ta[n]pi eṃ dāma-bhaṭṭaka)u sa[n]uṇṇa-  
gaṇipati māta-pitṭa-saṇḍa
- 3 mita-saṇṭhāta-nāṭikānaṃ samāna-baṇṭhaṇṇa)u dā[ne]\* pānānaṃ anālambe [i\*]  
(IV) eṃ vataviye piṇḍa pi
- 4 [pu]ṭṭena pi bhāṭi)ṇā pi savaṇṇike[na\*] pi mita-saṇṭhutena pi ā-paṭivessiyuṇṇā [pi\*] iyaṃ  
sādhū iyaṃ kataviye [i\*]
- 5 (V) se tatha kalamāta hida-lake eha kām āha)ḍhe ho)ti p[ā]lata\* eha amantam [pu]ṇaṃ  
pasavati tene dha[mma]-dā-
- 6 nena [i\*]

#### TRANSLATION

(I) Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods.

(II) There is no such gift as the gift of Dharma, (*no such acquaintance as*) acquaintance through Dharma, (*no such act of dividing as*) the separation of Dharma (*from what is not Dharma*), (*and no such kinship as*) kinship through Dharma.

(III) The following (*are comprised*) in them, (*viz.*) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances and relatives (*as well as*) to the Brāhmanas and Śramanas, (*and*) abstention from the slaughter of living beings.

(IV) (*In respect of this*), (*whether one is a person's*) father, or son, or brother, or master, or friend, or acquaintance, or (*even*) a (*mere*) neighbour, one ought to say (*to him*): "This is meritorious. This ought to be done".

(V) Thus, if he acts in this manner, (*happiness in*) this world is attained (*by him*) and endless merit is produced (*for him*) in the next world by the *and* gift of Dharma.

\* Chakravarti: *āra*.

\* Chakravarti says that the letter looks like *ra* on the rock.

\* According to Chakravarti, the letter looks like *āra* on the rock.

\* Chakravarti: *palata*.



## Rock Edict V

(in the middle)

1. (I) Devānarpiye Piyadasi lāṣa bevaṇi ā[hā] [i\*] (II) kayāne dukale [i\*] (III) e [ā]di-kale kayānasa se dukā[la]m kaletī [i\*] (IV) se manay[ā] bahu kayāne kaje [i\*] (V) [ta] mama pu[ta]-ustāle [mahu] cha te hi āpa[tiye] me
2. \*āva-kapaṇi tathā anuvāsaṇti se anuṣaṇi kachhu[nti] [i\*] (VI) e eha hetā deṣaṇ pi [hā]payasaṇti se dukatān [ka\*]khatti [i\*] (VII) pāpe hi nāma supadālaye [i\*] (VIII) se ālikāntaṇi āntalaṇi nā huta-pa[lu]ye [dha]ṇṇa-[mahāma]ṣā [nāma] [i\*]
3. (IX) se tedasa-va-ābhisaṭṭena manaya dhamma-mahām[ā]tā nā[ma] kaje [i\*] (X) te sava-pāsaṇṇeṇ viyāpaṭṭa dhamm[ā]bhikkhāye eha dhamma-va[si]ṇṇā hita-[sukhā]ye eha\* dhamma-yuttaṇ Yo[na\*]-Kambo[cha]-Gar[ā]dhā[ṇā]nā[m] [La\*]ṭṭhika-Pe-
4. ttilkamaṇi [e] vā pi āṇṇa a[pa]ṣāntā [i\*] (XI) bhāṣa-ayesa haṇṇhaṇ-[i]bhhiyesa ānāthesu vuḍḍhesu hita-sukhāye dhamma-yuttānaṃ apal[i]bodh[ā]ye viyāpaṭṭa te [i\*] (XII) haṇṇhaṇa-badhassa paṭivulhāṇāye
5. apalibodhāye makkhaye eha [iyam\*] ānubandha paṇu[va\*] [ti]\* vā kaṭ-ābhikkāle ti vā ma[hā]llake ti vā viyāpa[ṭṭa] te [i\*] (XIII) hīdā [hā]hilesu eha nagalesu savaṇ [e]ha aloḍḍhaṇeṇ [bhā]ṭṭinaṇi [pi] eha me bhagina[naṇ] eha
6. \* vā pi āṇṇa [nā]ṭṭika savaṇa viyāpaṭṭa [i\*] (XIV) e iyaṇ dhamma-nisite ti vā dhamma-ābhikkhāṇe\* ti vā dāna-sayute [ti\*] vā sa[va]ṭa vijitasī mama dhamma-y[ū]ṭṭasi viyāpa[ṭṭa] te dhamma-ma[hā]ma[ṭṭa] [i\*] (XV) stāye a[ṭṭhā]ya
7. iyaṇ dhamma-lipi bhikkhā eha-ṭṭhika hotu vathā eha me paṣā anuvatatū\* ti [i\*]

## TRANSLATION

- (I) Thus saith king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods.
- (II) It is difficult to do good (to others).
- (III) He who starts doing good (to others) accomplishes what is difficult (indeed).
- (IV) Many a good deed has, however, been performed by me.
- (V) And, (among) my sons and grandsons and the generations coming after them till the destruction of the world, (those who) will follow (this course) in the said manner will do an act of merit.
- (VI) But whosoever amongst them will abandon even a part of it will do an act of demerit.
- (VII) It is indeed easy to commit sin.
- (VIII) And formerly, in the ages gone by, there were no (officers) called Dharma-Mahāmātras.
- (IX) So indeed I created the (posts of) Dharma-Mahāmātras thirteen years after my coronation.

\* Chakravartī : kṣaṇa.

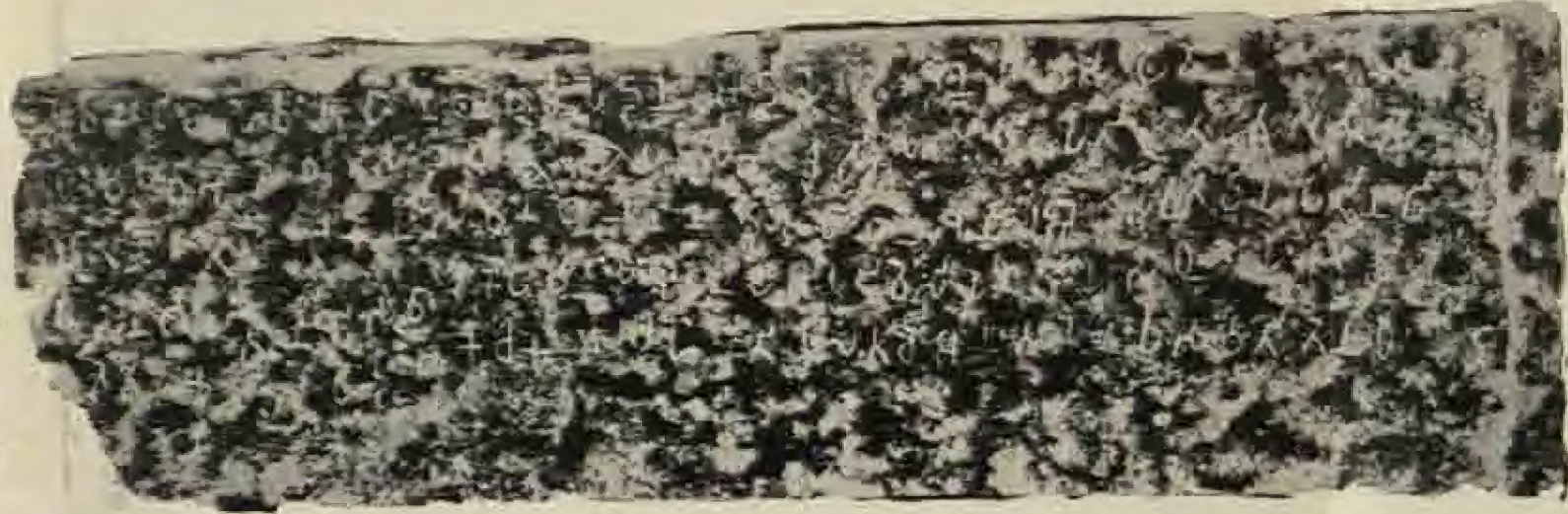
\* There appear to be no letters before this. The Shāhbāzgarh version reads here the word *anuvatatū* additionally.\* Chakravartī : *śāṭṭhika* m.\* Chakravartī notices that the letter *h* looks like *ka* on the rock.\* Chakravartī : *paṭṭa*.\* Chakravartī : *paṭṭa*.\* Chakravartī : *ābhikkā*.\* Chakravartī : *anuvatatū*.



ERRAGUDI EDICTS OF ASOKA

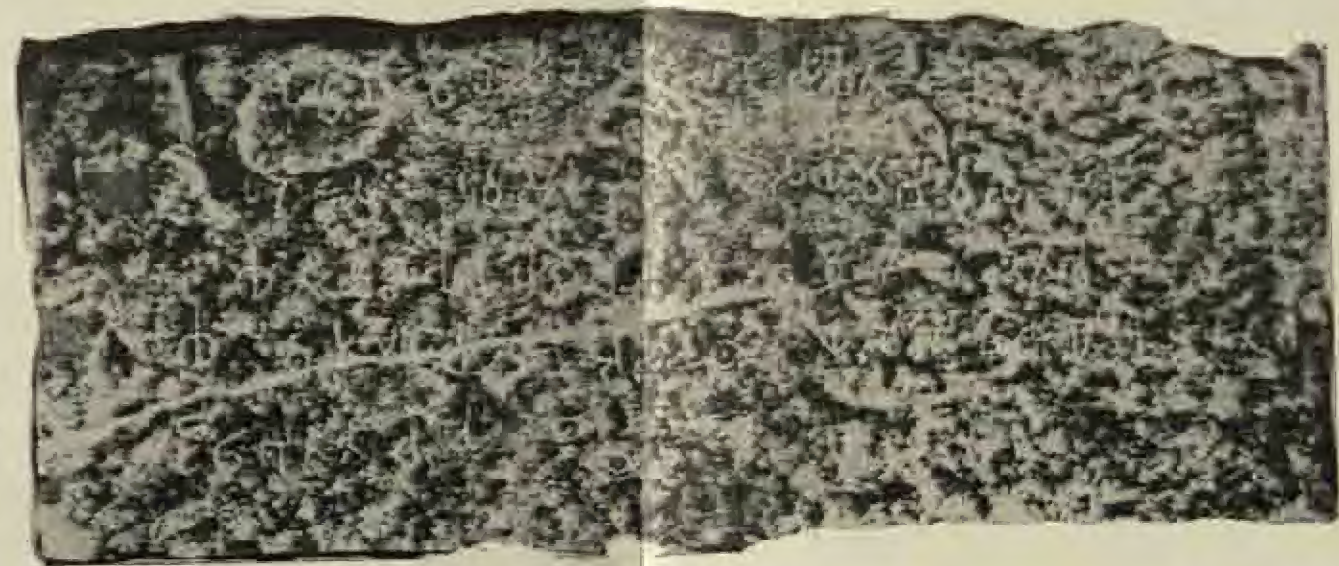
Rock Edicts XI, V and VII [Boulder A-1 (i. e. northern face of Boulder A)]

XI



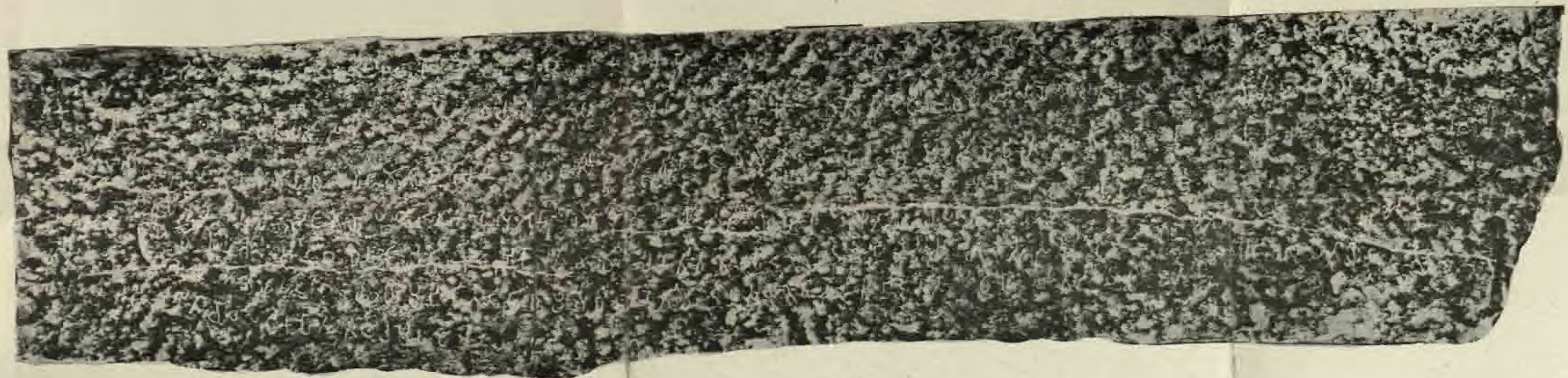
2  
4  
6

VII



2  
4

V



2  
4  
6

Scale : One-sixth



IV

2

4

6

8

10

12

14

VIII

2

4

X

2

4

2

4

6

8

10

12

14

2

4

2

4



(X) These (officers) are occupied with all the religious sects<sup>1</sup> for the establishment of Dharma and for the promotion of Dharma as well as for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to Dharma (even) among the Yavanas, Kambojas and Gandhāras, the Hāshtrikas and Paitryāpikas and other peoples dwelling about the western borders (of my dominions).

(XI) They are occupied (not only) with the welfare and happiness of the servile class and the Aryas (i.e. the traders and agriculturists) as well as the Brāhmanas and the ruling class<sup>2</sup> and likewise of the destitute and the aged, (but also) with the release of the adherents of Dharma (amongst them) from fetters.

(XII) They are (similarly) engaged with the fettered persons (in the prisons, for working in) the following order: for the distribution of money to those amongst them who are encumbered with progeny, for the unfettering of those who have (committed crimes) under the instigation (of others),<sup>3</sup> and for the release of those who are aged.

(XIII) They are engaged everywhere—here<sup>4</sup> and elsewhere in all the towns, in the households of my brothers and sisters and other relatives.

(XIV) These Dharma-Mahāmāitras are engaged everywhere in my dominions amongst the adherents of Dharma (to determine) whether a person is (only) inclined towards Dharma or is (fully) established in Dharma or is given to charity.

(XV) This record relating to Dharma has been written (on stone) for the (following) purpose, (viz.) that (it) may last for a long time and that my descendants may conform to it.

### Rock Edict VII

(at the upper right corner)

- 1 (I) Devānampiyas Piyaḍasi lāja savata lābhati
- 2 sav[er] p[ā]śāda[ś]a vasesu [I\*] (II) sava hi te sayamam bhāva-sudhā cha
- 3 lābhanti [I\*] (III) jana eha adhavucha-chikadula ucha-māṇḍale [I\*] (IV) te savam eka-
- 4 desasi\*
- 5 pi kachhanti [I\*] (V) vipula pi eha d[ī]ś[ā]sa-nathī sayamo bhāva-sudhā kīṇata cha
- 6 diḍha-bhatikā cha nīcha-bāḍhaḥ [I\*]

### TRANSLATION

(I) King Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, wishes that all religious sects should live (harmoniously) everywhere (in all parts of his dominions).

(II) In fact, all of them desire (to achieve) self-control and purity of thought.

(III) People, however, are of diverse inclinations and diverse passions.

(IV) They will perform either the whole or only a part (of their duty).

(V) However, even if (a person practices) great liberality but does not possess self-control, purity of thought, gratitude and firm devotion (he is quite) worthless.

\* The word *pāśanda* stands for Sanskrit *pārshada*.

\* For this interpretation of the four classes of people, see *Silver Inscriptions*, p. 23.

\* *IX, Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, p. 480; *Silver Inscriptions*, p. 23.

\* The Gümār text has 'at Pitalpota' in place of this word.

\* Better read *achamaka-lāpa* in conformity with the other versions.

\* The reading intended is *savam nā eka-desam nā*.







(III) Abstinence from the slaughter of life, absence of cruelty to living creatures, seemly behaviour to relatives, seemly behaviour to the Śramanas and Brāhmanas, obedience to mother and father (and) obedience to the aged have increased now owing to the instruction in Dharma (imparted) by king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, in such a degree as was not possible to achieve for many hundreds of years in the past by (means of) showing to the people the (representations of) celestial cars and (celestial) elephants, chariots of fire (i.e. hell-fire) as well as (many) other heavenly forms.<sup>1</sup>

(IV) The practice of Dharma of the above kind as well as of various other kinds have increased and king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, will certainly cause such practices of Dharma to increase (still more).

(V) Further, the sons, grandsons and great-grandsons of king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, will promote this practice of Dharma till the time of universal destruction and, (thereafter) abiding by Dharma and good conduct, will instruct (people) in Dharma.

(VI) Verily, instruction in Dharma is (considered by him to be his) supreme duty.

(VII) But the practice of Dharma is not possible for a person devoid of good conduct.

(VIII) Therefore, in the matter (of Dharma), an increase is good as also its non-decrease.

(IX) This (record) has been caused to be written for the following purpose, (viz.) that the promotion of Dharma should be adhered to and that no decrease of it should be countenanced.

(X) This record has been caused to be written by king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, twelve years after his coronation.

### Rock Edict VIII

(in the middle)

- 1 (I) atikramam amātam Devānampiya vā[ā]le-yātam nāma nikhamisu [1\*] (II) bota migaviyā  
amūni cha hedisiñi āhhi[ā]manti
- 2 b[ā]sa [1\*] (III) so Devānampiya Piya[da]st[ā] h[ā]s[ā] dasa-vas-ā[ā]hhi[ā]si[te] amātam nikha-  
māthi (Sambodhi) [1\*] (IV) tana ta[ā] dhamma-yāsi [1\*] (V) bota byāsi bota
- 3 samana bambhānāsa dā[ā]sā dā[ā]sa cha vādhānāsi dā[ā]sāsi hā[ā]sāsi pa[ā]vidhāsi cha\*  
jānapāda[ā]si jāna[ā]si dā[ā]sāsi dhamm-annāthi\*
- 4 dham[ma]-pāli[ā]si hā[ā]si-pā[ā]si [1\*] (VI) sa bā[ā]si-bā[ā]si bota Devānampiyasa Piya[da]st[ā] (no)  
hā[ā]si [1\*] (VII) hā[ā]si amā [1\*]

### TRANSLATION.

(I) In the ages gone by, (kings styled) 'Beloved of the Gods' used (only) to go out on tours of pleasure.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my *Mashī Inscription of Asoka*, p. 26. In the piece of 'Tree', the Bhabhāgati version has 'light', possibly meaning 'divine light'.

\* Chakravartī : tree.

\* Chakravartī : light.

\* Chakravartī : M.

\* Chakravartī : "There is a depression after dā which looks like ā on the impression ; but it is too high up."

\* There seems to be a letter between dā and jā.

\* Chakravartī : "There is no letter on the rock after dā."

\* There is a short line below dhamma-pāli showing the direction of this edict from the next (Rock Edict X).



(II) During such (tours), hunting and other pastimes of the kind used to be (enjoyed by them).

(III) Now, king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, visited **Sambodhi** ten years after his coronation.

(IV) Thence started these pilgrimages for Dharma.

(V) During these (pilgrimages), the following take place, (viz.) visiting the Śramanas and Brāhmanas and making gifts (to them), meeting the aged and making provision of money (for them), and contacting the people of the countryside, instructing (them) in Dharma and discussing (with them) the principles of Dharma, this being conducive to the (above, i.e. their) initiation into Dharma).

(VI) This is the supreme delight to king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods.

(VII) (All his) other (pleasures) are inferior (to this).<sup>1</sup>

### Rock Edict X

(at the bottom)

- 1 (I) **Devānampīyae Piyadasi** lāja yaso vā kiñ vā no mahattha vahañ<sup>2</sup> manati amata tadāthāre āyatiyā cū (ane dhamma a) (u)ssasā<sup>3</sup>
- 2 musasā me dhamma-yu(vat)asā cū anussahāyāñ [u] [1\*] (II) atākāye<sup>4</sup> **Devānampī(ye)** **Piyadasi** lāja yaso vā kiñ vā isāhātī<sup>5</sup> [1\*]
- 3 (III) [yann] cū kiñhi palakamati **Devānampīyae Piyadasi** lāja savañ tañ palatikkāye vā] kūtī sakale apa-pāṭheva [āyā]ti
- 4 [ti]<sup>6</sup> [1\*] (IV) eā cū palheva a ajane [1\*] (V) dukale [che<sup>7</sup> kho] oā khindakoma va vagenā<sup>8</sup> masena va amāsa[ti] agama palakamessā
- 5 savañ pahitūti [1\*] (VI) beta cū kho masen-eva dukale [1\*]

### TRANSLATION

(I) King **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, does not consider either glory (in this life) or fame (after death) as of great consequence, except (in regard to) the following, (viz.) that, at present as well as in future, the people (of his dominions) would practice obedience to Dharma (as instructed) by him<sup>9</sup> and also that they would act in accordance with the principles of Dharma.

(II) On this account (alone), king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, desires glory and fame.

(III) Whatever endeavours are made by king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, all these are made only for the sake of (the people's happiness in) the other world (and) in order that all men should have little pollution.

(IV) And what is sinful is pollution.

<sup>1</sup> For this interpretation, see *Select Inscriptions*, p. 28; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, p. 487.

<sup>2</sup> Chakravarti: "A little space is left after here which could not be inscribed owing to a depression in the rock."

<sup>3</sup> Chakravarti: "Before &c a little space is left, enough for one letter which could not be engraved." But the impressions do not indicate this.

<sup>4</sup> Chakravarti: *atākāye*.

<sup>5</sup> Chakravarti does not notice this letter.

<sup>6</sup> Chakravarti: *supena*.

<sup>7</sup> The original has *we*, i.e. 'by me', here.





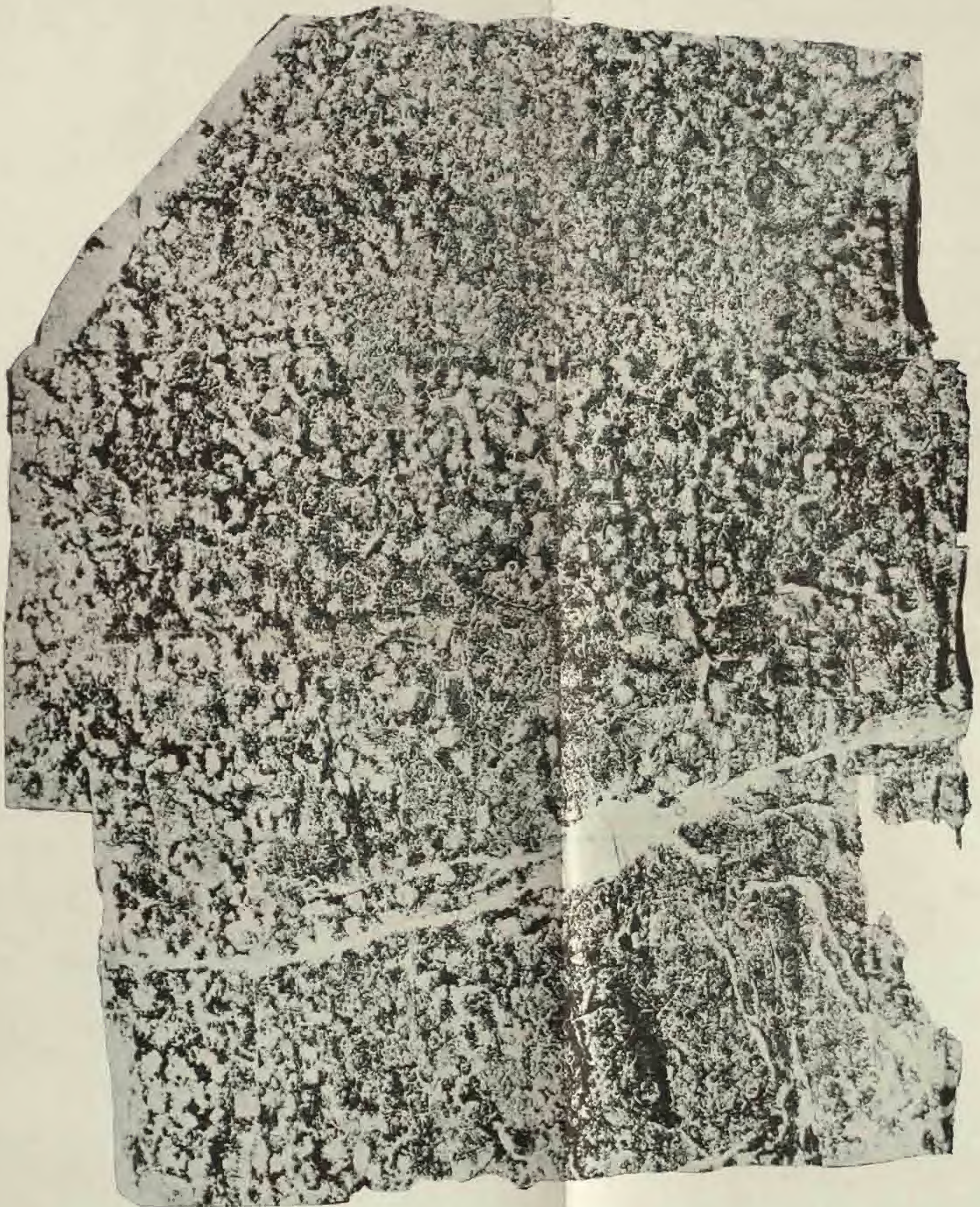






ERRAGUDI EDICTS OF ASOKA

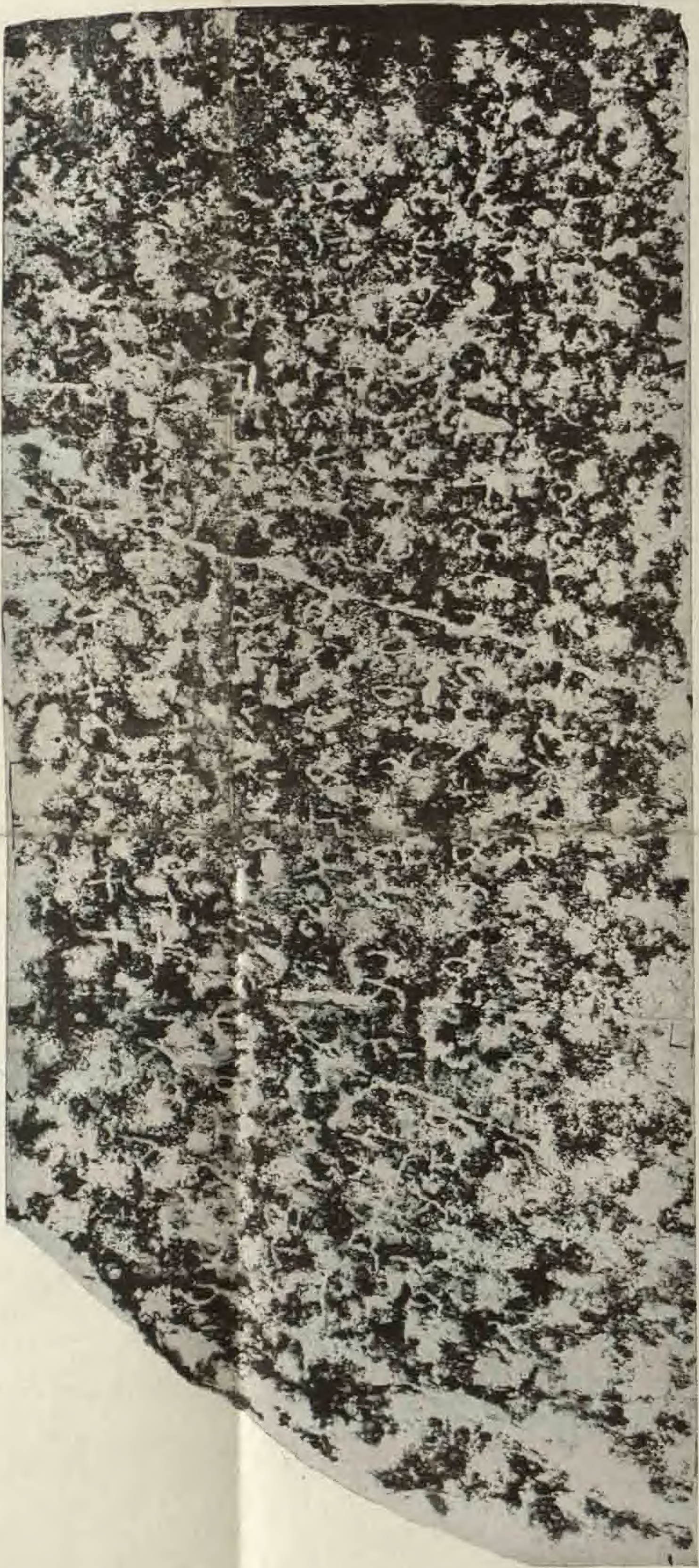
Rock Edict XIII [Boulder B-1 (i. e. left half of Boulder B)]



Scale : One-fifth



Rock Edict XIII (contd.) [Boulder C]



Scale : Three-eighths



27 [savata Devā]<sup>1</sup>nampiyasa dhamma-ānantaḥ anuvataṁti ||<sup>2</sup> (XIX) a[ta<sup>3</sup> p] dūtā Devā-  
na[m]piyasa no yaṁti

28 te pī sutu Dev[ā]nampiyasa dhamma-vataḥ vidhamu dhamma-ānantaḥ

29 dhammam anuvādit[ī]s[aditi]<sup>4</sup> anuvādit[ī]su[m]h[iti]<sup>5</sup> [c]h[ya] va ||<sup>6</sup> (XX) [se la]ha[ ] atā [kusa hoti]<sup>7</sup>

[Beauley C<sup>1</sup> : text lines 30-36]

30 as[va]ta vijayo savathit<sup>8</sup> pana-vijay[s]e p[ti]-lase se ||<sup>9</sup> (XXI) tadhā s[ā] p[ti] h[iti] dhamma-v[ī]j[ā]-

31 yaṁti ||<sup>10</sup> (XXII) labuk[ā] c[ha] k[ho] s[ā] p[ti] ||<sup>11</sup> (XXIII) palatikaṇṇa-eva mahā-phala[ ] m[ā]m[ā]ti  
Devānam-

32 piye ||<sup>12</sup> (XXIV) etāye c[ha] [a]h[ā]ye iyaṁ dhamma-lpā bh[ī]ṣitā kiṁ p[ati]-p[ati] [ma]

33 am nam<sup>13</sup> na[va]ṁ vijayati m[ā] vijayatiṁ m[ā]m[ā]ti s[ā]yakaṁ yeva vijaya[s]e ||<sup>14</sup>

34 [kha]ṁti c[ha] lāha-[dā]h[ā]ṁti c[ha] l[ā] c[ha]yā[m]tu t[ā]m[ā]s[ā] va [c]h[ā] vijayati m[ā]m[ā]ti \*  
dhāt[ī]

35 ma [vī]j[ā]s[ā]ye ||<sup>15</sup> (XXV) se lā<sup>16</sup> bh[ī]ṣitika p[ā]l[ā]ṁ [h]o[ ]s[ā]ye ||<sup>17</sup> (XXVI) [yā] va c[ha] k[ā] p[ti]-  
l[ā]ti hotu

36 [ā] dhamma-hoti ||<sup>18</sup> (XXVII) a[ ] h[ī] bh[ī]ṣitika-pāṭalokikā ||<sup>19</sup>

#### TRANSLATION

(I) *(The country of) the Kālīngas was conquered for king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, eight years after his coronation.*

(II) *(In this war in Kālīnga), men and animals numbering one hundred and fifty thousands were carried away (captives) from that (country), (as many as) one hundred thousands were killed there (in action), and many times that number perished.*

(III) *After that, now that (the country of) the Kālīngas has been conquered, the Beloved of the Gods is devoted to a zealous discussion of Dharma, to a longing for Dharma and to the inculcation of Dharma (among the people).*

(IV) *Now, this is (due to) the repentance of the Beloved of the Gods on having conquered (the country of) the Kālīngas.*

(V) *Verily, the slaughter, death and deportation of men, which take place there in the course of the conquest of an unconquered country, are now considered extremely painful and deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods.*

(VI) *But what is considered even more deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods is (the fact that) injury to or slaughter or deportation of the beloved ones falls to the lot of the Brāhmanas, the Śramanas, the adherents of other sects and the householders, who live in that country (and among whom are established such (virtues) as obedience to superior personages, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders and proper courtesy and firm devotion to friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives as well as to slaves and servants.*

<sup>1</sup> Chakravartī : "These five letters are faintly visible on the rock."

<sup>2</sup> Chakravartī : "The letter *ta* is snipped off."

<sup>3</sup> Read *vidhigam*.

<sup>4</sup> Chakravartī : "The sign for *sa* is not clear on the rock." He omits *ā-sa*.

<sup>5</sup> The last three letters are engraved on the other side of the rock.

<sup>6</sup> Read *amāhā*.

<sup>7</sup> Chakravartī : *asa*. He omits *sa*.

<sup>8</sup> Chakravartī : *ma vijā*.

<sup>9</sup> Chakravartī : "The letter *sa* is not clear on the rock."

<sup>10</sup> Chakravartī omits this.

<sup>11</sup> Chakravartī : *sa*.



(VII) And, if misfortune befalls the friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives of persons who are full of affection (*towards the former*), even though they are themselves well provided for, (*the said misfortune*) as well becomes an injury to their own selves.

(VIII) (*In war*), this fate is shared by all classes of men and is considered deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods.

(IX) Excepting the country of the **Yavanas**, there is no country where these two classes, (*i.e.*) the Brāhmanas and the Śramanas, do not exist.

(X) And there is no place in any country where men are not indeed (*sincerely*) devoted to one sect (*or other*).

(XI) Therefore, (*the slaughter, death or deportation*) of even a hundredth or thousandth part of all those people who were either slain or died or were carried away (*captive*) at that time by **Kaliṅga**, is now considered very deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods.

(XII) Now the Beloved of the Gods thinks that, even if (*a person*) should wrong him, the (*offence*) would be forgiven if it is possible to forgive it.

(XIII) And the forest-*[folk]* (*or the line*) in the dominions of the Beloved of the Gods, even then, he entreats and exhorts (*in regard to their duty*).

(XIV) (*It is hereby*) explained (*to them*) that, in spite of his repentance, the Beloved of the Gods possesses power (*enough to punish them for their crimes*), so that they should turn (*from evil ways*) and would not be killed (*for their crimes*).

(XV) Verily the Beloved of the Gods desires (*the following*) in respect of all creatures, (*viz.*) non-injury (*to them*), restraint (*in dealing with them*), impartiality (*in the cases of crimes committed by them, and*) mild behaviour (*towards them*).

(XVI) So, what is conquest through Dharma is now considered to be the best conquest by the Beloved of the Gods.

(XVII) And such a conquest has been achieved by the Beloved of the Gods not only here (*in his own dominions*) but also in the territories bordering (*on his dominions*), as far away as (*at the distance of*) six hundred Yojanas, (*where*) the **Yavana** king named **Antiyoka** (*is ruling and where*), beyond (*the kingdom of*) the said Antiyoka, four other kings named **Turamāya**, **Antikent**, **Makā** and **Alikasudara** (*are also ruling*), and towards the south, where the **Choḍas** and **Pāṇḍyas** (*are living*), as far as **Tāmraparṇi**.

(XVIII) Likewise here in the dominions of His Majesty, (*the Beloved of the Gods*), — in (*the countries of*) the **Yavanas** and **Kāmbojas**, of the **Nābhakas** and **Nābhapaṅktis**, of the **Bhojas** and **Paltryapikas** and of the **Andhras** and **Paulindas**,<sup>1</sup> everywhere (*people*) are conforming to the instructions in Dharma (*imparted*) by the Beloved of the Gods.

(XIX) Even where the envoys of the Beloved of the Gods have not penetrated, there too (*men*) have heard of the practices of Dharma and the ordinances (*issued and*) the instructions in Dharma (*imparted*) by the Beloved of the Gods, (*and*) are conforming to Dharma (*and*) will continue to conform to it.

(XX) So, (*whatever*) conquest is achieved in this way, verily that conquest (*creates an atmosphere of*) satisfaction everywhere (*both among the victors and the vanquished*).

(XXI) In the conquest through Dharma, satisfaction is derived (*by both the parties*).

(XXII) But that satisfaction is indeed of little consequence.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ind. Coll.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 399-400. For the change of *k* to *r* in this name in the Gāndhī version, cf. below p. 30.







## TRANSLATION

(I) King Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, honours men of all religious communities with gifts and with honours of various kinds, (*irrespective of whether they are ascetics or householders*).

(II) But the Beloved of the Gods does not value either the (*offering of*) gifts or the honouring (*of people*) so (*highly*) as the following, viz. that there should be a growth of the essentials (*of Dharma*) among (*men of*) all sects.

(III) And the growth of the essentials (*of Dharma*) is possible in many ways.

(IV) But its root (*lies*) in restraint in regard to speech, (*which means*) that there should be no extolment of one's own sect or disparagement of other sects on inappropriate occasions and that it should be moderate in every case even on appropriate occasions.

(V) On the contrary, other sects should be duly honoured in every way (*on all occasions*).

(VI) If (*a person*) acts in this way, (*he*) not only promotes his own sect but also benefits other sects.

(VII) But, if (*a person*) acts otherwise, (*he*) not only injures his own sect but also harms other sects.

(VIII) Truly, if (*a person*) extols his own sect and disparages other sects with a view to glorifying his own sect owing merely to his attachment to it, (*he*) injures his own sect very severely by acting in that way.

(IX) Therefore restrained speech<sup>1</sup> is commendable, because people should learn and respect (*the fundamentals of*) one another's Dharma.

(X) This indeed is the desire of the Beloved of the Gods that persons of all sects become well-informed (*about the doctrines of different religions*) and acquire pure knowledge.

(XI) And those who are attached to their respective (*sects*) should be informed as follows:

(XII) "The Beloved of the Gods does not value either the (*offering of*) gifts or the honouring (*of people*) so (*highly*) as the following, viz. that there should be a growth of the essentials (*of Dharma*) among (*men of*) all sects."

(XIII) Indeed many of my officers are engaged (*for the execution of*) the (*land*) end, (*such as*) the Mahāmātra in charge of (*the affairs relating to*) Dharma, the Mahāmātra who are superintendents (*of matters relating to*) the kitchen (*of the royal household*), the officers in charge of (*my cattle and*) pasture lands and other places (*of officials*).

(XIV) And the result (*of their activities, as ordered by me*) is the promotion of one's own sect and the glorification of Dharma.

## ROCK INSCRIPTION

[BIMBURA K.]

1. (I) Devānarpīy(e) Pīyada[ni] lāṅga Devādī s[hā] [i\*] (II) D[e]n a(ch-āyachān)\*

<sup>1</sup> The expression in the original is generally taken to stand for Sanskrit *anantaśloka* meaning 'connected'. It may, however, also suggest Pāṇini's alternative meaning 'uninterrupted speech' which is apparently intended by the word *anantaśloka* used in the Śākhāyāśāstra text. Cf. *Śākhāyāśāstra* by the Śākhāyāśāstra in Rock Edicts XIII line 8. See *PAC*, Hyderabad, 1941, p. 144; *Other Inscriptions*, p. 24, note 16.

<sup>2</sup> Chakravarti. "The three letters are clearly visible on the rock."



## ERRAGUDI EDICTS OF ASOKA

Rock Edict XII [Boulder D]

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4

6

8

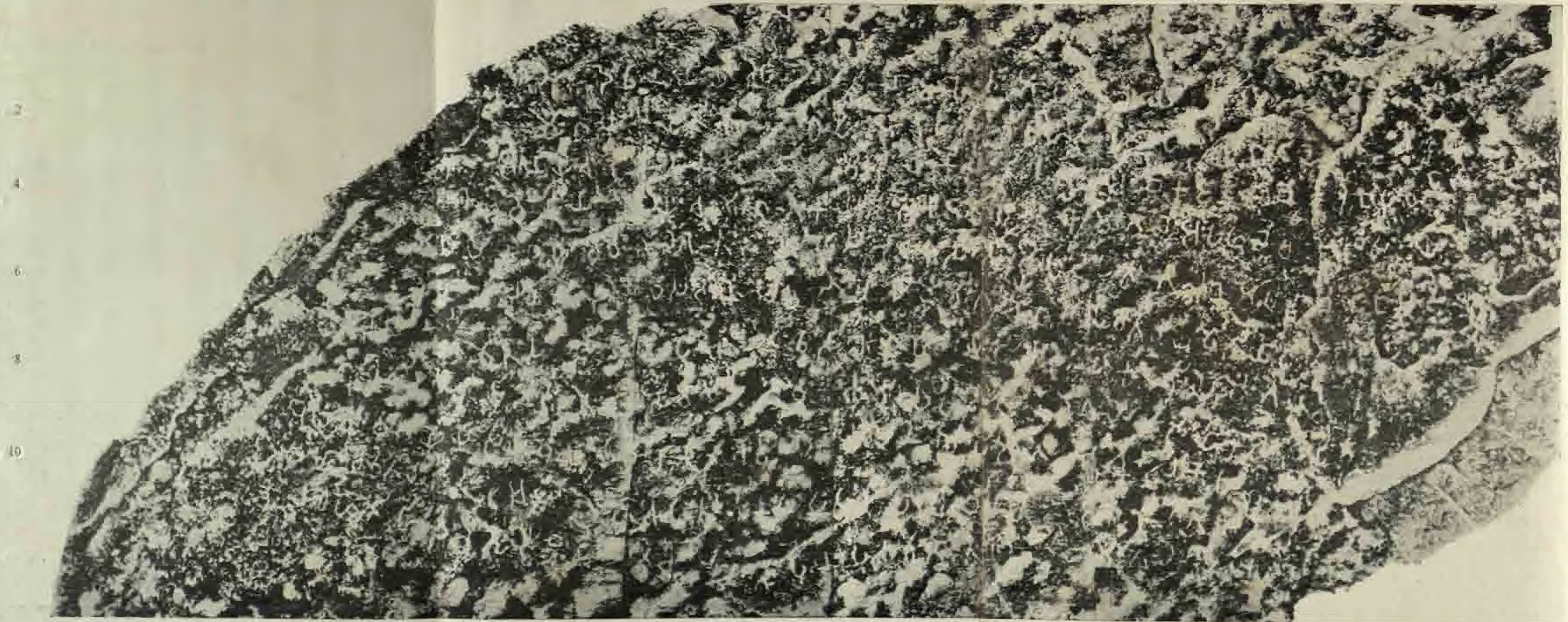
10

12

Scale : One-fourth



Rock Edict IX [Boulder E]



Scale : One-fourth



2. māṅgalam [ka]lāti [ābā]dha<sup>1</sup>si ā[va]ha[si] vāhaa[si] pa-upaḍāya<sup>2</sup> [i\*] (III) a[ā]ya  
 3. mīmāye cha hēd[is]iye jano ba[ha] māṅga[la]m [ka]lāti [i\*] (IV) [ka]tā[chi] a[ā]haka-ja<sup>3</sup>  
 (nikā) ka[ba] cha baḥu-vidha<sup>4</sup> cha  
 4. [kha]dā cha nā[thi]ya<sup>5</sup> cha māṅgalam ka[am]ti [i\*] (V) [se] kṛta[viya] ch<sup>6</sup>eva kh[o] māṅ-  
 gale [i\*] (VI) apa-phale chu kh[o] o[se] [i\*] (VII) iya<sup>7</sup> chu [khe]  
 5. maha-<sup>8</sup>[pha]le [o] dharmā-maṅgale [i\*] (VIII) het[ā] iya<sup>9</sup> [iā]sa-<sup>10</sup>[bha]ta[ka]si samyā-paṭipati  
 g[ā]ḥuṇe apa[ḥiti] pānānāni aya[mē]  
 6. [samānā]māḥa[ṇa]mā[ṇa] dāne<sup>11</sup> [i\*] (IX) a[ā]mūṇa cha [he]di[se] dharmā-maṅgale nā[ā]ta  
 [i\*] (X) a[ā]vataṇṇa pi[ā]jā[ā] pi pu[ā]ta<sup>12</sup>  
 7. [pi] bhāta[ke]na pi<sup>13</sup> mātā-samāhu[ṭṭa] pi āra-paṭi[va]p[ā]ya<sup>14</sup> pi [i\*] (XI) iya<sup>15</sup> a[ā]d[ā]na [i\*]  
 (XII) iya<sup>16</sup> kṛta[viya] māṅga[le] āva<sup>17</sup>  
 8. aḥaṇa n[ā]va[si]ya niva[si]ya<sup>18</sup> vā m[ā]na i[ṇ]ma<sup>19</sup> kaḥhaṇa<sup>20</sup> [i\*] (XIII) a [hi] itale māṅga[le] a[ā]d[ā]  
 aya[ke] a[ā] [i\*] (XIV) āyā [va<sup>21</sup> taq<sup>22</sup>]  
 9. aḥā nivaṭaya<sup>23</sup> a[ā]ya [se] na [i\*] (XV) [hi]da-lokik[ā] ch[ā]va [se] [i\*] (XVI) i[ṇ]ma mīna-  
 dhaṇ[ma] māṅga[le] a[ā] a[ā]līka [i\*] (XVII) haṇḍa[va] pi [taṇ]i<sup>24</sup>  
 10. aḥā na nivaṭaya<sup>25</sup> [hi]da aḥa [pa]la<sup>26</sup> a[ā]māṇa [pa]māṇa [pa]ṭavati [i\*] (XVIII)  
 [ka]tā[chi] mīna [taṇ] pi<sup>27</sup> a[ā]māṇa nivaṭa[ti] [hi]da [taṇ]i<sup>28</sup>  
 11. [aḥa] lāḥa hōti hīda cha a[ā] a[ā] [pa]la[si] cha [amā]taṇa pu<sup>29</sup>naḥ paṭavati tana [dha]m-  
 mā-maṅga[le] a[ā] [i\*]

## TRANSLATION

(I) Thus saith King **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods.

(II) People perform various (kinds of) auspicious ceremony on the occasions of illness, the weddings of sons, the weddings of daughters, (and) the birth of children.

<sup>1</sup> Chakravarti : " A little space is left between dā and si which could not be inscribed owing to a depression in the rock."

<sup>2</sup> Other versions have a word like *paṇḍa* after this.

<sup>3</sup> Chakravarti : " The letter cha is partly visible on the rock."

<sup>4</sup> Chakravarti : " The letter ja looks like jaa on the rock." He reads *jaṇḍa*.

<sup>5</sup> Chakravarti : " The engraver seems to have inscribed ya at first and then changed it into ā."

<sup>6</sup> Chakravarti : " The letter va is faintly visible on the rock."

<sup>7</sup> Chakravarti : " The letter ti is completely rubbed off." The following two letters also cannot be traced on the inscription.

<sup>8</sup> Chakravarti : " The passage bhātaṇa pi is written between lines 4 and 5 about their beginning." The passage *vaṭavati pi* has been omitted in this version.

<sup>9</sup> Chakravarti reads [pa]lā[ā]d[ā]ya and says that the last two letters look like *la* on the rock.

<sup>10</sup> Chakravarti : " The word *ha* which occurs in other versions after this is not visible on the rock. It may have been *chipped* off."

<sup>11</sup> Chakravarti : " There is a little space between ā and si, which is left uninscribed owing to the roughness of the stone." He reads *si*.

<sup>12</sup> Chakravarti : *kaḥhaṇa*.

<sup>13</sup> Chakravarti : " The letter va is only partly visible on the rock."

<sup>14</sup> Chakravarti : " The letter taṇ is not visible on the rock."

<sup>15</sup> Chakravarti : " The letter *va* is only partly visible on the rock."

<sup>16</sup> Chakravarti : " The letter *ti* is completely rubbed off."

<sup>17</sup> Chakravarti reads *pi*.

<sup>18</sup> Chakravarti : " This is not found on the rock and is probably *chipped* off."

<sup>19</sup> Chakravarti : " The sign for *ā* after *pa* is not visible on the rock." He reads *āḥa* and *paḥa*.



(III) On these and similar other occasions, people perform many (kinds of) auspicious ceremony.

(IV) And on such (occasions), the womenfolk (in particular) perform many and diverse (kinds of) ceremony which is trivial and unmeaningless.

(V) An auspicious rite, however, should certainly be performed.

(VI) But the said (kind of rite) in fact produces meagre results.

(VII) (On the other hand) such a ceremony as is associated with Dharma produces great results.

(VIII) In it are comprised the following, (viz.) proper conduct to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, restraint in (one's dealings with) living beings, (and) liberality to the Śaṁbhāgā and Bhṛāṅgā.

(IX) These and similar other (virtues) are indeed the essence of Dharma.

(X) Therefore, whether (one is a person's) father, or son, or brother, or friend or acquaintance, or (even) a (mere) neighbour, one ought to declare (to him as follows):

(XI) This (kind of rite associated with Dharma) is good.

(XII) "One should observe this practice until one's (desired) object is attained and (under that) the (practice) will be observed by him<sup>1</sup> again (and more) even after the object is obtained."

(XIII) The auspicious ceremony (of kind) other than this is indeed of dubious (value).

(XIV) Presumably a person may attain his object (by performing these ceremonies), provided he may not.

(XV) Moreover, (performance of these ceremonies) may produce results in this world only.

(XVI) But the (said) rite of Dharma is not restricted to time.

(XVII) If (a person) performs it but does not attain his object in this world, even then endless merit (for him) is produced (by it) in the next world.

(XVIII) And, if (a person) attains his object in this world, both the results are obtained (by him, viz.), that the (desired) object (is attained) in this world as also endless merit is produced (for him) in the next world by that ceremony of Dharma.

<sup>1</sup> The original has 'by me'.



## No. 2—SOPARA FRAGMENT OF ROCK EDICT IX OF ASOKA

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, GOYALAMUND

In 1882 Bhagvanlal Indraji discovered a broken slab of basalt bearing parts of some lines of Rock Edict VIII of **Asoka**<sup>1</sup> (roughly one-third of the edict) in a place near the Bhātālā pond to the east of the town of Sopārā (ancient Śārpārīka in Aparānta) in the Bassin Taluk of the Thana District, Bombay State.<sup>2</sup> The discovery suggested that a complete set of the fourteen Rock Edicts of Asoka must have originally existed near Sopārā. This possibility has received further support from the recent discovery of another broken slab of basalt containing parts (a little above half) of Rock Edict IX of the series in the same neighbourhood. On the 1st of January 1936, Mr. N. A. Gore, Librarian of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, discovered this fragment in the village of **Bhūigaon near Sopārā**. Both the fragments are now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. When I visited the Museum in January 1937, the authorities were kind enough to allow me to examine and copy the inscription.

The inscribed surface of the slab is oval in shape. Its length is about 26 inches and height about 22 inches. It contains eleven lines of writing. The number of letters in the lines is as follows : 1—13, 2—14, 3—20, 4—20, 5—21, 6—20, 7—19, 8—19, 9—18, 10—17 and 11—17. Each letter is about 1½ inches in height. The preservation of the writing is on the whole satisfactory, although a few letters are damaged here and there in most of the lines. In several cases, flaws in the stone look almost like vowel-marks attached to particular consonants. Since there are what may be regarded as traces of two or three letters of a twelfth line beneath the concluding part of line 11, the preservation of all the letters in the other lines may be taken to suggest that only the lower part of the inscribed face of the slab has broken away. But we have to take into account the oval shape of the slab as well as the facts that none of the letters are lost at the beginning and end of any of the lines and that the lines about the middle contain more letters than those in the upper and lower parts of the inscribed face which is elliptical in size. These seem to suggest that the few marks beneath line 11 may not actually be traces of a lost line and that the face of the slab contains the whole of the original writing of the inscription which was continued on another slab. In any case, at Sopārā, the Rock Edicts were apparently engraved in groups on separate slabs just as at Erragudi.

As expected, the **characters** of the inscription are Brāhmi and its **language** is Prakrit. The letter *r* is of the cork-screw type while *y* is of both of the Indian plough and tripartite types (cf. *Devā anupiya Pipadasi* in line 1 and *amāye chu edāye* in line 4). *Dā* has its back to the right of the vertical. The **text** does not strictly follow the draft of any of the published versions of the edict. Thus *paṇḍapādāye* (line 3 ; instead of *paṇḍapādāye* or *paṇḍapādāye*) connects it with Dhauli, Jaugarā, Mānsihirā and Erragudi ; *amāye* (line 4 ; instead of *amāsi* or *amāye*) with the Dhauli, Jaugarā and Kāsi texts (although, for *amā* in line 10, Mānsihirā has also *amā* instead of *amā*) ; *piṇḍā* (line 11 ; instead of *piṇḍā* or *piṇḍā*) with the same versions ; *amāka-jamāka*, literally 'mothers and wives' (line 5 ; instead of *amāka-jamāka*, literally 'mothers and wives' or 'women') with the Erragudi, Kāsi and Mānsihirā texts ; and *amāka-jamāka* (lines 9-10 ; instead of *amāka-jamāka* or *amāka-jamāka*) with the Girār text which, however, retains *a* of the

<sup>1</sup> Marston over *r* and *r* has not been used in the article.

<sup>2</sup> See *JBRAS*, Vol. XV, p. 382 ; *Hutchins. Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. xv, 118 and Plate.



Sanskrit spelling of the words. The use of *n* for *ṣ* in *śaṣṭhena-saṣṭana* (Sanskrit *ṣaṣṭhama-ṣaṣṭama*) also connects our record with the Kālā, Dhauli, Jauguda and Erraguḍi texts. But there are some peculiarities of the orthography of the present text of the edict, which are not noticed in any other versions. In retaining *r* of Sanskrit without changing it to *l*, our text shows affinity with the Gīrnār, Mānsehrā and Shāhbāzgarhī versions as against the Dhauli, Erraguḍi, Jauguda and Kālā texts. But the present text exhibits the interesting feature of changing *l* of Sanskrit to *r* not generally noticed in any other version of the edict. Indeed this characteristic is found only in a few cases in the Gīrnār, Mānsehrā and Shāhbāzgarhī versions of the fourteen Rock Edicts (cf. the root *śrabh* for Sanskrit *ślabh* in Rock Edict I). The Sanskrit words *maṅgaḥ* and *phala* have been modified to *maṅgarā* (six times in lines 2, 4, 5, 6-7, 8 and 10-11) and *phara* (twice in line 7). The word *samyā* in *samyā-patipati* (Sanskrit *samyak-patipati*) in lines 8-9 is spelt in the other versions as *samya*, *samyā* or *samima*. The modification of *k* into *g* in *śāsthiyān* (line 6) is noticed in several other texts of the edict; but the elision of *y* in *r* (Sanskrit *ya*) in line 7 is noticed at Dhauli and Erraguḍi while the other texts (except Jauguda which is damaged in this part) have *ye*, although the same consonant in Sanskrit *yāt* is elided in all the versions except Shāhbāzgarhī which retains it in one out of two cases.<sup>1</sup> The introduction of *h* in *hata* (Sanskrit *ata*; cf. *ata* in line 6) in line 8 is noticed in the Kālā and Erraguḍi texts. But *edies* (Sanskrit *etādrīṣaḥ*) in line 10 is found as *hadies* in the Kālā, *edies* in the Mānsehrā and *etādrīṣaḥ* in the Gīrnār version. In *dāsa-bhāṭakasi* (Sanskrit *dāsa-bhṛitake*) our text differs from the Gīrnār version which has *dāsa-bhātakamhi*.

## TEXT\*

- 1 (I) D[*o*]vā[na]m̐piyo Piyadasi r[ā]j[ā] havati
- 2 āha [i]\* (II) jase uch-āvucham maṅgarat̐ ka[ro]ti
- 3 [ā]b[ā]dhasi [ā]vāha<sup>2</sup> riyāham paj-āpudāye pav[ā]sa-
- 4 ni [i]\* (III) atāye atināye chū edisāye jase bahū maram<sup>3</sup> ka[ro]-
- 5 ti [i]\* (IV) [a]ta chū amhaka-janiko bahū cha ba[hā]-vidham cha khudam cha
- 6 n[ā]m[ā]kiya[ti] chū maṅgarat̐ ka[ro]ti [i]\* (V) se ka[ra]viye ch-eva khō maṁ-
- 7 gare [i]\* (VI) apa-phare chū khe as[o]\* [i]\* (VII) i[ya]ti chū khō maha-phare r dham-
- 8 ma-maṅgarat̐ [i]\* (VIII) hata riyat̐ dāsa-[hā]takasi samiya-pati-
- 9 pat[ti] gurum[o] apuchiti pānānam sayā[me] barābhama-
- 10 sama[nā]nat̐ dāne<sup>4</sup> [i]\* (IX) esi adino<sup>5</sup> cha edise dhamma-ma[m̐]-
- 11 [gare] nāma [i]\* (X) [se] vatavi<sup>6</sup>[y]e pitinā pī putena pī<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Gīrnār once in line 8 (Bühnisch, op. cit., p. 16), Kālā twice in lines 25-26 (ibid., p. 37), Shāhbāzgarhī in one of the two cases in line 19 (ibid., p. 60), Mānsehrā twice in line 6 (ibid., p. 78) and Dhauli once in line 5 (ibid., p. 90). This part of Jauguda is damaged. But Kālā exhibits the elision of *y* in *r* elsewhere in the edict, e.g., in line 26 (ibid., p. 37).

\* From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> What looks like an *a-satva* of *n* seems to be due to a flaw in the stone.

<sup>3</sup> What looks like an *a-satva* of *h* appears to be due to a flaw in the stone.

<sup>4</sup> Read *manamasa*.

<sup>5</sup> The intended reading seems to be *asa*.

<sup>6</sup> What looks like an *a-satva* of *y* appears to be due to a flaw in the stone.

<sup>7</sup> What looks like an *a-satva* after *dā* seems to be due to a flaw in the stone.

<sup>8</sup> The intended reading is possibly *akasa*. Cf. note 6 above. But it may be *akasa kasa*.

<sup>9</sup> What looks like an *a-satva* of *i* seems to be due to a flaw in the stone.

<sup>10</sup> A comparison with the text of the edict in the other versions (e.g., Erraguḍi, above, pp. 26-27) will show that the extant part of the record contains a little more than a half of the edict. The lost part contains a few letters less than the number of letters in the extant portion.



SOPARA FRAGMENT OF ROCK EDICT IX OF ASOKA



Scale : Three-seventh







### No. 3—KALEGAON PLATES OF YADAVA MAHADEV

(2 Plates)

D. G. KOPARKAR, AHMEDNAGAR

**Kalēgaon** where the grant was discovered is situated on the southern bank of the Gōdāvari about sixteen miles east of Nēvāsk in the Ahmednagar District, Bombay State. The following account of Kalēgaon is found in the Gautami-māhātmya section of the *Brāhma Purāṇa*. Saramā, the divine bitch, had two pups whom Yama fondled. She used to guard the sacrificial cows of the gods. The demons once enticed her with sweet words and bribes and stole away the cattle of the goda Bṛhaspati came to know Saramā's disloyal behaviour and informed Indra about it. The latter in anger kicked her and she vomited milk, a direct evidence of her faithlessness. Indra cursed her to go to the mortal earth. The two pups of Saramā approached Yama, their master, for help and he sought the advice of his father, the Sun, in the matter of getting the curses lifted. The Sun directed him to go to the Daṇḍaka forest, bathe in the Gautami (Gōdāvari) and worship Brahman, Viṣṇu, Śūrya and Śiva. Yama with the dogs did as directed and Saramā recovered from the effect of the curse. The place where Yama performed penance is called Yamatīrtha and Śiva is said to be present there under the name Yamāvara. It is believed to be a holy place having power to relieve men of all sins committed by themselves and their forefathers.<sup>1</sup> Yamāvara is now known as Kālāvara. The village seems to have been originally called Kalagrāma, then Kālāgrāma and lastly Kalēgaon.

Kalēgaon was granted as an Inām to Rāvajī Mahādēva Vyās by the Peshwā Bāljī Bājirāva in 1756 A.D. In recognition of his integrity in submitting true accounts of the possessions of even those who lost their lives in the struggle, Rāvajī received a big prize. Out of it, he built the holy Kōṭāvara at Tryambakēśvara. Kalēgaon continued as a hereditary Inām till August 1955 with 181.6 acres of unarable and 2854.17 of arable land and a total assessment of Rs. 3,004.

Among the old sites in the village are the Wāḍā of the Jahagīrār, the Kālāvara temple (said to have been built by Śrī Pānse, a former Jahagīrār of Tuljāpur), the dilapidated Gadhī of the Pānse and a bastion and an extensive plinth of a building built after the Hāmāḍpanta style. This last site is locally known as *maḥā*, from Sanskrit *maḥa*, 'monastery, school'. Between the remains of the Gadhī on the one hand and the bastion on the other goes the trodden path which at this point is inclined. Heavy monsoon showers washed away the earth on the path and there was exposed to view, on the 22nd September 1960, a nicely chiselled slab of stone. The villagers dug out the slab and were surprised to hear a metallic sound from its interior when it was turned upside down. On examination they found that the huge slab consisted of two pieces firmly joined together to form something like a safe. It was opened in the presence of the *Patel* and three massive copper plates, strung on a stout copper ring bearing seal, were discovered inside the stone covers.<sup>2</sup> The upper stone measures 9' 10" × 1' 5.5" × 7" and has a hollow (4.5" in depth) carved in it, while the lower measures 2' × 1' 4.5" × 7" with a similar hollow 1.5" deep. The plates measure 1' 3" × 11" × .23" each and the three of them weigh 4½ and 4½ seers respectively. They are made thicker

<sup>1</sup> Even now the villagers point out one deep pool in the river-bed known as *Kāḍā ḍhka* or *Kāḍā ḍhka* where Kālā or Yama is believed to have bathed.

<sup>2</sup> *Brāhma Purāṇa*, Śrāmadharmā ed., 131, 50-51.

<sup>3</sup> An official report on this discovery was made by the village *Patel* to the Mamlatdar of Nēvāsk and the finds were first taken to Nēvāsk and then transferred to the Collector's Office. [The plates are now in the office of the Director of Archives, Government of Bombay.—Ed.]







ma's imperial status was challenged by Vira-Ballala and it appears that his son, Jaitugi, who led the army, was completely defeated at Lakkundi near Gadag. Bhallama also lost his life in this battle.<sup>1</sup> Verses 12-13 state how he was followed on the throne by Jaitugi (or Jaitrapāla, 1191-1210 A.D.) who killed the king of Trikalīnga (i.e. Kākatiya Rudra) and, instead of annexing that territory, liberated from prison Gopapati who was the nephew of Rudradēva and nominated him king.<sup>2</sup> According to verses 14-20, his son was Śiṅghadēva (i.e. Śiṅgha II, 1210-47 A.D.) who defeated king Hammira.<sup>3</sup> He was a redoubtable warrior, a royal sage, a benevolent and just administrator and a patron of poets and learned men.

According to the *Kirtivamsa* of Śaṃśvara, Śiṅgha II invaded Gujarāt at least twice; but he lost his commander Rāma, son of Khōldeva, and made peace with the Vāghēla kings representing a branch of the Chauhānyas of Apahillapattana. Verse 21 introduces his son Jaitugi (i.e. Jaitugi II) 'whose feet were kissed by the crest-jewels of all the kings in the three worlds and who was irresistible like the sun rising with all its lustre'.

According to verse 22, Jaitugi's son was Śrīrāṅgāditya Kṛishṇadēva (also called Kauhara, 1247-60 A.D.) who made a river of the blood of the Gūjara heroes flow. Verses 23-30 speak of his younger brother and successor, Mahādēva (1261-71 A.D.), who enjoyed the *binaka*; *Rāṅgāditya*,<sup>4</sup> *Rāṅghajubalabhīma*,<sup>5</sup> *Rāṅgapūṣṭaka*,<sup>6</sup> *Rāṅgajagaddaka*, etc. He launched such an onslaught on Visala (i.e. Viśala or Viśāladēva, the Vāghēla king of Gujarāt) that the latter lost all his wealth and fame of valour (as also his life!) on the battle-field. This Viśaladēva (1235-60 A.D.) was the son of Virādihavala and grandson of Lavagaprasāda. He had formerly offered strong resistance to Śiṅgha II and was defeated by Kṛishṇa. Mahādēva seems to have helped his brother in the struggle and was held responsible for the defeat (and death!) of Visala. The reference is made here in connection with Mahādēva's assumption of purple robes. It appears that when the elder brother was the king, the younger acted as his general.<sup>7</sup> We are told that Mahādēva led a successful encounter on the sea against the Śilāhāras of the Konkan in 1260 A.D. Such victories in 1260 A.D. attributed to Mahādēva have led some historians<sup>8</sup> to believe that he became king some time before 1260 A.D. The present grant, however, proves that he ascended the throne in 1261 A.D. and that Kṛishṇa must have breathed his last some time the same year.

The prose portion after verse 30 mentions the date of the grant which is the expired Saka year 1182,<sup>9</sup> Durmati (current), Monday, the second day of the bright half of Bhādrapada. This corresponds to the 29th August 1261 A.D. The grant clearly states that it was made on the occasion of Mahādēva's coronation and with the belief that it would lead to the prosperity and expansion of his kingdom. We come to know this date for the first time from this grant.

<sup>1</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Indian Empire*, Vol. II, p. 339.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 316. According to an inscription (above, Vol. III, p. 113) of 1222 A.D., from Bahā in Khandesh, Gopapati was the king of Anhradēva, while the Tāngam plates (Khare, *Sourec, Med. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 6-16; cf. above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 398 ff.) of Yādava-Kṛishṇa says that Jaitugi defeated the Andhra king.

<sup>3</sup> The Sanskrit drama entitled *Hammiravandamardana*, written between 1210 and 1299 A.D., depicts him as a Mīshaka defeated by Virādihavala Vāghēla of Gujarāt. (For the initial year of Śiṅgha, see above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 317.—Ed.)

<sup>4</sup> R. C. Bhattacharya, *E. Hist. Rev.*, p. 167.

<sup>5</sup> These two titles along with *Śrīrāṅgāditya* were adopted by Śiṅgha II according to Talaga's inscription in the Ambābāi temple, Kolhapur (*Quart. Rev. It. Soc. Mond.*, Vol. XV, p. 17).

<sup>6</sup> The Śilāhāra king Mahāsejuna (1160-66 A.D.) also assumed the title *Rāṅgapūṣṭaka*. Vide *Har-Har Jāṇakī*, etc.

<sup>7</sup> [As Mr. S. Sankaranarayana points out to me, Amalgaon's *Vāṭṭaśāstṛa* (Introduction, verse 13; Conclusion, verse 7) refers to the joint rule of Kṛishṇa and Mahādēva. D. E. No. 185 of 1233-34, dated Saka 1177, Rābhama, ..... on 15, Monday (June 21 or November 16, 1253 A.D.) also refers to *Kṛishṇaditya Mahādēva-rājaputras*. Mahādēva was ruling as *Yasovijaya* jointly with Kṛishṇa till the latter's death.—Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> Vide *Vijayapuri Andhra Gharika* (Marathi), p. 358.

<sup>9</sup> [The year was really Saka 1183 expired cf. Kolthorn's *List*, No. 262.—Ed.]



Works on astrology dealing with the auspicious moments for particular functions give a number of details regarding the *nakṣatras* of coronation. Tuesday<sup>1</sup> and Wednesday<sup>2</sup> are to be avoided; Sunday, Monday and Friday are all right if they are *śubha*; <sup>3</sup> Uttarāyana is to be preferred but Chaitra, Āshāḍha and an intercalary month are to be excluded,<sup>4</sup> as also Śrāvana and Bhādrapada.<sup>5</sup> The *rikta-rūhis* 4, 9, 14 and 30 and the night are similarly to be avoided.<sup>6</sup> It is generally believed that the first day of a month is not favourable for any auspicious undertaking. The period when the sun is in the Vriśchika, Tula or Kanya *rāsi* is recommended for coronation.<sup>7</sup> We find from Pillai's *Indian Epigraphy* that the sun was in the Kanya *rāsi* on the 29th August 1361 A.D. and the intercalary Bhādrapada was over two days earlier. Most of these general rules are found observed in the selection of the date recorded. The only question is about Dakṣiṇāyana and Bhādrapada, during which the coronation should not take place according to the astrologers. The explanation of this question is to be found in the following remark of the author of the *Mahārāṣṭrakāśā*: *write rājā on śālaśya nigamā-sta valhigate*. In the case of a sudden death of the reigning king, the kingdom should not remain without a lord for a long time.<sup>8</sup> It may be supposed that such an emergency arose and hence the coronation took place during the Dakṣiṇāyana and Bhādrapada, though normally they are to be avoided.

The charter records the grant of the village of Kāṇḡanva in favour of fifty-two Brāhmanas on the occasion of the king's coronation. The name of the gift village was changed to Pattavardhana-pura apparently with reference to the occasion of the grant. The fifty-two donors of the grant belonged to twenty-two different *gōtras*. Thirty of them claim to be Bahvricha or Bṛghodīn, twenty-one Taittiriya or Yajurvedīn and only one Chāṇḍoga or Sāmavedīn. The details are furnished in the following table.

Gōtra	Sākṣā	Number of Donors
1. Ārōḡya . . . . .	Bahvricha . . . . .	1
2. Kapi . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
3. Kāṭyapa . . . . .	Do. . . . .	2
4. Do. . . . .	Taittiriya . . . . .	2
5. Do. . . . .	Chāṇḍoga . . . . .	1
6. Kaṇḡḡiya . . . . .	Bahvricha . . . . .	3
7. Do. . . . .	Taittiriya . . . . .	2
8. Kāṇḡika . . . . .	Bahvricha . . . . .	2
9. Gāṇḡya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1

<sup>1</sup> *Mahārāṣṭrakāśā*, Nirpayaśāstra Press, 1907, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vanshidā quoted in the commentary on the *Mahārāṣṭrakāśā*, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> *Uttarāyana*, Vāṇakāśāstra Press, 1885, p. 139.

<sup>4</sup> *Mahārāṣṭrakāśā*, Vāṇakāśāstra Press, 1917, p. 45.

<sup>5</sup> *Uttarāyana*, Vāṇakāśāstra Press, loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup> *Mahārāṣṭrakāśā*, loc. cit.

<sup>7</sup> *Uttarāyana*, Vāṇakāśāstra Press, loc. cit.

<sup>8</sup> The commentary on the *Mahārāṣṭrakāśā* also holds this view.



Gōtra	Śikha	Number of Donors
10. Gautama . . . . .	Bahvricha . . . . .	1
11. Jāmadagnya-Vatsa . . . . .	Do. . . . .	3
12. Do. . . . .	Taittirīya . . . . .	1
13. Dēvarāta . . . . .	Do. . . . .	2
14. Parāśara . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
15. Bādarāyana . . . . .	Bahvricha . . . . .	1
16. Bhāradvāja . . . . .	Do. . . . .	3
17. Do. . . . .	Taittirīya . . . . .	4
18. Bhārgava . . . . .	Bahvricha . . . . .	1
19. Mitravya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
20. Nandika . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
21. Lohita . . . . .	Taittirīya . . . . .	4
22. Vaisa . . . . .	Bahvricha . . . . .	1
23. Do. . . . .	Taittirīya . . . . .	1
24. Vaidhita . . . . .	Bahvricha . . . . .	3
25. Do. . . . .	Taittirīya . . . . .	1
26. Vāhryasena . . . . .	Do. . . . .	2
27. Vāśāntra-Āghamaśakana-Kaśika . . . . .	Bahvricha . . . . .	2
28. Śaṅḍilya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	2
29. Do. . . . .	Taittirīya . . . . .	1
30. Hārta . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1

The usual convention was that the grants of older kings should be continued by later rulers even though they may have belonged to a different royal house. It is therefore interesting to note that the village granted to fifty-two Brāhmanas in 1261 A.D. was again given as an Īḥm to the Vyāsas by a Peshwā. It seems that, for some reason or other, Kālegaon was deserted by the descendants of the donees of this grant.

Among the privileges enjoyed by the donees of the grant, the expression *śakha-bhāga* normally stands for the following eight kinds of enjoyment fixed by usage (*grāma mārgādā*): *śikhā* (treasure trove); *śikhaḥ* (also called *spandhā*, deposits on the soil); *jala* (water reservoirs); *śākhā* (stones, mines and quarries); *akāśa* (actual privileges); *āgāma* (future profits); *śiddha* or *śiddhā* (what is already brought under cultivation); *śiddhya* (waste land that may in future be



turned into a cultivable land).<sup>1</sup> In our grant, however, eleven types of enjoyments are named and besides some more are implied by the expression *uy-ān*, and still they are called *ashṭa-bhāga*. This means that all possible privileges or conditions with reference to the gift-village were transferred to the donees. The donees of the *brahmadāya* grants used to receive all the taxes payable by the inhabitants to the king, but themselves had to pay nothing.<sup>2</sup>

Of the above list, the first four *bhāgas* occur in our grant. Among the other privileges, *añḍa* is the same as *bhūi-āpāta-pratyāya*, a tax on what has been produced or manufactured (*bhūra*) and what has been imported (*apāta*), i.e. some general excise and octroi duties.<sup>3</sup> The terms *vil-ādāya*, *ānita*, *vāta-pratyāya* and *akura-pāt-ānita* occur in inscriptions; but in all these *apāta* seems to have been Prakritised as *ānita* or *vāta*. *Daṇḍa* is *dayādāya*, i.e. the right to receive the fines imposed upon the delinquents.<sup>4</sup> *Dāna* seems to be some kind of customs duty; cf. (Gujarātī *dāpachārī* (smuggling) and the Marāṭhī surname *Dānī*. The latter is explained in the *Mahārāshṭra Śabdakōśa* as 'the officer collecting the tax on corn', 'the officer to store the corn collected as tax from the farmers'.<sup>5</sup> *Kāraka* is some tax on the artisans and craftsmen.<sup>6</sup> *Mandāna* means traditional or customary tax.<sup>7</sup> Dr. Altekar explains *mandita-achāras*, 'perquisites of hereditary officers', as the receipts of the headman who enjoyed the taxes in kind and used to receive a share of most of the articles produced or sold in their villages.<sup>8</sup> Alternatively, we may connect *mandāna* with Marāṭhī *mañḍī* 'the burden of grass or fuel that a man can carry on his head'. In that case, the term may indicate some octroi duty in kind over the imported goods. *Sātānā*<sup>9</sup> is a fiscal term of uncertain import. MM. D. V. Potdar suggested to me that it might be a Sanskritisation of *litān* or *lītān* from Sanskrit *lītānā*. According to the *Mahārāshṭra Śabdakōśa*, *lītānā*, *lītānī* or *lītānī* means the tax in kind (a maund per highā) to be collected from the cultivator by the person (called *lītānār*) taking possession of Government land on contract for a fixed period. *Tijā*, also written *tijās*,<sup>10</sup> is a puzzle. In several inscriptions,<sup>11</sup> *dān-zvānya* is mentioned over and above the *ashṭa-bhāga*.

The boundaries of the gift-village are carefully noted in the grant: Gaṅgā (Gādhavādi) in the north; Nāgaṇṭh and Khāmabhagaṇṭh in the west; Nimbamṭh in the east; and Rāñjagaṇṭh and Dahigaṇṭh in the south. The modern equivalents of these names are: Lambāri or Nimbāri (two miles to the east of Kālgaon), Dahigaon and Rāñjari (four miles to the south), Khāmgaon (three miles to the west). Nāgaṇṭh is a difficulty. About four miles to the west of Kālgaon there is an old village named Varakhēḍ which was formerly a centre of Brāhmanic learning and where even at this day live certain Brāhmana families belonging to the Rīgveda and the Yajūrtīkṣa, Vālvāmītra and Jāmubhagya *gṛhas*. In the list of the donees of this grant we do find Rīgvedīns with these *gṛhas* and this fact may be regarded as supporting the identification of Varakhēḍ with

<sup>1</sup> See the Sāpur grant (1289 A.D.) of Harichand II, verses 26-27. Cf. above, Vol. III, p. 123; also p. 243 (verse 471).

<sup>2</sup> A. K. Altekar, *The Śāstapadśāra and their Times*, p. 327.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325. In the expression *sa-bhāga-dāna-dān-āpāta-dāna*, *dāna* is wrongly translated as 'the measurement, i.e. measuring rod' by R. G. Bhandarkar. Cf. *Collected Works*, Vol. III, p. 285.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *sa-bhāga-dāna-dāna*, 'assessment of revenue in the form of gold coins or corn' (Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 325).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *śāstapadśāra-dāna* (M. G. Dhakṣi, *Select Inscriptions of Mahārāshṭra*, p. 90).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the Marāṭhī surnames *Māḍā*, *Māḍā* (literally, 'first', 'original') and Marāṭhī *mañḍī* (i.e. *māḍī*, *mañḍī*), 'usultion', 'way of life', as in *Mañḍī-māḍā*. The term *mañḍī* (or 'mañḍī') occurring in an inscription (*Nikhilakṣaṇa*, Vol. II, p. 324) is phonetically related to *mañḍī*.

<sup>8</sup> *The Śāstapadśāra and their Times*, p. 194.

<sup>9</sup> [The word may be the same as *śāstā* mentioned in the Chāndani plates of the time of Kṛṣṇa III. Cf. below, p. 51 -Ed.]

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 144, above, Vol. XIII, p. 34.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. H. Khare, *Some Med. Ins. (Marāṭhī)*, Vol. III, pp. 63, 90, 99.



Nāgaum. Varakhēḍ is famous for its old shrine of Nāgāstara. Its older name therefore may have been Nāgaśrōma modified later to Nāyagāma and lastly to Nāgaum. This suggestion is borne out by the evidence of the *Brahma Purāṇa*\* wherein the following story is told about the name of the place. King Śūrasēna of the lunar dynasty ruling at Pratiakṣhāna had no issue. After a time his queen gave birth to a snake named Nāgēśvara who was really a son of Śeṣha and had been cursed by Śiva. He studied the Vedas and Śāstras and was later married to Bhāgavati, the daughter of king Vijaya ruling in the east. Bhāgavati and Nāgēśvara bathed in the Gōḍāvari and devoutly worshipped Śiva. The place where they worshipped came to be known as Nāga-tīrtha and the *līnga* worshipped by them as Nāgēśvara.

Saṃpadśā, mentioned in verse 30 (line 16), is the country named after Saṃpachandra I (c. 800 A. D.), the son of Dridhaprahāra. The kingdom founded by his father was expanded by Saṃpachandra on both banks of the Godāvari from Nasik to Devagiri so as to include the modern Districts of Aurangabad and East and West Khandesh as well as portions of Ahmednagar and Nasik. Our grant fittingly styles Gōḍāvari as the ornament of the Saṃpa country.

## TEXT\*

[Metres : verses 1, 11, 13, 21, 29, 31, 32, 35-37 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 2 *Maṇḍūkya* ; verses 3, 4, 12, 15-18, 22, 27, 30 *Sārdhāṣṭak* ; verses 5, 8, 20, 21, 23, 34 *Varaṇatāḍak* ; verse 6 *Śikharīṇī* ; verses 7, 9, 10, 25, 26, 28 *Śragdhara* ; verse 14 *Aryā* ; verse 19 *Pythel* ; verse 33 *Sālinī*.]

## First Plate

- 1 ॐ स्वस्ति श्रीः । श्रोत्रमो वराहाय ॥ जयत्वाविष्कृतं विष्णोर्बाराहं शोभि-
- 2 तार्षणं व(वम्) । दक्षिणोन्नतदष्टाप्रविश्रान्तभुवनं वपुः ॥ [१\*] विष्णोर्बाराहोऽभ्य-
- 3 ञ्जकुरु हरादाविरासीद्विरिचिर्बन्धमूलिस्सन्नितकुसुमं वंदितो देव(दै)-
- 4 त्वैः । तस्मादक्षिः समजनि जगत्वातवैषप्रकाशश्चन्द्रस्तस्मादभ्यद-
- 5 मृतोद्गारशंगारिताश ॥ [२\*] वंशे तस्य पुष्करवात्समभवच्चत्तापमापदगतो
- 6 देवानामधिपः स्मरत्यविरतं व्यालुप्तवज्रग्रहः । आश्रद्धादमखंडताड-
- 7 वरयप्रस्थानलो[ला] बह्व्यश्वको वभुजं भुजेन विजिताम्बं धैवोर्व-
- 8 मी(मीम्) ॥ [३\*] तस्मिन्नेव यमातिराविरभवद्भूमंडलाखंडलस्सर्वः स्वर्धनितानि-
- 9 तातमुभयप्रोद्गीतदोर्विक्रमः । तस्याद्यापि मखाहिताहुतिगतप्रोद्गाम-
- 10 धुमोत्करैराकीर्णो परितः स्फुरत्यविरतन्तापिच्छनीलं तमः ॥ [४\*] तस्मादजाय-

\* *Amṛitakāśa* ed., III, 86.

\* From the original plates.

\* Expressed by symbol. (The first symbol stands for *Śikharīṇī*.—Ed.)

\* This verse was quoted from earlier records (cf. Khare, *Soc. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 72).

\* The third foot of the stanza contains *Paṇḍita-saṅgama* as 'tāṇi saṅga', i.e. 'possessing grass', beside the following similarity : *prasthāna-tāṇi-saṅgama* *tāṇi saṅga*. The fourth foot furnishes a simile and the two to, together offer a charming simile.

\* The stanza exhibits *Śikharīṇī*.



- 11 त यदुपदुपग्रहेण वक्षस्तत्परमगाज्जगति [प्रतिष्ठां(धाम्) । तस्मिन्नथायमभवत्प्र-  
 12 भवः प्रजानां लीनामयं तगुरमन्दबलन्दधानः ॥ [५\*] यदोस्तस्मिन्वशे समज-  
 13 नि स निर्वाणितस्मिन्प्रतापस्तापच्छिन्निलजगतो राजनृपतिः । यदीय-  
 14 प्रोदत्तच्चरणनखरत्नांशुजलवो तिमज्जन्तश्चित्र त्रगदुपरि वृत्तिप्रणयितः ॥ [६\*]<sup>1</sup>  
 15 खोलत्सहगावत्तंसो रमशिरसि वशीकृत्य कर्णाटिराजं यः पांड्यं दंडयित्वा प्य-  
 16 धितं जलनिधे स्तभमभ्यर्णभूमौ । यद्वाणघातपातैर्भ्रं समरमरगभञ्जज-  
 17 र्वरो गूज्वरेन्द्रः स श्रीमानाबिरासीलुहिनकरकुले सिधणस्माहसाकः ॥ [७\*] त-  
 18 स्मादभूत्प्रभुरशेषमहीपतीनां श्रीमत्पुगिश्चिजयकाम्भेणकामुकश्रीः । यस्य प्र-  
 19 तापतरपी<sup>2</sup> तरुणे तरुणां च्छा(छा)पेव देध्यमज्जहादरिभूभृतां श्रीः ॥ [८\*] यस्मिन्  
 भ्रमं-  
 20 प्रीमे वलति वसुमतीमंडलं चंडमानोर्विवं शैलेद्रसंधिस्त्रिभिरभित इमे स-  
 21 विप्रते स्म तत्त्वे । वल्गाद्विर्वाजिबद्धस्तुरगसुरहर्तः पासुभिर्भीतिभिर्भः क्षोणी-  
 22 द्रेस्त प्रवीरस्तदनु समभवद्विल्लमस्तात्वंभोमः ॥ [९\*]<sup>3</sup> येनोद्यन्विध्यभूभृत्प्रभ-  
 23 तियमितः शूरमार्गश्च भेजे दुष्यच्चालुक्यवाताप्यपि च कवलितो येन जीर्ण-  
 24 ः क्षणाद्वत् । येन प्रासाधि भूयो मलयपरिमलोद्गारिणी दक्षिणासा स श्रीभि-  
 25 त्तमदेवो घटजमुतिरिवापीतकाकत्यसिंधुः ॥ [१०\*]<sup>4</sup> येन सेनारजोरात्रिनिहते मि-  
 26 हिद्राध्वनि । वंध्यो विध्यगिरिस्तम्भः कुंभयोनेरकल्पत ॥ [११\*]<sup>5</sup> यस्संख्ये त्रिकलिंगरा-  
 27 जमवधीद्विदोषि<sup>6</sup> सीमतिनीनेत्राभःप्रसरत्प्रगल्भलहरीनिर्वाणवैरान-

<sup>1</sup> The subjects of king Rāja adored him so much that they longed for a [continued] stay on this earth only [and not for liberation]. There is *Atiśayōkti*. [There are *Rājan* and *Virāṭhādhan*.—Ed.]  
 Read *anuman—ādhā*.

<sup>2</sup> There is *Figure*. The splendour of the enemy kings is compared to the shadow of trees. *Pratīpa-kraśi* is to be explained as *pratīpa-kraśi* or *pratīpa-kraśi* or *pratīpa-yuktāś kraśi*. The third foot gives *Chāṭānupras* due to the repetition of *l*, *r* and *s*. [*Pratīpa-kraśi* exhibits *Rājan* only.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> There is *Yathāśāhye* as well as *Kripādīpā* as all the three nouns, *anuman-mandhā* (which is the matter of *saṁdhi*, *dhāra-kāśi* and *anuman-mandhā* are connected with the same verb *anuman*.

<sup>4</sup> We may suggest *Shilāman* for the sake of the metre.

<sup>5</sup> *Shilāman* is here likened to *Agastya*. The points of resemblance are brought out by double-meaning ex-  
 pressions.

<sup>6</sup> The verse implicitly suggesting the superiority of *Shilāman* over *Agastya* exhibits *Yathāśāhye*.  
 • The *śāśi* is unnecessary.



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पण्डितवैकुण्ठलालः स्यात्तयपुराणरत्नसवतातलाः विविधधिया मुष्टानेस  
रहलीपुकरिणीमुक्तामणिये  
णीनेत्राणिबाष्पाकरुदेरोच  
नाडातास्माः कविसुहृत्कावा  
हागुणाश्वस्तुनगिरामार्तुस  
मयधरणीसारश्चिरणप्रिया कलीमयवधूपसपयधननिद्रातिनाराय  
णः मरुत्कुंभकरीदण्येनगिरवरागल्यविनिर्लिप्ततज्जोवामदनिममणका  
नरधनामियं प्रत्ततः नोवेसिंघणदेवनिःसृतमिदंकोडस्यायमयवा  
किंवाकर्मघातः एतेहंभुवि तन्मास्ममयंरुंनयः ॥ स्मृत्यासृष्टतेनकष्टि  
दृपरोत्तमपुलाखंडलयादकोठदिवा निवानकवचधंसिपृथानंदनः ॥ ३  
रेसायधवा सुयष्टा समरराणा निमरुडघाटसिंघासकरहये विनिदि  
तावेकतंममणीणाः कलौकिमितिनालपट्टरुपितरबाडवः पांडकोरिपु  
विपुरधर्तः किमुनसिंघणेठापारादुरै सविष्टुत्तुसुस्मरदष्टिद  
नातुरः चरात्समुपवीणयस्मरतिश्रुदंतावो मुनिः ॥ सहंशङ्कणुजिनमा  
यतसात्रकादिमुष्टयवापमंगमसमारम्भाणाः युक्तं तदतदलवगुराणि  
धविपउद्यधियाधिवदरिहितिमापनिषः ॥ तस्मादज्ञायतऊगउयगीय  
मानपिदषतापतपनोदशुनिवारः ॥ श्रीडिउमिवैसुमतीवलयाधिन  
डामणिधकरसंकरचुंनितोधिश्चातस्माद्वृक्षरुविधुसिदवरितः श्रीरागन  
पायणोडातः कातिक्चंडकातिडयिनाकतिस्त्रिंशुवैयनगर्जरथुर्जर  
वारशोलितसरिशंगवरेथीपतिः पावाकमपृणोयदीयहृदयेनिर्घण  
निद्रितः ॥ तस्यावुडोनिडनुडाडितचमिसारमहद्ववारमुदितारगसाव  
लोमः ॥ गोवीसलसमरकोउकिनीपुराणमयेसमूलविसंवदलथात्रका  
रागयज्ञापायणोरायापतामहदतिस्फुटायशधनामयष्टादमहादेवश्च  
णीयात् ॥ तेजोवातानिष्टतावलतिबलसरवाडिनामाडिवेगादहृतसूल  
हलीपटलकवलनादसंवाः कसिगत्याः किंचिथापययाणावतिधरणिनु  
डांसंभुतोताउतासातेषां श्रीबुधुबलेगिरिगहलपृदायाडिताः श्रुत्यात  
लाहृकल्पावसानयासमीमिवमवापूतवर्गश्चकुर्वन्शुवीधुवीसुकोट  
त्राष्यतोस्रः समीरंघासिः श्रुत्याः ॥ श्रीविस्वयतिमहादेवरवेषुसेयः ॥  
नेर्जियोर्हितराडमपुलमधः ॥ द्वारिखलस्मात्तायकीत्याखिलवादि  
नीपरिदढापोठस्फुरसंघदापातालेफणिमायकः ॥ इतिजलैकलासा  
नः ॥ पुरावासेवासववारणमुविजयसंलस्यमुनचितः ॥ ३ ॥ समाप्तं



- 28 लः । यद्वर्तस्य समस्तराज्यमहरन्मतेभक्तुभस्वलीकूजत्प[ट्प]द-  
 29 गीतवैभवभरं जातस्ततो जैतुमिः ॥ [१२\*] का[रा]गारात्समानीय कर-  
 30 णावरणालयः । प्रियंवदास्पमकरोत्क्षितेर्गणपतिं प्रति[तिम्] ॥ [१३\*] हम्मीर-  
 31 तिमिरतरणिस्तरणिद्वंसस्य संक्रमः कीर्त्तः । तस्माद(दे)वायमजनि श्रीसिं-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 32 धणदेवभूपालः ॥ [१४\*]<sup>1</sup> कृष्यते यदुराजर्त्तन भवता वधाभि(सि) वि[डो]पिणामुष्यते सम-  
 33 रस्वलीपु(पु) करिणी(णां) मुक्तामणिश्रेणयः । वर्षन्ति स्तनगं(मं)दलेषु तरु-  
 34 णीनेवाणि बाष्पोत्करैरुद्धेदो भुविनक्षयेपि [य\*]शसामाश्चर्यमुज्ज्व-  
 35 ते ॥ [१५\*]<sup>2</sup> जातएः\* स्मः कविसंज्ञिका व ॥<sup>3</sup> सममो भूमण्डले सिधणक्षोणी[न्द्र]-  
 36 स्य गुणाण्वस्तु न गिरां गभेषु सम्मात्ययम् । गत्यैकस्य भुजे नि-  
 37 धाय धरणीभारञ्चिरेण प्रियाकेलीमप्यवधूय सर्पणयने निद्राति नाराय-  
 38 णः ॥ [१६\*]<sup>4</sup> मयं भूच करीद्राक्षीलशिक्षरे [श]ल्यं विनिर्भित्त तदुपोचामर्द्धतिमग्नमेव स-  
 39 मरे घत्तामियं [भु]न्त(स्त)तः । नो चेत्सिधणदेव निःसृतमिद्र कोडस्य शेषस्य वा  
 40 कि वा कूर्मपतेः [प]तेर्व्य(वृ)पुयि तन्मास्तामयं दुर्नयः ॥ [१७\*]<sup>5</sup> स्तो(स्ना)तव्यस्त्वमृतेन  
 कश्चि-  
 41 दपरो भूमण्डलाखड्गस्त स्यादेको यदि वा निवातकवचध्वंसी पूयानदनः । दु-  
 42 रे सोप्यववास्तु यस्य समरे क्षोणीनिमज्जद्रथोदस्तिव्यस्तकरद्वयं विनिहि-

<sup>1</sup> The first foot of the stanza exhibits *Kāleṅgaṅgaṃparitā-rāpaṭa* not heard on pan. The superposition of *tanu* on *Haṃṃṃ* leads to that of *tanu* in the king. There is also *Māli-rāpaṭa* at *tanu* and *anulama* are appendages to the same *Singhapa*.

<sup>2</sup> The *danu* is unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> The heroic deeds of *Singhapa* are compared with those of a farmer. The second and fourth feet of the verse jointly offer *daṇḍa* inasmuch as the cause (i. e. sowing) is in one place and the effect (i. e. crops) in another. (Three causes of the same effect are given in the first three feet.—Ed.)

<sup>4</sup> The two *danu*s are unnecessary.

<sup>5</sup> The second foot of the stanza exhibits *Adhira* as *yan-ḍana* (the *ḍāra*) is described as greater than speech (the *ḍāra*) though really it is not so.

<sup>6</sup> *Singhapa*, the champion archer, is requested here to discharge his shaft at the enemy's elephant not with full swing. For the full force of the shaft will not only kill the elephant, but, says the poet with a hyperbole, also pierce the earth to the base and fall on the *Rama* (*Vishnu*) or *Śakra* or the *Tiṣṭak* (i. e. the mythological supporters of the earth). And would this not be an outrage?



- 43 ता वैकर्त्तमे(ने) मार्गणाः ॥ [१८\*]<sup>१</sup> कलौ किमिति नाल(भ)वत् क्षपितश्चाडवः  
पांडवो रिपु-
- 44 त्रिपुरधूर्जटिः किमु न सिषणो द्वापरे । इदं स विमूषन्मुहुस्समरदृष्टित्-
- 45 प्णानुरः स्व(इव)रा(स)न्तमुपवीणयत्सम(न्म)रति गूढभावो मुनिः ॥ [१९\*]<sup>२</sup> सद्देशजं  
गुणिनमा-
- 46 यतमाप्तकोटिमुत्सृज्य चापमगमत्समरेस्य ज्ञाणः । युक्तं तदेत[द]भवद्यदपि
- 47 प्रविश्य प्रत्यर्षिपाविबहुदि स्थिपिमाप नैयः ॥ [२०\*]<sup>३</sup> तस्मादजायत जगत्\*]वयगीय-
- 48 मानप्रौढप्रतापतपनोदयदुनिवारः । श्रीजंतुगिर्वसुमतीवलयाधिनाथचू-
- 49 डामणिप्रकरसंकरचुबितांघ्रिः ॥ [२१\*] तस्मात्कृष्ण इति प्रसिद्धचरितः श्रीरायना-
- 50 रायणो जातः कार्तिकचंद्रकांतजयिनी कीर्त्तिञ्चिरन्तंयन् । गर्जत्गु(द्गु)र्जर-
- 51 वीरशोणितसरित्संगत्वरे श्रीपतिः पाषाणो सधृणो यदीयहृदये निर्दूषणं
- 52 निद्रितः ॥ [२२\*]<sup>४</sup> तस्यानुजो तिजनु(भु)जाजितभूमिभारः\*] स्वच्छन्दचारमुदितोरगसार्व-
- 53 भौमः । यो वीरसलं समरकीर्त्तुकिनां सुराणामग्रे समूलविभवं दलघोचका-
- 54 र ॥ [२३\*]<sup>५</sup> रायनारायणो रायपितामह इति स्फुटं(टम्) । यथार्थन्ताम यस्येवं  
महादेवस्य
- 55 गीयते ॥ [२४\*] तेजोवार्त्ता निवृत्ता चलति बलभरे वाजितामाजिवेगादुद्धतस्थूल-
- 56 धूलीपटलकवलनादर्णवाः कर्णगम्याः । किं च प्राणप्रयाणात्प्रतिघरणिभू-
- 57 जा संहतो मारुतोसी तेषां स्त्रीबंधुबालैर्गिरिगहनगृहास्त्याजिताः शून्यातां

<sup>१</sup> Arjuna alone could have been regarded to be as brave as Singhana and could have been accented by the *anantābhīṣhka*. But he violated all rules of war in shooting arrows at Karna (Yakharana) when the latter was busy lifting up (*udahrt*) the chariot-wheel with his hands. The *Nīlātmanāḥ* (literally, 'clothed in impenetrable armour'), destroyed by Arjuna, were a class of Dānyas descended from Prehāda. [The correction inserted in the first foot is unnecessary.—Ed.]

<sup>२</sup> The verse exhibits *Atiśayikā* and *Arādhā* *Uṇyāṭikā*. Arjuna's inferiority to Singhana is further indicated. [The first two corrections inserted in the fourth foot are unnecessary.—Ed.]

<sup>३</sup> There is *Sandakāḥ*. *Bhū* is *prasthā* and from it the *apasthā*, 'one who denotes a gentleman', is constituted by means of double-meaning adjectives.

<sup>४</sup> *Kārtika-chandya-kāṭi-japinā* Kṛishṇa gives us *Paṇḍita*. King Kṛishṇa was ever intent on killing the yelling Gūrjara hero. His [cannon-like] heart is therefore said to be eager (cf. *hṛas*) to meet (cf. *saṅga*) the river of Gūrjara blood. This is *Atiśayikā* based on *Rāpala*. Ordinarily it is the river that flows to the ocean. King Kṛishṇa, meditated on Vishṇu and his heart was free from all sin (*śūdrābhava*). Hence Vishṇu is poetically conceived to repose in the king's heart as he delated (cf. *saṅghīṣa*) the ocean in comparison with the heart.

<sup>५</sup> Here is *Atiśayikā*.



- 58 व ॥ [२५\*] इत्थं कल्पावसानव्ययतमिव महानूतवर्गस्य कुर्वन् नृवीर्यान् स्वकीये  
 59 भुवभुजगतौ [प]ालयन्नाभिषिष्टां(धाम्) । स्वस्मात्तेजप्रतापं प्रतिभदसुदृश-  
 60 स्वाण्यतोम्भः समीरं श्वासेः शून्यं निवा[स]ं विरचयति महादेव एवेश्वरो यः ॥ [२६\*]<sup>1</sup>  
 61 निर्विघ्नोर्वितराजमण्डलमकशिप्त्वाखिलमामृतो यत्कीर्त्याखिलवाहि-  
 62 तीपरिवृद्धप्रौढरुद्रसम्पदा । पाताले फणिनायकः क्षितितले कैलामग्नौ-  
 63 ज्ञः सुरावासे वासववारणस्तु विजयस्तंभसममृतम्भितः ॥ [२७\*]<sup>2</sup> अध्यामीनेन्दु-

*Second Plate Second Side*

- 64 सिंहासनमत्सरिच्वामरोद्विजितधीश्चैत्सां(सा)म्राज्यलक्ष्मीं कलयति [भु]-  
 65 क्ताह्लादिनो यस्य कीर्तिः । या संकोचं गताभिः प्रतननृगमिलत्कीर्तिमिता-  
 66 रकाभिर्बुष्टा यत्का[ह]म[कु]ष्टैर्वरविदुषगणैस्तुयते निस्तरंगः ॥ [२८\*]<sup>3</sup> मुदा(षा)रु-  
 67 क्तगो जडमचूर्णपल्लवनाछितः । यत्कीर्त्या विजयदेवप्रवेशाय [नि]वे-  
 68 शितः ॥ [२९\*]<sup>4</sup> यद्वीरवतमाकलय्य मुदितो रामः कृपागच्छतादागत्य स्वयमेव  
 69 स्तकलक्षं स्वैर्विक्रमं कीर्तति । स्नाति स्वैरमुदारवेरिरुषिरे पृथ्वी[मप]-

<sup>1</sup> In verses 25-26, Mahādeva, like the great hero, is said to have subdued and destroyed the elements. The latter (first) of all the elements known to possess it (especially the latter of the elements) before their insignificance when Mahādeva with the various latter of his white shillons is speeding on the battlefield. When his army is on the move, huge columns of dust arise and settle on the surface of the ocean. Thus the water element is destroyed (cf. *Surasamudra*) by Mahādeva. The element of wind is destroyed (*vanahrita*) inasmuch as Mahādeva withdraws (cf. *anahrita*) the life-breath of all enemy kings. The members of the royal families of the enemies are required to take shelter in mountain caves (and forest recesses) when the enemies are no more. This means that the deity is element which is nothing but *disrupt* (emptiness) is also destroyed in the caves. All this disaster of the deluge sets in because Mahādeva subdues the earth. But after that he creates *Apas* in the form of his valour, water (i.e. tears) from the eyes of the enemies' wives, wind from their sighs and *dhāra* (gold, goodness) in their houses. Thus there is *Vara-dhara* (the suggestion of the super's valour of the king). In verse 26, there is *disruption* as the *disrupt* is (the) there is the juxtaposition of *dhāra* and his divine deeds on Mahādeva and his achievements.

<sup>2</sup> There is *Atishay* of the *manushya* *manushya* type at the base of *Talpa* *talpa* (cf. *Phani* *phani*, *Kalpa* *kalpa* and *Falga* *falga* with a single *kalpa*). [There is *Manushya*, not *Talpa* *talpa*.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Mahādeva's lion mounted (mounted) the throne of the moon, had its glory heightened (*udāhṛita* *udā*) by the glory in the form of the heavenly lamps, possessed eminently (*udāhṛita* *udāhṛita*) the glory of sovereignty, gladden-  
 ed the universe, was waited on (*udāhṛita*) by the stars which were only the contracted forms of the repulsions of  
 former kings pooled together, and was illumined by large groups of gods standing motionless (*udāhṛita* *udāhṛita*) [with  
 admiration] as they were enamoured (*udāhṛita*) of [his skill in] swordsmanship. [The correction of *udāhṛita* to *udāhṛita*  
 is unnecessary as it refers to the person who died while fighting with Mahādeva and went to heaven (i.e. became  
 gods).—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> The idea that Mahādeva's form had reached upto the moon is expressed by a *Sarvata* *sarvata* *śarvata* *śarvata* in which three *śarvata* are superimposed on three *śarvata*.



- 70 अत्रियं वारंवारमयं करोति कुरुते रत्नाकरं त्वायय(यम्) ॥ [३०<sup>a</sup>]<sup>1</sup> स खल्वेवैविकगुणस-
- 71 णावकृतः ससनायामणः रायभुजबलभौमः रायपितामहः रायजगद्दलै-
- 72 त्यादिवाँर(रु)दावलीविराजमानः कुलकनागतं तिजनुजबलपानितं वतुस्त-
- 73 भुद्रममलार्जितमही[म]पदकसां(सा)भ्राज्यपदत्वधानः श्रीमन्महादेवः । शकन्-
- 74 गोपलधितमवत्तराणां द्वा(द्वि)शोत्याधिकेभ्येकादशसु शतेष्वतीतेषु वत्समान-
- 75 दुर्भतिद्यवत्तरातगतं भाद्रपदशुक्लद्वितीयायां सोमे आत्मनः पट्टवधसम-
- 76 चे राज्याभिवृत्त्ये(द्वय)र्धं क्षेत्रदेशालंकरणगोदावरीदक्षिणतीरस्थं धुल्वर्ध-
- 77 इक्षानकारुकमौलिकभ्राजनिधिनक्षेत्रजलपाश्या(या)णतेजस्वा(स्वा)म्यामित्या-
- 78 दष्टभोगसंहितं राजराजपुरस्वरूप्यतंगुलिनिर्देश्य भक्तिभद्रा(द्वय)तिशयपू-
- 79 र्धकं हिरण्याक्षतीक्ष्णसहितं कालुगेयनामधेयं ग्रामं पट्टवर्धनपुरापरना-
- 80 मधेयं नानागोवेभ्यो द्विपचाशत्संख्याकेभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यः प्राचात् श्रीमहादेवः [॥<sup>a</sup>]
- 81 यश्च चेत्तं ब्राह्मणः । भारद्वाजतत्तिरीयमात्रवमुतपोतिः । बह्वचशाहिल्यजोगदे-
- 82 वसुतानापीवरः । बह्वचशाहिल्यजोगदेवमुतप्रभाकरः । तैत्तिरीयकौटि-
- 83 ण्यमहादेवमुतनारायणः । तैत्तिरीयकौटिण्यगोविंदमुतकुण्डः । बह्वच-
- 84 सुवर्गलदेवमुतजनादेनः । बह्वच(वत्त)जारांगमुतविष्णुः । बह्वचकोशि-
- 85 कसोमनाममुतदामोदरः । तैत्तिरीयशाहिल्यजामदेवमुतबोपदेवः । तै-
- 86 त्तिरीयजामदग्न(ग्न्य)वत्सपुष्पोत्तममुतजनादेनः । तैत्तिरीयपराजरदेव-
- 87 मुतजागदेवः । बह्वचकौटिण्यश्रीवत्समुतदामोदरः । बह्वचभारद्वाजविष्णु-
- 88 मुतमैरानः । तैत्तिरीयकाश्रपक्विमुतविष्णुः । बह्वचजामदग्न(ग्न्य)वत्सवाम-
- 89 नमुतनारायणः । बह्वचसिण्डरेवदाममुतविद्यावरः । बह्वचवादरायणरा-
- 90 धवमुतसोमनाथः । बह्वचशाहिल्यतामणमुतविष्णुः । बह्व-
- 91 चगाण्येवामनमुत आपदेवः । बह्वचजामदग्न(ग्न्य)वत्समैरानमु-

<sup>1</sup> There is *Afingāhī*, and *Iripāsa-chāhāhī* gives *Lehī* *Apahāhī*. (Not *Lehī*, but *Siddhī*.—Ed.)



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92 त आपदेवः । बह्वचवशिष्ट आपदेवमुत[\*] अणाम । बह्वचकपिपु-

93 द्योत्तममुतलोकनाथः । बह्वचकाव्यप आपदेवमुतराम[६]-

94 कः । बह्वच आभेयधीनरमुतकोमल । बह्वचगौतमतीकगोविमुतवि-

Third Plate

95 ण्युः । बह्वचकाव्यपचन्द्रमुत आपदेवः । तैत्तिरीयवाग्भ्यश्चपुष्टयोत्तममुतपप्रता-

96 भः । तैत्तिरीयकाव्यपमाधकमुतवासुदेवः । बह्वचभामेवचांग-

97 देवमुतकमलदेवः । तैत्तिरीयहरिकानिदासमुतहरिः । बह्व-

98 भमि[प्र]युवबोपदेवमुतविनायकः । तैत्तिरीयलोहितपप्रताभमु-

99 ललक्ष्मीधरः । तैत्तिरीयवाग्भ्यश्चपुष्टयोत्तममुतमहादेवः । तैत्तिरी-

100 प्रभारद्वाजहरिहरमुतवासुदेवः । तैत्तिरीयदेवराजमैरालमुतप्रातिः [४]

101 तैत्तिरीयदेवराजभारायणमुतवासुदेवः । तैत्तिरीयवसन्तकदेवमुतप-

102 राताभः । तैत्तिरीयकौटिल्यजन्तिपेदिमुतमन्तिदेवः । बह्वचकौशिकयाम-

103 तमुतजागदेवः । तैत्तिरीयवाग्भ्यश्चपुष्टयोत्तममुतदासीधरः । तैत्तिरीयभा-

104 रद्वाज एकममुतगोतिदेवः । ऋ(ह्र)दीनकश्चक्रभोगोत्तममुतगोतिदेवः । बह्व-

105 चभारद्वाजमाधकमुतचक्रपाणिः । बह्वचभारद्वाजवाग्भ्यश्चपुष्टयोत्तम-

106 बह्वचकौटिल्यरायणमुतकिञ्चनाथः । बह्वचकौटिल्यरायणमुत पृथिविः । तै-

107 त्तिरीयभारद्वाजदेवणमुतमाधदेवः । तैत्तिरीयवाग्भ्यश्चपुष्टयोत्तममुतकेशव-

108 ः । व(व)ह्वचवाग्भ्यश्चपुष्टयोत्तममुतनारायणः । बह्वचविश्वामित्राधमपणकौशिक[\*] अ-

109 णाममुतगोपाधरः । व(व)ह्वचविश्वामित्राधमपणकौशिकसोमनाथमुतनीलकण्ठ-

110 ः । व(व)ह्वचजामदग्न(भ्य)वत्सयामं(भाह्)मुतहरिः । नव मनकृतयः । अथावाटाः  
[१\*] पूर्वतः नीब-

111 रवी । दक्षिणतः दहीर्गो राञ्जणो । पश्चिमतः सभगो नाड्यो । उत्तरतः गंग

112 ॥ एवं चतुरावाटाः । चत्वारिंशत्पिक्पणिमिता भूमिः सांभवावमन्ववर्तिनी प्रति-

[The intended reading may be 'Vidhigatam or Vidhigatam'—Ed.]

[Cf. Monier-Williams, Sans. Eng. Dict., s.v.]



- 113 पुरणार्थ<sup>1</sup> दत्ता । अस्य च धर्मस्य संरक्षणे फलमाहुर्मुनयः । गण्यते पांसवो भू-
- 114 मेगण्यते वृष्टिर्विदवः । न गण्यते विधात्रापि धर्मसंरक्षणे फलं(लम्) ॥ [३१\*]  
बहुभिर्वसुधा
- 115 भुक्ता राजभिस्तरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)  
॥ [३२\*] सर्वो-
- 116 नेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचन्द्रः । सामान्योयं ध-
- 117 म्मसेनुनेराणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [३३\*] मद्रंशजाः परमहोप-
- 118 तिचंशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भाविभूपाः । ये पालयन्ति मम ध-
- 119 मेमिमं समयं तेभ्यो मया विरचितोऽजलिरेष मूर्ध्नि ॥ [३४\*] अपहरतः समर्थ-
- 120 स्थाप्युपेक्षकस्य च त एव विपरीतं फलमाहुः । गामेकां रत्निकामेकां भू-
- 121 मेरुयेकमंगूलं(लम्) । हरप्ररक्तमाप्नोति यावदाभूतसंप्लवं(वम्) ॥ [३५\*] स्वदत्तां परद-
- 122 तां वा यो हरेत् वसुधरां(राम्) । पष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते क्रिमिः ॥ [३६\*]
- 123 विंध्यादयोऽध्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरघातिनः । कुरणसर्पा मि(हि) जायते व-
- 124 ह्यदत्तापहारिणः ॥ [३७\*] गण्योऽंगनानां सदनं न देयं<sup>2</sup> दूतप्रचारोपि निवारणी-
- 125 यः ॥<sup>3</sup> स्वयं वसतिभिर्भोग्यं सदा सन्मार्गवर्तिभिः ॥<sup>4</sup> शुभं भवतु मंगलं महा
- 126 श्री ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'In order to fill up', i.e. to add to the land originally included in the boundaries of Kāligān.

<sup>2</sup> The donors should allow no courtisans to settle in the gift village. Similar conditions are also known from other grants (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 319).

<sup>3</sup> This is half of a stanza in *Indrasajjā*.

<sup>4</sup> This is half of a verse in *Anusūjā*.

<sup>5</sup> This is followed by two signs. I am indebted to Shri M. W. Desai, Collector of Ahmednagar, for making the copper plates available to me, to Dr. G. V. Devasthanil of Nasik for his help in interpreting the difficult portions of the grant, to my pupil Shri D. K. Kharrandikar for assisting me in evaluating the beauty of the stanzas and to Principal T. Barnabas for his generous help.



## No. 4—RASHTRAKUTA CHARTERS FROM CHINCHANI

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In its issue of the 28th of June, 1955, *The Times of India*, Bombay, announced the discovery of a number of inscriptions in the village of Chinchani in the Daham Taluk of the Thana District, Bombay State. It was stated that an agriculturist of the said village found nine copper plates bearing inscription while digging in his fields. The villager handed over the plates to the Mamlatdar of Daham, who brought the discovery to the notice of higher authorities. Ultimately the plates were transferred to the office of the Collector of Thana, from whom they were received by the Director of Archives, Bombay. In January 1957, I visited Bombay in the course of my annual tour in search of inscriptions. The Director of Archives kindly allowed me to examine the plates and copy the inscriptions in his office. It was found on examination that the nine plates formed five different records. One of the five sets consisted of three plates; two of the sets contained two plates each; and the remaining two plates each contained a complete record. Two of the five charters belong to the Imperial Rashtrakutas, one pertaining to the reign of Indra III (915-28 A.D.) and the other to that of Krishna III (939-67 A.D.). These are edited here with the help of impressions prepared by me. The other three inscriptions belonging to the local chiefs of Sainyāna (modern Sanjan, 20° 12' N., 72° 52' E., in the Daham Taluk of the Thana District) are being edited in a separate article. My thanks in this connection are due to Dr. P. M. Joshi, Director of Archives, Government of Bombay, and Dr. Motilalandra, Director of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

### 1. Grant of the time of Indra III, Śaka 848

This is a set of three plates each measuring 9·0 inches in length, 5·8 inches in height and ·115 inch in thickness. The plates are strung on a ring passing through a hole in them. The joint of this ring is secured beneath a seal bearing the blurred representation of an emblem which looks more like a recumbent bull facing the proper left than Garuda generally found on the seals of the Rashtrakuta emperors, together with the symbols of the sun and moon above. The first and third plates bear writing only on the inner side while the second plate is engraved on both the obverse and reverse. The inscription has altogether 67 lines of writing, there being 16 lines on the first plate, 19 and 16 lines respectively on the obverse and reverse of the second plate, and 16 lines on the third plate. The writing is neatly done and is in a satisfactory state of preservation. The three plates together with the ring bearing the seal weigh 236 talas.

The characters belong to the North Indian alphabet of the tenth century. The letter *ṣ* is indicated by the sign for *r*. The *spandhasigna* is once used in line 22 and the *anagraha* once in line 60. The numerical figures 1 and 8 occur in line 60. The following initial vowels are found in the inscription: *a* in lines 5, 21, 44, 53 (twice) and 69; *ā* in lines 20, 38 and 51; *i* in line 57; *u* in line 43, and *ū* in lines 6 and 36. Final *t* occurs in lines 10, 15 and 57, final *n* in lines 18, 21 and 25, and final *m* in line 26. The language is Sanskrit and the record is composed in prose and verse. As regards orthography, mention may be made of the reduplication of some of the consonants following *r* and in rare cases also those preceding *r*. The change of the final *m* to both the *anuvāsa* and the *class-nasal* is noticed. It has been wrongly changed to *n* in one case in



line 18. It is often wrongly changed to *anuseśra* and is found wrongly conjoined with the following in a few cases in lines 23, 59 and 60. In one case in line 43, final *s* has been wrongly changed to *anuseśra*. The rules of Śaṅkṛī have in some cases been ignored.

The date of the charter is quoted in lines 58-60 as **Śaka 848, Vyaya, Vaiśākha-suk. 3, Akṣaya-tṛtīyā**, (i.e. Akṣaya-tṛtīyā), **Monday**. The details correspond to the 17th April, 926 A.D.

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol. Then follows an introductory section in four stanzas, the first of which is in adoration of Giristā and Hara (i.e. Pārvatī and Śiva). Verse 2 is also in adoration of Durgā, i.e. Pārvatī. The sage Agastya is adored in verse 3 and the *Arjya-dīpāyā Mahā-parshad* in verse 4. Since Agastya was regarded as the leader of the Arjyanisation of trans-Vindhyan India, he was an object of special veneration to the Brahmanists of the south. The *Arjya-dīpāyā Mahā-parshad* seems to have been an assembly of learned Brāhmaṇas hailing from what was called Āryāvarta (roughly, India to the north of the Vindhyas) in ancient Indian literature. The contents of the record would suggest that this assembly belonged to the city of Saṁvīṇa which is the modern Sanjan about 22 miles to the north of the findspot of the inscription. The same assembly is apparently mentioned in lines 29-30 as the *Pakṣa-dāyāyā-Mahā-parshad*.

The next four stanzas (verses 5-8) introduce the **Yadu** or **Yādava** dynasty. This section speaks of the mom, his son Budha, his son Pitrūnyaa, and his son Āyaa. It also mentions Yayāti as one of the imperial rulers born in the said family and Yadu as the son of Yayāti and the progenitor of the **Yadu-varmaṇa**. Verse 9 refers to the birth of Gōvindarāja in the same family otherwise called the **Bāshtrakūta** dynasty.<sup>1</sup> This Gōvindarāja is the Bāshtrakūta king Gōvinda I, son of Indra I and grandson of Dantivarman I. The next stanza (verse 10) mentions the following four kings who ruled successively: (1) Kakkarāja (Kakka I, son of Gōvindarāja); (2) Indrarāja (Indra II), son of Kakkarāja; (3) Dantidurga (Dantivarman II, 742-56 A.D.), son of Indrarāja; and (4) Kṛṣṇarāja (Kṛṣṇa I, 756-75 A.D.), the younger brother of Dantidurga's father. Verse 11 similarly speaks of the following successive rulers of the Bāshtrakūta dynasty: (1) Gōvindarāja (Gōvinda II, 776-80 A.D.), son of Kṛṣṇarāja; (2) Dhruvarāja (780-94 A.D.), younger brother of Gōvindarāja; (3) Jagattuṅga (Gōvinda III, 794-814 A.D.), son of Dhruvarāja; and (4) Amoghavarsha (i.e. Amoghavarsha I, 814-80 A.D.), son of Jagattuṅga. Verse 12 not only mentions Kṛṣṇarāja (Kṛṣṇa II, 878-915 A.D.), son and successor of Amoghavarsha, but also refers to his own successor who was the son of his son named Jagattuṅga.

The name of the grandson and successor of Kṛṣṇa II is given in verse 13 as **Indrarāja** (Indra III, 915-28 A.D.) while the next stanza (verse 14) describes him as *grīhīta-Pāhāla-nāyaka-lapāla* and *uttara-dig-baddha-ricki*. In the first of these two epithets, Pāhāla is no doubt the name of the territory under the rule of the Kalachuris of Tripurī near Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh, and *nāyaka* possibly means a lieutenant of the contemporary Kalachuri king. The claim therefore may refer to the slaughter of a Kalachuri general. We know that Lakṣmī, mother of Bāshtrakūta Indra III, was the daughter of Kalachuri Saṅkaragana Rājavīraha, son of Kōkkalla I.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That the Bāshtrakūtas did not originally claim the Yādava lineage seems to be suggested by the description of Gōvinda III in his records. It is stated that the Bāshtrakūta family became unconquerable to its foes owing to the birth of Gōvinda III just as the Yādava race had been after the birth of Madha-ripa, i.e. Kṛṣṇa-Vishnu (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 66, verse 11) thereby making a distinction between the two dynasties. The Sanjan plates (above, Vol. XVIII, p. 242, verse 3) of Amoghavarsha I dated 871 A.D., refer to the birth of Bāshtrakūta Gōvinda I in the Yadu dynasty thus suggesting the identification of the two families. The Haveri-Hippargi inscription (867 A.D.) of the same Bāshtrakūta king mentions Kṛṣṇa I as *Yāda-dāśa-siddham*, probably meaning an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, the Yādava par excellence. (cf. *Dombay-Normalak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, part 4, p. 6, No. 9, text line 1.)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 265.



and that his own queen Vijāmbā was a great-granddaughter of the same Kōkkalla I.<sup>1</sup> As yet there was no clear evidence of a struggle between Indra III and the Kalachuris. The other epithet pointing to his success in the north seems to refer to his conquest of Mahōdaya (Kansuī in the Faerukhabad District, U. P.) which was the capital of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. According to a record<sup>2</sup> of Gōvinda IV, son of Indra III, his father's cavalry crossed the Yamunā at Kālāgriya (modern Kālū in the Jalaun District, U. P.) and destroyed the city of Mahōdaya. It is difficult to determine whether *sāhita-bhā-dātā*, 'destroyer of the lions', alludes to any particular event in the king's career.

Verses 16-20 introduce a subordinate of the Rāshtrakūṭa king. It is said that, when Indra III (915-28 A.D.) was reigning, there was a ruler named Madhumatī who belonged to the Tājika (i.e. Arab) community, and that he had received the entire *mapāḥala* or territorial division of Saṁyāna from Kṛishṇarāja (Kṛishṇa II, 878-915 A.D.). Madhumatī is no doubt the Sanskritised form of the Arabic name Muḥammad.<sup>3</sup> This Arab chief was thus appointed the governor of Saṁyāna by Kṛishṇa II and was continuing in his post during the rule of Indra III. It is stated that Madhumatī conquered the chiefs of all the harbours (*vāṭakula*) of the neighbourhood, apparently on behalf of his master, and placed his own officials in them (verse 18). Verse 19 says that Madhumatī's other name was Sugatipa and that he was the son of Sahiyārahāra or Hiyārahāra or Yārahāra. Unfortunately it is difficult to determine the Arabic forms of these two names under their Indian garb. Verse 20 says how this Arab governor of Saṁyāna established free ferry on two streams (near Saṁyāna, apparently on the Sanjan river) and also a feeding house (at Saṁyāna) where Śālī rice, curries and ghee were entered free of cost. Verse 21 states that Madhumatī Sugatipa's minister was Purvaiaja.

Verse 22 states that there was a Brāhmana named Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa who was the son of Vāṁśdēva and belonged to the Bhāra-vāja gōtra. This Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa had a son named Annaiya (later also called Annammaiya) who was a friend of Madhumatī-Sugatipa's minister Purvaiaja and an obedient servant of Nityavaraha (i.e. Indra III). Annaiya or Annammaiya constructed a *mūṣhikā*, i.e. a monastery or temple, at Saṁyāna. The next stanza (verse 23) says that he also created an endowment consisting of landed property with the permission of Nityavaraha (Indra III). The nature of his endowment is made clear in the following part of the record in prose.

The prose portion in lines 27 ff. states that, at the request of Annammaiya (the same as Annaiya of verse 22) who belonged to the Bhāradvāja gōtra and Maitrāyaṇī śikhā and was the son of Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa and grandson of Vāṁśdēva, Sugatipa alias Madhumatī made a grant of the village of Kānāḍuka situated in the Kōlimahāra *raṣṭra* within Saṁyāna-mapāḥala (cf. *ibid.* in line 32) together with half a *Dhura* of land in the village of Dēvīhara (cf. line 39), with the permission of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśvara Indrarājadēva (Indra III). The *Dhura* is regarded as  $\frac{1}{16}$  of a *Bhūta* which is  $\frac{1}{16}$  of a *Bighā*. But the word used in our record possibly indicates a bigger area of land. The purpose of the creation of the endowment was that the income accruing to it would be utilised for the repairs of the *mūṣhikā* constructed by Annaiya or Annammaiya and also for the offering of *naiśadya* to the goddess Dātāmī (apparently a form of the Mother-goddess Durgā or Pārvatī often called merely the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> *Ahara*, Vol. VII, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> The same Arabic name is Sanskritised as Madhumada in the Panjim plates of Kallabha Jayasimha I (c. 1030-40 A.D.) of Goa. Madhumada is stated to have belonged to the Tājika (i.e. Tājika or Arab) *manasa* and to have been the son of Śāhrama and the father of Chhadama who was a capable and popular administrator under the Kadamba king. See C.I., No. 3 of 1951-52; cf. *QJHISM* (Madras), Vol. XXXI, No. 4, pp. 27 ff.; *Mosser, The Kadamba Kula*, p. 240 (cf. pp. 172, 185-86).



*Dēvi* or *Bhagavati*)<sup>1</sup> and the feeding of nine persons belonging to the *Pañcā-Gaṇḍīya-mahā-parīkṣā* of Sāmyāna. The goddess Daśamī was no doubt worshipped in the *mathā* constructed by Annaiya or Annammaiya. The *Pañcā-Gaṇḍīya-mahā-parīkṣā* seems to be the community of Gaṇḍīya or North Indian Brāhmanas settled at Sāmyāna. The five classes of these Brāhmanas are called: (1) *Sīrasvata*, (2) *Kānyakubja*, (3) *Gaṇḍa*, (4) *Muṭhila*, and (5) *Utkala*.<sup>2</sup>

Although it was Annaiya or Annammaiya who created the endowment according to verse 23, the prose part of the record refers to it as one created by the governor of Sāmyāna. This is because the creation of a rent-free building was the prerogative of the government. The creation of the endowment was declared by the governor at an assemblage of the *Hastya-mana-pura*, *Dharmā* and *Vidyāgik-śikṣikāśilās* of Sāmyāna. Of these, the third expression indicates the officers of the various administrative offices of the district round Sāmyāna. The *Dharmā* were superintendents of the collection of the royal share of the produce of the fields from the farmers.<sup>3</sup> The expression *hastya-mana-pura* (or, *hastya-mana-nagara-pura*) is met with in some records of the Northern Konkan region and it has often been understood in the sense of 'the citizens of Hastyamana, i.e. Sāmyāna'.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately Hastyamana cannot be regarded as another form of the name of Sāmyāna since the latter name itself occurs in the compound immediately before *hastya-mana*. J. J. Modi seems to be right in tracing the origin of the word to Avestic *haryamana* and Persian *rayman* and in taking it to indicate the settlement of the Parsees.<sup>5</sup> He also thinks that this Parsee colony stood at Sanjan which was therefore called *Hastjamana* or *Hastyamana*. No doubt our inscription may refer to the Parsee community of Sāmyāna but it does not support the suggestion that Hastyamana was another name (or another form of the name) of Sāmyāna. In the records<sup>6</sup> quoted by Modi, the reference may be to the Parsee colony in different cities of the Northern Konkan and not to a particular city of theirs, since the said charters appear to have had little to do particularly with the town of Sanjan.

The boundaries of the village of Kāpāḍuka are quoted in lines 33-35 as: in the east—a hill and a stream in its western side; in the south—the stream flowing from the said hill, a locality called Sēmbaka and the southern part of Bhāmmaharṅgarikā to the west of Sēmbaka; in the west—certain trees at the eastern fringe of Kalagrāma, a locality called Chinānu and the stream to the south of Hidiguvāra; in the north—the localities called Hūghavāra and Chavaṣā and the stream running by the south of Vāghavāra and flowing from its eastern part. The village was granted with the rights called *udraṅga* (i.e. major tax), *parikara* (i.e. *uparikara*, minor tax or cess), *bhaga-bhāga* (i.e. periodical offering of fruits, etc.) and the royal share of the produce of the fields, *daṇḍa-dāśa-āparādha* (i.e. fines for the ten major crimes), *dhānya-dhanyajāḍya* (i.e. taxes in grains and cash), *utpadyamāna-vāḥ(i)-padyāya* (i.e. tax payable in lieu of free labour), *adhyantara-vādā* (i.e. enjoyment of things found underground) and *a-śūṣa-bhāga-pravāha* (i.e. inadmissibility of royal agents). But the rights did not include the following three: *śūḍhāna* (i.e. treasure-trove), *alipaka* (also called *alipuka*, possibly meaning 'indestructible objects' or 'metal ores') and *ṭumbā-nāvara-dāya* (i.e. fines for the violation of the modesty of unmarried girls). The gift lands were made a permanent endowment.

<sup>1</sup> The name of the goddess reminds us that of Śaṣṭhī generally worshipped on the sixth day after the delivery of a child or on the sixth (24) of a fortnight. It also reminds us of the *śakti* called *Pīyāśa Daśamī* (*Ārya-kūṭi* 10), famous for its association with the worship of Durgā Pīrāṭh.

<sup>2</sup> See *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 404, note 1; above, Vol. XIX, p. 168.

<sup>4</sup> See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 16-18; cf. also pp. 342-43; Vol. XIV, pp. 302, 418.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 172-76.

<sup>6</sup> *Ar. Res.*, Vol. I, p. 357; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 216 ff.; Vol. IX, pp. 53 ff.



Some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas (verses 24-34) are quoted in lines 40-58, with a similar passage in prose in lines 58-60. The date when the charter was written is given in words and figures in lines 58-60. It is stated in lines 59-63 that the document was written by Sugata, son of Ajta who had been the *Sādhivagrakīla* (minister for war and peace) of Dhruvarāja, with the cognisance of Yathaiya, a *Dhruva* of Samyāna, and under orders from Sugatipa who received instructions in this matter from Paramāvara Paramabhattaraka Mahārājādhirāja Nityavarahadēva (Indra III) auditing on the feet of his predecessor Akalavarahadēva (Kṛishna II). As in many other records of the kind, the document is stated to be authoritative even if here and there a letter was omitted from it or unnecessarily put in it. Verse 35 prays for the continuous rule of the chief Sugatipa, represented as the donor of the village of Kāpājuka together with half a *Dhruva* of land at Dāvīkara, and for the rehabilitation of Annaiya (Annammāiya), Rāvaṇa and Kautuka, apparently after their death, in the mountainous shade of the gods (i.e. on the Śumīra), through the grace of the Dēvi. This Dēvi is no other than Bhagvati Dādamī who is mentioned in line 20 and whose image was installed in the *mukhikā* constructed by Annaiya or Annammāiya at Samyāna. The mention of Rāvaṇa and Kautuka along with Annaiya (Annammāiya) in this stanza suggests that they were also responsible for the construction of the temple and the installation of the Dēvi in it. Indeed the other inscription from the same place, edited below, seems to refer to the said *mukhikā* as built by Kautuka alone. This may have been due to the fact that Annaiya and Rāvaṇa were the youngest brothers of Kautuka. The last stanza (verse 36) of the inscription contains the prayer that the charter might last for ever through the grace of the Dēvi. There is a benedictory passage of the usual type at the end of the record in line 67.

The inscription raises several interesting points, the most important among them being its date. It shows beyond doubt that the Rashtrakūṭa king Indra III surmamed Nityavaraha ruled at least down to April 926 A.D. The Nauvari plates<sup>1</sup> of Indra III record a grant made on the occasion of his *pañcā-bandha*-otsava, or festival of coronation, on the 24th February 915 A.D. The Dandapur inscription<sup>2</sup> of the 23rd December 918 A.D., referring to the reign of Prabhūtavaraha (Gōvinda IV, son of Indra III), led scholars to believe that Indra III died before that date, even though the Cambay plates<sup>3</sup> of Gōvinda IV were issued on the occasion of his own coronation (*pañcā-bandha*) on the 10th May, 920 A.D. In *The Rashtrakūṭas and their Times*, published in 1934, Prof. A. S. Altekar suggested that Indra died in 917 A.D.,<sup>4</sup> although Sewell's *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, published two years earlier, refers to Nos. 271-72 of 1918, dated 922 A.D., as belonging to the reign of Nityavaraha Indra III.<sup>5</sup> But, some years later, R. S. Pancharukhi and A. S. Ranganatha Ayyar referred to certain inscriptions of Indra III, the latest of which (from Kamalāpuram in the Coimbatore District) is dated the 23rd of December 923 A.D.<sup>6</sup> They also suggested that the Halasiri inscription of Nityavaraha Nirupama-Vallabha, dated December 927 A.D., also belongs to the same Rashtrakūṭa monarch. But none of the stone inscriptions quoted by Pancharukhi and Ayyar gives the genealogy of the king. Some of these inscriptions mention the king under his *śiroda* Nityavaraha and it was sometimes believed that Gōvinda IV was also called Nityavaraha like his father.<sup>7</sup> Thus the inscription under study, which not only quotes a

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 222.

<sup>3</sup> *Above*, Vol. VII, pp. 27 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 103.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 223-24.

<sup>6</sup> *Annual Report on Kannda Research to Bombay Province, 1930-40*, pp. 35 ff.; *above*, Vol. XXVI, p. 143.

<sup>7</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1916, para. 28; *A. R. Ep.*, 1929-30, p. 175; *Ibid.*, 1930-34, Part I, p. 235. Even in a recent publication, Prof. A. S. Altekar suggests that Indra III died in 922 A.D. (*cf. The Age of Imperial Kannda*, ed. Majumdar, 1953, p. 13).



verifiable date but also a complete genealogy of the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭas from Gōvinda I to Nityavarsha Indra III, throws further light on the point of controversy and clearly supports the views of Panchanikhi and Ayyar. But the recent suggestion of Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, based on an inadequate appreciation of the evidence discussed by the said scholars, that Indra III ended his rule in the year 927 A.D.<sup>1</sup> is apparently wrong. The Bhādāna grant<sup>2</sup> of Śiṣhāra Aparājita clearly states that Amoghavarsha II, elder brother of Gōvinda IV, ruled for one year, while, as already shown above, the coronation of Gōvinda IV took place on the 10th May 929 A.D. and he must have ascended the throne shortly before that date. Besides the Damulpur inscription, probably issued during his governorship over the region in question under his father, the earliest inscriptions of the reign of Gōvinda IV are the Guesri plates and the Kalas inscription dated respectively the 17th and 30th January of 930 A.D.<sup>3</sup> He, therefore, does not appear to have ascended the throne much earlier than the beginning of the year 930 A.D. Thus the one year's reign of Amoghavarsha II may be regarded as roughly corresponding to the year 929 A.D. Indra III, therefore, seems to have ruled till the end of 928 A.D.

The governorship of a Tājika or Arab over Saṁyāna under the Rāshtrakūṭa kings Kṛishṇa II and Indra III, known for the first time from the inscription under study, supports the statements of certain early Arab writers. The Ballharis (Ballaha-tāyas or Vallabha-rājas, i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭa monarchs) of Mānkis (i.e. Mānyakhṛṇa or Mālkhud) find mention in the writings of Suhaimān (851 A.D.), Abū Zaid (before 916 A.D.), Ibn Khurdādhba (before 913 A.D.), Al Ma'sūdi (932-33 A.D.), Al Isakhri (about 951 A.D.) and Ibn Haukal (between 943 and 968 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> These authors give the general impression that the Ballharis and their subjects were extremely partial to the Arab Mussulmans and, according to Ibn Haukal and Al Isakhri, Muslim governors of cities were employed by the Ballharis. It is also stated by them that none but Muslims ruled over their co-religionists living in that empire; apparently meaning thereby that the Rāshtrakūṭas appointed Qādis to look after the religious and judicial affairs of their Muslim subjects who were mostly of Arab nationality. Since, however, Muslim administrators did not so long figure in the epigraphical records of the Rāshtrakūṭas, Prof. A. S. Altekar considered the statements of the Arab writers as unreliable.<sup>5</sup> But the present inscription proves the veracity of the statements of Ibn Haukal and Al Isakhri. Since Madhumati Sugatipa was appointed governor of Saṁyāna sometime before the end of the rule of Kṛishṇa II in 915 A.D., he was continuing to hold the important post for more than a decade. He must have been a successful administrator capable to preserve friendly relations with the peoples of communities and creeds other than his own. The way he associated himself with the construction of a Hindu monastery or temple, the installation of an image therein and the creation of a permanent endowment in its favour throws welcome light on the outlook of the Arab Mussulmans of those days. This is in striking contrast with the policy of most of the later Muslim rulers of India.

The Arab governor's rule over the district around Saṁyāna during the reigns of the Rāshtrakūṭa kings Kṛishṇa II (878-915 A.D.) and Indra III (915-28 A.D.) throws interesting light on the history of the Śiṣhāras of the Northern Konkan. We know that, during the reign of Amoghavarsha I (814-80 A.D.), the Śiṣhāras claimed to be rulers of the whole of the Konkan as feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch and that they again became powerful in the

<sup>1</sup> *History of South India*, 1965, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> *Above*, Vol. III, p. 297.

<sup>3</sup> *Above*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 100 ff.; Vol. XIII, pp. 323 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. I, pp. 3 ff., 9 ff., 13 ff., 21 ff., 27 ff., 34.

<sup>5</sup> *The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 187.



area after the decline of Rashtrakūṭa power about 973 A.D.<sup>1</sup> It now appears from the present inscription that, with the appointment of a governor over Saṁyāna-maṇḍala, comprising wide areas of the Northern Konkan, during the reign of Kṛṣṇa II, the Śilāhāras became rulers of only parts of the territory over which they had been ruling as feudatories of Amoghavarsha I.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the reference to **Pañcha-Gauḍa** is very interesting. The name Gauḍa has been used here to indicate North India mentioned elsewhere in the record as **Āryadēśa**, i.e. Āryāvarta. The name is known to be used variously as that of a city in Eastern India, of the country around the said city, of the countries of Eastern India collectively and of the whole of Āryāvarta or Northern India.<sup>2</sup> It is well known that the name **Saṁyāna**, applied to both a city and a *maṇḍala* or territorial division, is preserved in that of modern Sanjan in the Thane District of Bombay. Whether the district called **Kōlimahāra-vishaya** owed its name to the Koli tribe of the Northern Konkan<sup>3</sup> or of the part of Kolā about 15 miles to the north of Sanjan<sup>4</sup> cannot be determined. I am also not sure about the location of the villages called **Kāpāḍuka** and **Dēvīhara**. The names of certain localities are mentioned in the inscription in the enumeration of the boundaries of Kāpāḍuka, one of them being **Kallagrāma**.

#### TEXT

[Metres: verses 1 *Drutamambita*; verses 2-7, 12, 17-18, 21, 24-25, 28-32 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 8 *Uṣṇjā*; verses 9-11, 27, 33 *Indravajrā*; verses 13, 16 *Vasutatlakā*; verses 14, 19, 23 *Ārpā*; verse 15, 33-36 *Śuṣṭhā*; verses 29, 22 *Sāntilavikīḍā*; verse 26 *Sālī*; verse 34 *Puskajugā*.]

#### First Plate

- 1 Siddham\* [(\*) Gīṛmā-Harayōc = avibhinmayōc = vīharatōc = nūyām-ārtham = avantu vah |  
sarasa-yāvatā-bhāsa-vichitritā-Tri-
- 2 pathagā-pulīnō pada-pantkṛtayaḥ || (1\*) Śūla-bhinnaśya viṇyastō Mahiśasya va(ba)līd-  
gaḥ | Durgāyāḥ pātu vah pādāsa-
- 3 d-akt-śaktak-śaktiḥ || (2\*) Pāyā-munir = A[ga]jyō vah(vat)-chulak-āpīta-vāridhīḥ |  
daktiḥ-śā-mukh-śtūḥ(tūḥ)ka(ga)-bhūbhūt-pālī
- 4 ta-śānaḥ || (3\*) Jayatām = Ārya-dēvīyā mahā-parśad-aninditāḥ | viṇay-āchāra-  
sanjanyo-dharm-ōpāśamibhir-gunai-
- 5 b || (4\*) Abhūt-Bhaga-jatā-jāta-vasodhṛta-kuṭi-charaḥ | Chandramā jagad-ananda-  
kanda-kandāna-kāmaḥ || (5\*) Tasmād=Vu(d=Bu)dhō va(ba)lī-śāhā-
- 6 =tatāt=ch-ābhūt = Parātravāḥ | tasmād=Āyur-analp-āyus = tatō-nyē chakravarttinah || (6\*)  
Eva-machchhinna-santānāḥ jāyamāṇeṣu rājaseu ||
- 7 Yayātir-abhavat-sā-pi antam Yadu-mā[?]janai | (7\*) Tatā-trilōki-tilakāyamānaḥ  
prāvaritāt-ājan Yadu-saṁjāna-varīḥ |

<sup>1</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 538 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *IQ.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 123-24.

<sup>3</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 127.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 202.

\* From impressions.

\* Expressed by symbol.



- 8 yatr-āhlilēlētē Harīr-āma-jama jama-antar-śobhāhiti-karaṇḥ prajānām(nām) || [8\*]  
 Sud-Rākṣaṭrakāṭi-āpara-nāmy-amuṣmin-va(m\*)jō Yadūnā-
- 9 m-sjanī kahat-śeḥ | (śvīndatājāś-śahar-avāhi(bdā)-vēlā-kānchī-guṇāyāḥ patir-  
 urvavāṣṭh) || [9\*] Śi-Kakkarājō-sya mitō
- 10 hat-ārie-tsamād-āhlūd-Indra iv-Batracājah | Śri-Dantidurgō-sya mitō va(ba)bhūva  
 Śri-Kṛishṇarājō nu pītṭiya lāt || [10\*] Gō-
- 11 rindatājō-bhavat-maya putrah(tras-) tasy-ānujō nu Ddhruvātājadēvaḥ | tasmā(-)Jagattu-  
 nga-dharādharādmas-tasy-ātmajuh śrimad-āmō-
- 12 gharatāhah | [11\*] Tasmāś-śhri-Kṛishṇarājō-bhūd-akṛishṇa-charitō vibhūḥ |  
 dhūra-tasy-ś-gharān-naptā Jagatung-ātmajuh nripah || [12\*] A-
- 13 līyadilhit-śvavāś-bharō bhūh-āśri-āśh śach-śakra-mudaka-karō Narakaśya śatrūḥ  
 | nirmuṣṭhya vaiśi-raca-vānīhim-āpta-ś-
- 14 kāmīḥ śākūlāUpēndra iva śōśhāvāś-Imādrarājah || [13\*] Yō nāśi(śi)ta-kām-  
 ātmā grīhita-Dāhāś-nāya-
- 15 kś-kaṣṭhah | attara-digva(g-ba)dhā-ruohī rājati lōkō Mahāśvara-rat || [14\*] Śvēti-  
 māl mōdirōga pravara-
- 16 gaḥa-ghaṭi līya-mitādhayacati śailā-Kalīśa(m)yanti gagana-tala-gatān-harha-  
 yaṇti sa(śa)kūntān |

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 17 pālā Śāhayanā phapi-kulam-akhilā(n\*) Ga(śh)gayanā śra(ma)vanti rāvrindas-  
 chōdayanti\* bhramati nīpa-gu-
- 18 gah śachhīptā yasya kṛitūḥ | [15\*] Tasmān-praśānti mahāśa(hi)śa-mahādhara-  
 ndrām-Indra-dyutau chatur-udavād-a-
- 19 nīrya-kānchī(bdā) | Khadg-śbhghāśa-vijit-śhata-rāśi-śa-śānasta-māḥalaka-vandita-  
 pāda-padmā || [16\*] Kṛishṇarā-
- 20 śa-day-śvāpta-kṛitma-Satīyāna-magdalah | Śān-Madhumatī(b\*)śrimā(n\*) nripauś-  
 Tājīś-ārvayō || [17\*] Vijītya kara-dagḍhā sarva-vāśhka-
- 21 ś-śhīpān | nyarivīś-samach kṛitya sarvatra karapān yah || [18\*] Rukhyā madhita-  
 bhūvanō-rupa-magī-iva Sugatipō dhara-radhrāḥ || [19\*]
- 22 bhūśhaga-bhūśhāyām(ay-ā)bhūt-tat-anta(h\*) Śāhīśrahānaya\* || [19\*] Kṛitvā dha-  
 rma-tat-drayēna sarita madhū-pprapachhīḥ-parūḥ śhīy-annach pravibhu-
- 23 jya śhīpa-śhīta-vat-anta(śhī) samam śhūf-rasah | śhīyam yasya utānta-bhīśha-  
 māmāḥ kṛitvā śhīnt-śhīva(jīva)lām nāś-dāśa-vīśha-vō \*
- 24 di-pathikā vyāvarppayadīty-achchakūḥ | [20\*] Atulya-rūḥī\* atīśam(śhīy-śhukpī-  
 kma-rāśi-gurūḥ | Śr-Pavvaīyō-bhavat-yasya mantri mantri-vīd-
- 25 mēvarah\* || [21\*] Bhūśhāśhī-kulāśya magḍhāna-vūdhī Śr-Vāśudhātmaśh Śr-Nāri-  
 yaḥa-bhāśa ity-ābhīśhitas-tasy-ātmaśh jātavān |

\* The word *anta* has been made *anta* in the sake of the meter.

\* The intended reading may be *śaśhāśhāyanti*.

\* Or as *Hiptakṛitma*, or as *śhīraśhāyana*.

\* A letter was engraved and erased after this.

\* Read *śhīyā-rūḥī*.

\* Read *śhīśhā kara*.



[illegible][illegible]







- 25 Annāryō<sup>1</sup>=bhavad=asya mītram=asamādā śrī-Nityavarsh-ānugaḥ Saṁyānō maṭhan-ābhūdhā-  
nam=atulan yō=achikarao=maṇḍanam || [22\*] Tēn=ā-
- 27 nīla-vilalita-vīṭhi-jala-phalō vibhava-jititō matvā ||\*|| vijāpya Nityavarsham  
pravartitō bhūmi-dāyō=yaṇḍiyam || [23\*] Tēn=āyath śrī-Madhū-
- 28 maty-āpara-sāmnā śrī-Sugatipēna Bhāradvāja-maharshi-gōtra-tilakāyamāna-Maitrā-  
yaṇi(ṇi)-ākṣhay-ōpalakṣita-savru(bra)hmachārī-āt-
- 29 Vācullēy-ātmaja-āt-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa-puta-ārṇad-Annammāy-ōparōdhāt-ōta(1\*)-kṛitā-ma-  
ṭhikā-samākār-ārthan tath=ātra-nivāsa-pachala-Gaṇ-
- 30 āya-mahā-parahadō nava-jatānām Dakṣiṇyā=cha Bhugavatyā var-ākāra-nyāyēna<sup>2</sup> sarv-  
ōpakaraṇ-ōpalbhṭg-ārthan tathā dharmma-chi-
- 31 ra-sthātayō paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājōdhīrāja-paramōvara-ārṇad-Indrarājadēvati  
vijāpya tad-anumatēna śrī-Saṁyā-
- 32 na-haṁyamana-paura-dhruva-vishayik-ābhikārikān-mālayitv-ōh=āya Kōlimahāra-viṇay-  
āntarvartit-Kāpāduk-ābhūdhāna-
- 33 grāmāḥ ādātō<sup>3</sup> yath=āghātanām ||\*|| pūrvvataḥ parvat-ōpara-vāri-phalāḥ | dakṣiṇā=ātan-  
naga-sirggata-nadīm-ārabhya pāshāṇa<sup>4</sup>-Sēmvā(mla)k-ā-
- 34 para-Bhūmimaharōṭṭgarikā-dakṣiṇa-bhāgaḥ | pāśchimātō Bhammaharōṭṭgarikām-ārabhya  
Kāṭhgrāma-pūrvva-sindhata-vapa-madhūka-kumbhika-
- 35 Chūdan-Bhūgavāra-dakṣiṇa-nadī(ṇ)<sup>5</sup> yāvud-uttaratō Hūgavāra-tīhavaṣṭ-Vāghavāra-  
dakṣiṇa-vāhinī-pūrvvāṅga-bhuvō nadī ||\*||

## Second Plate, Second Side.

- 36 āvam chatur-āghātan-ōpalakṣitāḥ s-ōdrasgaḥ sa-parikaraḥ<sup>6</sup> sa-bhāga-bhāgaḥ sa-danḍa-  
das-āparōdhāt sa-dhānya-li-
- 37 rāgy-ādēyah s-ōpadyamāna-viṣṭi-pratyāyah s-ābhyanāna-siddhir=chāpa-bhāpa-paṇṭakāḥ  
sa-vpikṣha-māl-ākulāḥ
- 38 sa-dmā-paryantaḥ mīhūn-āṣṭpaka-kumārīsāha-dōsha-traya-varjāḥ ā-chamir-ākk-Jaggarā-  
kahiti-sarit-Samēru-
- 39 kulāchala-samakālīnāḥ grāmō dattas-tathā Dēvīhar-ākṣya-grāma-madhyō bhūmi-dhat-  
ārdhan cha ||\*|| tadāyam=asamād-āyā-
- 40 samād-vahāyāc=anyat=ch-āgānīhīr-bhūmipālātḥ pālayitavyō=ammamārya=cha ||\*|| yata  
kha || Sva-dattāḥ para-dattāḥ vā
- 41 yatūl-rakṣa-matūhīpa | mahā mahābhṛtāḥ kṛṣṭha dandah-chīrēyō=anpālannā(ann) ||  
[24\*] tathā ch-ōkratā(kram) | Va(Ba)huhīrvaṇḍhā-bhūṭā
- 42 rājabhūḥ Sagar-ādhīrhiḥ | yaeva yaeva yulā bhūmīs=asya tasya tadā phālan(jam) || [25\*]  
tathā ch-ōkratā Rāmabhadra ||
- 43 Sāmāryōyam dharmma-sētra-sipāgām kālā kālā pālanīyō bhavadhīḥ | māvān-  
tān(tān) bhūmih pāthivēndhān-bhū-

<sup>1</sup> The name of the person (cf. also verso 33 below) is given as Annammāya in the prose part of the record (line 25).

<sup>2</sup> This seems to refer to the practice of offering sacrifices arranged in a good shape.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. *Samudrāyā* probably.

<sup>4</sup> The letter *ya*, which was originally omitted, is written above the line.

<sup>5</sup> This is the same as *s-ōpadyamāṇ* of many other records.



- 44 yō bhūyō yachātō Rāmabhadrah || [26\*] Agnōr=aparyādī prathimam suvarṇam bhūr=vaishnavī sūrya-sūktā=cha gāvaḥ | lōkadhika-trayam
- 45 tēna bhavēd=āhi dattam yāḥ kāmahanam gām cha mahīm cha dadyāt || [27\*] yas=ev=ajñāna-patal-andhita-dīpishīr=anila-va(ba)l-ākata=sa-
- 46 rit-taratiga-bhaṅguram trip-āgra-lagn-āvaśyāy-ānavasthitam kari-kalabha-karṇ-āgra-lōkāt śrānta-vihaga-gaṇa-chapalam
- 47 prakṛpita-bhujaga-jihvā-taḍit-kalaga-dishām madyasth pratikahayam=anavasthitam gati-||[v]||tam=anālōchya ih=ā-
- 48 mūtra cha yasah(sah)-mukhya-nidāpam dānāt-puṇya-sandehayam=anūpity-ādīshṭa-phal-ānādhijānō-durmatir=āchehli-
- 49 nityād=āchehli-dyauṇānam v=ānumōdita = patichahli=sunnahā-pātakaḥ=s-ōṇ<sup>1</sup>pātakaḥ=cha sahyu-
- 50 kta[h\*] syād=ity=uktam bhagavatō Vēdavyāsena Vijñāna || Shashīr=evareha-sahasraṇi svargē vasa-
- 51 ti bhūmīdāḥ | āchēhōtā ch=ānumatitā cha tasy=eva natakō vaset || [28\*] Vinidhy-ōjavishv-a-tō-

## Third Plate.

- 52 yān āshka-kōtara-vāsumā ||\*| kriehp-āhayaō hi jāyātō bhūmī-dāyam harām(ca)nti yō || [29\*]
- 53 Anyāyōna hritā bhūmīr=haritā v=ānumōditā | atit-āgāmi pāpānāḥ dahaty=ā-
- 54 septamam kulam(ham) || [30\*] Sva-dattāḥ para-dattāḥ vā yō harēta vasmudharān(rām) | gavām-sata-sahasraya ha[rō]tib
- 55 prāpūṇi kōyī(bhā)sham(sham) || [31\*] Jñātv=avam mat-pradattō-yam bhūmī-dāyō manohi-bhīḥ | n=ōchēhōdyō bhāvi-bhōpālāḥ sa-
- 56 ryavair-ātma-hitāshibhīḥ || [32\*] Yān-cha dattānī parā vasmudharā-dānānī dharmm-ārtha-yasa(sa)kārāṇi | nimmālya-
- 57 vānta-pratimānī tānī kō nāma sādhuḥ punar-āhulita || [33\*] hi kamala-dal-āhiva(hu)-vimbu-lōṇam śriyam=avalō-
- 58 kya manushya jīvītam cha | atit-vimla-manōbhīr=ātmanīnair=una hi purushaḥ para-kṛttayō vilōpyah || [34\*] Śa-
- 59 ka-narapati-kāl-ātita-sāmva(sāmva)tsara-satēshv-ashtāsv-ashtāshatvārīn<sup>2</sup>śad-adhikāshu Vaisākha-śuddh-ākshata<sup>3</sup>-tritiyāyam
- 60 Sōmē amkatō=pi samva(samva)tsara 848 Vyaya-samva(samva)tsarō=vyaya-dharmma-kōsa-vpiddhayaō likhitam=etan ś-
- 61 samam paramēśvaram-paramabhayānaka-mahārājādīrāja-śrinud-Akālavarashadēva-pād-ānu-dhyāt=et-Nitya-
- 62 varshadēv-ānujñāta=et-Sagatip-ājñaya Samyāna-dhruva-Yathay-ānumatēna Sagatēna tri-Dhruvarāja-sādhahivra-

<sup>1</sup> Better read 'pāpānā=apa'.<sup>2</sup> The number is wrongly placed on the previous akshara.<sup>3</sup> The usual name of the tithi is Akshaya.



- 63 *hik-Āpta-mūḍa=ści* || *yad-atr=ōn-āksharam=adbile-āksharath vā tat=sarvath pramāṇam=it* ||  
*Grāmah Kāṇḍak-ā-*
- 64 *khyō- vara-ātharapī-dhur-ārdhham cha Dēvyān-ākhyō dattam yēn=ōha sa śrī-Sugatipa-nṛi-*  
*patih sūrya-tōjāh(jāh) prastast<sup>1</sup> || Annaiyāh Kittanāna*
- 65 *tribhuvana-jayinā Rōvayāh Kantukus=cha sārddham Dēvyāh prasādād=Amargiri-vara-*  
*sthāyukāh sātanta(in) sarvō || [35\*] Yāvad=ēchi-tamhga-prachā-*
- 66 *lita-makara-grāha-nakt-ākul-ōrmmi-vyāviddh-ōddhūta-tōya-kshubhita-kalakā-ārāva-randm)*  
*samudrah || yāvan=nakulatra-chañtra-graha-gu-*
- 67 *ga-kiran-ālanikrit-ōngas=cha Mōrus=āvaḥ=Dēvyāh prasādād=svikatan=amalah sōsanah*  
*sthānu bhūyāt || [36\*] māṅgulah mahati cha śrīh ||*

## 2. Grant of the time of Kṛishṇa III

This is a **single** plate measuring about 17·5" in length, 8·7" in breadth and 1" in thickness. It weighs about 150 *toles*. There is no seal fixed with the plate which is engraved only on one side. There are 50 lines of writing. The engraving is as neatly done as in the other epigraph from the same place, edited above. The preservation of the writing is satisfactory.

The **characters** belong to the North Indian alphabet of the tenth century A.D. and closely resemble those of the inscription of the time of Indra III, edited above. The initial vowels *a* (lines 21, 22, 27 and 39), *i* (lines 18, 40, 43 and 48) and *ī* (lines 17 and 30) occur in the inscription. Final *l*, *s* and *m* are found respectively in lines 50, 10 and 22, while the *avagata* occurs in lines 37 and 38. The numerical figures 4 and 0 have been used in line 39. The sign for *v* has been employed in indicating *h*.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the document is written in prose and verse. In point of **orthography** also the record resembles the record edited above. In a few cases, the rules of *Sandhi* have been ignored even in verses (lines 10, 26). Although final *m* has been used (line 22), it has often been changed wrongly to *ananta*. Certain consonants have been reduplicated in conjunction with *r*.

The inscription bears **no date**. Since, however, it refers itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.), it may be assigned roughly to the **middle of the tenth century A.D.**

The inscription begins with the *Pragatya* which is followed in lines 1-35 by 19 verses. Verse 1 is in adoration of the Mother-goddess. The next stanza (verse 2) introduces the **Yadu** or **Yādava** dynasty, to which the **Rāshtrakūṭa** kings are stated to have belonged. Verse 3 speaks of the following rulers of the family: (1) Dantidurga (742-56 A.D.); (2) his successor Kṛishṇarāja (Kṛishṇa I, 756-75 A.D.); (3) Gōvindarāja (Gōvinda II, 775-80 A.D.), successor of Kṛishṇarāja; (4) Nirupama (Dhruva, 780-94 A.D.); (5) Jagatnaga (Gōvinda III, 794-814 A.D.); (6) Amoghavarsha (I.e. Amoghavarsha I, 814-80 A.D.), and (7) Amoghavarsha's son Akalavarsha (Kṛishṇa II, 878-915 A.D.). The next stanza (verse 4) refers to Indrarāja (Indra III, 915-28 A.D.), while verse 5 speaks of Amoghavarsha (I.e. Amoghavarsha II, 928-29 A.D.) who succeeded Indrarāja. Verse 6 mentions Gōvindarāja (Gōvinda IV, 929-34 A.D.) surnamed Suvarṇavarsha and verse 7 Amoghavarsha (I.e. Amoghavarsha III, 934-39 A.D.). The following four stanzas (verses 8-11) describe the reigning king **Kṛishṇarāja** (Kṛishṇa III, 939-67 A.D.), son of Amoghavarsha. It will be seen that all the rulers of the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty from Dantidurga to Kṛishṇa III are mentioned in correct order, although the relationship between the successor and his predecessor has not been indicated

<sup>1</sup> Read *prastast*.



in all the cases. It is interesting to note that the reign of Amoghavarsha II has been recognised in the record.<sup>1</sup>

About the reigning monarch **Krishna III**, verse 10 says that he conquered certain enemies even when he was a crown-prince, while verse 11 enumerates the following as bowing down to his feet : the Pāṇḍyas, Ōḍras, Sūhālas, Chōlas and Pārasikas, the Andhra king, the Dravīḍas, Vararatas and Tajjikas, and the Vādāḥpas, Hāpas, Khasas, Gūjaraṇas and Mālavīyas. The success of Krishna III against the Pāṇḍyas, Sūhālas, Chōlas and Gūjaraṇas (i.e. the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kannauj<sup>2</sup>) is referred to in some of his records.<sup>3</sup> The name Dravīḍa seems to have been applied to the Pallavas. A Pallava king named Appiga is known to have been subdued by him.<sup>4</sup> The Mālavīyas were probably the Paramāras who owed allegiance to him.<sup>5</sup> The Tajjikas (i.e. Tājikas) were the Arabs, some of whom, as we have seen above, were serving under the Rāshtrakūṭa kings, while the Pārasikas or Persians appear to be the Parosians who had settled at places like Sanjan in the western coast land forming a part of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire.<sup>6</sup> The king's relations with the remaining peoples mentioned in the verse are not known from any other source.

Verses 12-14 speak of the god **Bhīllamāladēva**, also called Maḍhusūdana (i.e. Vishnu), worshipped at the unspecified place whence the charter was issued. The deity is stated to have been installed by the descendants of the merchants of **Bhīllamāla** which is the modern Bhinmal in the Jodhpur region of Rajasthan. Verses 15-19 state that at the same place, there was another *mathikā*, i.e. monastery or temple, which had been constructed by Kautuka and at the gate of which the goddess called Bhagavatī had been installed for worship. It is clear that the god Bhīllamāladēva alias Maḍhusūdana was installed in the temple standing near another made by Kautuka for the Mother-goddess. There is little doubt that Kautuka's *mathikā* enshrining *Bhagavatī* was the religious institution built by Annaiya (Annamaiya), Kautuka and Rēvaṇa at Sathiyāna and that the goddess is no other than *Bhagavatī* Dātāmī installed in it, both mentioned in the grant of the time of Indra III, edited above. Verse 19 of the record under study refers to the *Amoghā-parashad* (called *Mahā-parashad* in line 35) in connection with the goddess and this is apparently the *Ārya-dīkṣit Mahā-parashad* or *Pañcho-Gaṇḍīya-mahā-parashad* of Sathiyāna mentioned in the other epigraph.

The following section in prose in lines 35 ff. records a *vyavasthā* which means 'a legal decision in a dispute' in the present context. It is very interesting to note that, in this case, the decision emanates from a deity and his attendants and not from any judicial or administrative authority. In this respect, the inscription under study offers a peculiar instance.

It is stated that a *vyavasthā* based on an order was offered to the *mathikā* (i.e. the monastery or temple of the goddess) and the *śāhīyāgīdas* or scholars belonging to the *Mahā-parashad* attached to it by the god **Bhīllamāladēva** and his *vīrikas*. The word *vīrika* is known to have been used in the sense of 'an official' and, in the present context, it no doubt means a priest or *Paṇḍit* of the temple of Bhīllamāladēva at Sathiyāna.<sup>7</sup> Apparently the decision of the temple authorities was passed as the order of the god ; but whether any device was adopted to convince the people that it was really the will of the god is uncertain. The terms of the *vyavasthā*, which follow, were that the *mathikā* of the goddess should pay forty *danammas* to the god Bhīllamāladēva and his *vīrikas* as *śrīṭaka* for

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 416, note 4. The fact that Amoghavarsha II obtained the throne is also recognised in some other records of Krishna III (cf. above, Vol. IV, p. 283, verses 18-19).

<sup>2</sup> The suggestion that the Gurjara contemporary of Krishna III was the Chaulukya king Mularjī (cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 283, 420) seems to be wrong as the territories of the Chaulukyas were outside Gurjara in the age in question (cf. below, p. 58, note 5).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. verses 20, 31 and 32 of the Karkhad plates (above, Vol. IV, pp. 276 ff.). See also Altakar, *op. cit.*, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 289 (verse 23).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Harola plates (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 236 ff.).

<sup>6</sup> See Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 1924, p. 444.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 171-72 ; cf. Vol. XXXI, p. 104, note 1.



a small piece of land that belonged to the god but had been enclosed within the northern compound wall of the *maṭhikā*. The word *śrōṭaka* is not found in Sanskrit lexicons but was apparently a kind of rent, since the periodical nature of its payment is indicated by the stipulation that the amount was to be paid on each occasion of *dīp-āraṇa-śaṅga*, i.e. the end of the festival of lights, obviously in the *maṭhikā* of the goddess.<sup>1</sup> The *Dīp-āraṇa* seems to be no other than the *Dīpāvalī*, a festival with illuminations held on the new moon of Āśvina or Kārtika in honour of the goddess Pārvatī. The *dramma* was a coin of copper or silver.<sup>2</sup> The inscription seems to specify the payment in coins minted by a trader named *brāhṁṣa* Gaṇabhuva. It appears that this tradesman of Saṃyāna enjoyed a license for minting coins on behalf of the ruling authority.<sup>3</sup>

It is further stated that, now that the *vyavasthā* was offered (cf. *adānā*), if any devotee of the god (i.e. Bhīlamāladēva), whether he is a Brāhmana or a merchant, commits suicide or causes any other trouble with a view to increasing the amount of the *śrōṭaka* or to the removal of the wall of the *maṭhikā* enclosing the piece of land belonging to Bhīlamāladēva, he should be looked upon as a dog or a donkey or a Chāṇḍāla even if he is dead. If a merchant was involved in such a case, his whole property should have to be confiscated by the government. On the other hand, in case the *śrōṭaka* was not duly paid to the *śāstas* of the god Bhīlamāladēva, if any one out of the persons belonging to the *Mahā-parśad* attached to the *maṭhikā*, who kept the door of the *maṭhikā* open to the public, or of outsiders who conducted worship of the goddess, committed suicide, he would also share a similar fate even if he was dead. It is stated that this *vyavasthā*, based on the *sthiti* or *dharma*, was a permanent one and had to be observed by both the parties of the dispute, viz. the devotees of the god Bhīlamāladēva and those of the goddess worshipped in the *maṭhikā*. To the above is added the statement that anybody who would appropriate the piece of land in his attempt to avoid the payment of the *śrōṭaka* should be endowed with all the greater and minor sins.

It is clear from the words of the inscription that a small piece of land belonging to the temple of the god Bhīlamāladēva, which seems to have been situated in the vicinity of the *maṭhikā* of the goddess, was lying within the compound wall of the latter and was in wrongful possession of the devotees of the goddess. It is also clear that, while the devotees of the god were trying to recover the land by all means including the offer of hunger-strike, the other party attached to the goddess was trying to obstruct the release of the plot equally obstinately in the same way. The decision to ease this state of tension by fixing an amount of annual rent for the piece of land, payable by the party in the possession of it, was therefore a good one. The respectful mention of the goddess in the present record exhibits a spirit of compromise which is commendable.

The above section of the record is followed in lines 46-47 by a sentence meaning to say that the giver of the decision, viz. the god Bhīlamāladēva along with his *śāstas*, expressed his desire in the words of the document as written by the scribe. The following sentence saying that the god favoured the document with his assent is a well known formula with which the royal donors put their signature to a charter originally written on a perishable material and later inscribed on copper plates. This section is in the style of the charters issued by the contemporary rulers of the area in question.<sup>4</sup>

The charter ends with a stanza (verse 20) followed by a short benedictory passage. The verse mentions the person who was responsible for writing the document with the consent of both the

<sup>1</sup> For *śrōṭaka*, see above, p. 36. For the meaning of *Maṅga*, see Apte, *Prati. Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s. v. *śrōṭaka*, *śrōṭaka*, *śrōṭaka*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above Vol. XXX, p. 218 and note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. JNSI, Vol. VII, pp. 79 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Similar statements are found, e.g., in the grants of the Śiṅhās of the Northern Kankā. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 270 (Plate III, lines 16-17); above, Vol. III, p. 373, lines 82-84, etc.



parties, viz. the devotees of the god and those of the goddess. This writer was a Kāyastha named Samādhudīya who was the son of Ambaiya (Ambaiya I) and grandson of Jōggapāya.

The place where the temples of the god and the goddess were situated is not mentioned in the record. But, as we have seen, they must have stood at **Saṁyāna** within the dominions of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III. As indicated above, Saṁyāna is modern Sanjan in the Thane District of Bombay. Among the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, **Bhīṣṭa-māla**, as already pointed out, is modern Bhīmāl about 100 miles to the south-west of Jodhpur in Rajasthan. It is interesting to note that there was a well-organised settlement of merchants of Bhīmāl origin at Sanjan and that they had installed a Vaiṣṇavite deity of their own and named it after their home town. A large number of peoples of various countries are mentioned in the description of Kṛṣṇa III. Most of these tracts are well-known. The **Pāṇḍyas** lived in the Madurai-Ramanathapuram-Tirunelveli region, the **Ōḍras** in modern Orissa and the **Śrīhalaas** in Ceylon. The original territory of the **Chōlas** was in the Tanjavur-Tiruchirappalli area and of the **Pārastikas** in Persia. The name **Andhra** was apparently used to indicate the kingdom of the contemporary Eastern Chālukya king of Vēṅgī, while the name **Draviḍa** was probably applied to Tanjāvur/Jalam, the territory of the Pallavas in older times. It is difficult to locate the **Varvaras** known from early Indian literature as a people of the north-west of India.<sup>1</sup> The **Tajjikas** or **Tajikas** were the people of Arabia and **Waḥkka** may be the same as **Vōkkka** mentioned in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* (XIV, 20) and identified with modern Wakhan in Central Asia.<sup>2</sup> The **Hūṇas**<sup>3</sup> appear to have lived in the Punjab and the **Khasas**<sup>4</sup> in Kashmir and Nepal. The Pratihāras of the **Gurjara** stock ruled over wide areas of North-India: but, even as late as the first half of the eleventh century, Al-Bīrūnī speaks of the Jodhpur-Alwar-Bharatpur region of Rajasthan as **Gujarāt**, i.e. **Gurjaratrā** or the home of the Gurjara.<sup>5</sup> **Mālava**, the land of the **Mālavīyas**, seems to have included in this age the territory around Ujjayini.

#### TEXT\*

[Metres: verse 1 *Drutavilambita*; verses 2-3, 20 *Stuṭiḥ*; verse 4 *Sāṁdāraśikrīḍita*; verses 5, 8 *Mālinī*; verses 6-7, 18-19 *Upajāti*; verses 9, 11, 14-16 *Paṇṇatīkṛtā*; verses 10, 17 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 12 *Upajāti*.]

- 1 Ōm\* Bhagavatyaī natumāḥ | Bhagavatī bhavataḥ bhava-bhī-bhīdā bhavatu Śūnīdha-Nīśūnībhavīnīdhaul |
- 2 suravar-āsurā-kinnara-Nārada-prahṛṣṭibhīr-vyvinatā varad=śbhavā || [1\*] Gāṇa[ni] bhīrṇā[ṭṭrā] na bhūṭā na madhīpa-
- 3 vāntīr-unā sālā dharmma-yakrō n-ākrūntō śaṇḍakō-s[y]ā(yaṇ) na cā purn-pavan-ākampitā uā na hīnā |
- 4 n-āślīmatān-āṭa-mūlo-prakṛtīr-ati-gṛhaṇō n-ā rāḡō datta-praṣṭab(ah(hah)) aś-pārvāśa-the vāmō Yadu-kula-
- 5 ūlākō Rāshtrakūṭ-śāvatāpān(nām) || [2\*] Tatr-āśād-Dantīdurggah śakala-guṇa-nūdhīy Kṛṣṇa(alpa)śāśa-tato-bhā-

\* Cf. Pargiter, *The Mahābhārata Purāṇa*, p. 319, note; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VIII, p. 62.

\* Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, op. cit., p. 53.

\* Cf. Pargiter, op. cit., p. 319, note; *Ind. Cult.*, op. cit., p. 59.

\* See Pargiter, op. cit., p. 346, note; Stein, *Rājatarāngīnī*, trans., Vol. I, pp. 47-48 (note on I, 317); Vol. II, p. 450.

\* Cf. *JNSI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 133 ff. The Daulatpurā plate (above, Vol. V, pp. 211 ff.; cf. Bhattacharya's *List*, No. 28) of 845 A.D. includes the Jodhpur region in **Gurjaratrā**. In the seventh century A.D., the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-tsang mentions Pi-lo-mo-lo (i.e. Bhīṣṭamāla or Bhīmāl) as the capital of Ku-cho-lo (i.e. Gurjara).

\* From *Impressum*.

\* Expressed by symbol.











- 6 *thr[eh-ohhri]mad-Uōvindarājās=tad-anu Nirupamaḥ śri-Jagatnāgādēvaḥ | p[ri]bhv[ā]ś-*  
*mōghavarshaḥ sa[mā].*
- 7 *jan[ī] vimalaḥ khyāta-kirtit[ī] samantāt=ta[ś]y[ī]-āh-Ākāśavarshāś-khila-bhuvana-patir-*  
*dhivasta-*
- 8 *śatrarava(r=ība)bhūva | [3\*] Lakṣmī-ālīngita-vigrahaḥ priyatayā vidyādhara-ēndr-*  
*ārītāś=chakra-ānibhūpa-*
- 9 *manōdya(jān)-bhūshita-karō vidhvasta-śatru-prahub[ī] | yaḥ sadyō<sup>1</sup>-va(ba)ndhanāśch<sup>2</sup>-cha*  
*vimalaḥ kirtit[ī] patir[ī] prā-*
- 10 *ptavān śrīmān=Indra-uripō guṇaḥ samabhavan=śūnam samānō Harōḥ | [4\*] Vīda-*  
*dhāt=īha jana-*
- 11 *ay=Āmōghavarshāś=ti-harshaṇ tad-anu bhuvana-dhātā jātavān-nishkalamukhaḥ || [5\*]*  
*vapuhī vimala-[la\*]kṣm[ī]ś[ī] p[ri]bh[ī]khyā*
- 12 *a-ēnd=śya kōpāt-prati-dīpam=śavaiyā yasya kirttir=|agāma || [6\*] Purō-kram-*  
*āyātātātāś sva-bhū-*
- 13 *to[ī]n[ī]\*] rakṣaṇ=samantām-niṣa-vikramāga | Gōvindarājō nripatis=tatō-bhūt=sam-*  
*prōchyaś yō-*
- 14 *ita Suvarṇavarshaḥ || [5\*] Tataḥ purā puṣya-chayāḥ prajānāt(bā)m=abhūddhā(d=bln)vi-*  
*śīmāt-Amōghavarshaḥ | n[ri]-*
- 15 *paḥ smānanādhī-vañ(bam)dhra-vargō vīkhyāta-kirttir=nihaś-śri-sā[r\*]t[ī]haḥ || [7\*] Samajani*  
*tad-apatyam Kṛi-*
- 16 *ah[ī]jārājō mahipō niṣa-ripa-janāśyā rīmō(rū)jēdhī vinyasta-pādah | avani-pati-kūṣāḥ*  
*padma-*
- 17 *rāga-chekhhalān dhriyā<sup>3</sup>ś īha samūrtiāḥ viśphurāt=yasya [t]ējah || [8\*] Khadg-ābhughāta-*  
*nihat-śri-ka-*
- 18 *rīndra-kumbha-sūtrpōbhhalad-vimala-muktika-vrīn(vrī)ndam=ājan | ādāya hāra-*  
*karapāya sur-āṅga-*
- 19 *a-aughaḥ apūptah(ahyaḥ) nitya dīvi yasya yaśō-vad=uchahāḥ || [9\*] Yauvarāja-ślōkō-*  
*aiya yān-ēha rī-*
- 20 *paḥ kṣayam(yam) | nītā hari-kīśorēṇa dvipā īva madōtkuśāḥ || [10\*] Pāṇḍy-Ōḍra-*  
*Singha(ha)la-sa-Chō-*
- 21 *laka-Pārasikā Andhrādhipa-Draviḍa-Varnva(rvva)ra-Tajjikāś-cha | Vamkīpa-*  
*Hūpa-Khaśa-Gūrjjara-Mālavī-*
- 22 *kāh(yā) yasy-ābhghri-padmā yugalaḥ prapamanti nityam || [11\*] Ast-īha tilaka-bhūta-*  
*tri-bhuvana-bhavana-*
- 23 *bhay-āpaśa(hā)ṇaḥ || [12\*] śri-Bhīlamāladēvō vandyair=abhū(na)jādītā-nindyaḥ || [12\*] Yaḥ*  
*sañātātō divija-dā-*
- 24 *anva-mānat-ēndrair-gandharva-kūmara-gaṇaḥ khachar-ōragāś-cha || [13\*] Śrīmāt-*  
*śūrēndra-dharaṇēndra-munī-*
- 25 *ndra-chandrāḥ atōtrair-mmanō-mala-harair-Mmadhusōdan-ākhyāḥ || [13\*] Yō-dhu-*  
*śthitō mayā-paraiḥ m-dhanair-gu-*
- 26 *p-aḥhyāḥ<sup>4</sup> bhā[k]ty-ānvitāḥ stuti-parair-analala-āndārāḥ | śri-Bhīlamāla-varājān*  
*kuḥjair-anāyā[ī]ḥ<sup>5</sup>*
- 27 *dharm-ōdratair=akula-lōka-kalair-agarvāḥ || [14\*] Ast-īha Kautaka-kpitr=[to]māṣṭak-*  
*ānagh=āryā durlab-*
- 28 *ghya-sālāḥ(la)kalitā Kalāśa vimuktā || [15\*] svādhyāyikair=akula-vānmayā-satva(ura)-*  
*vō(lō)dhāt=adbhūta-vu(bu)dhī-*

<sup>1</sup> Two short syllables are wanting in the stanza here.

<sup>2</sup> The word *bandhana* refers to the *paśa-āryama-śrāga* episode in regard to Hari and to *paśa-bandhana* in coronation with reference to the king.

<sup>3</sup> Originally *pā* was engraved in the place of *pa*.

<sup>4</sup> Read '*ahya*' = .

<sup>5</sup> Read '*anāyā*' = .



- 29 papubhūḥ sakal-ārtha-lakṣhaḥ || [15\*] Vēd-ārtha-sāra-nipuṣaḥ-amitāḥ paritā ||  
lōkaḥ=vvilōkita-ka-
- 30 ||jair=amalaiś-cha ratayā ||[\*] rōṣyātś-cha bhāṣṭa-nichayair-anubhūt-āti-sūraiḥ-yā  
dēva-bhūmīr-iva sad-vipuḥ||
- 31 dhair-vyibhāṣi || [16\*] Yasyām Bhagavaḥ Dēv dēva-dēnava-pūjā ||[\*] varadā mānava-  
māh tu Kalpānughe-
- 32 pa-tar-āpamā || [17\*] Vināṣitā dvāri ghana-parāṣa-vinirgat-ā<sup>1</sup>yāsita-lōka-lakṣhaḥ ||[\*] ryā(yā)  
gōpam-
- 33 r=anubehṛta-kūta-kōṭi-kalpa-dhva-jñhāta-sādhā(x-ā)ḥra-bharigūḥ || [18\*] Adhishṭhita  
kōṭi-sādhara-ratnāḥ śrut-ā-
- 34 nvyitāḥ(rat)ś-cha-śaṅgha-parahatā vā ||[\*] vimukta-māyair=amalaiḥ-vatāraiḥ-yā  
bhū-sūraiḥ-vvōda-parair-anindyai-
- 35 ḥ || [19\*] sa cha pārv-ākṣaḥ śrī-Bhīllamāladēvō vārika-purassaraś=acayāś-cha śrī-mahā-  
parahat-avā-
- 36 dhyāyika-samāta-śrī-majhikāyāḥ āsana-pūrvvāḥ vyavasāhūḥ pragachokhatī || yathā  
majhik-ā-
- 37 ttara-dig-bhāṣe śhita-prākār-ābhyanantā=amāyāḥ kṛya-mātrā bhūmīr-yā parvishṭā to-
- 38 t=amirā(ba)hūḥ mājhikāyā=amākaḥ prati-dip-āṣava-bhāṣa[ḥ] ||[\*] vyavahāraka-śrēṣṭha<sup>2</sup>-  
Uttibhāvaka-dramamāḥ śrōta-
- 39 kē<sup>3</sup> dēvā[ḥ] ||[\*] chatvārimśad=akṣatōṣā dṛ<sup>4</sup> 40 ||[\*] adhunā yāḥ kalchul-dēvākṣya-viprō vaqjō<sup>5</sup>  
vā śrōtaḥ-sāh-
- 40 varidhana-vyājē=ānyēna vā prakārēṇa prākāra-bha[ḥ] ||[\*] jaaṣya kākutālīyō bhūtvā āma(tma)-  
hamamā-
- 41 vyājāḥ vā karōti sa mṛtō-ṇe śva-garidabha-śhāṣṭāḥ-vaś-dmahavyaḥ ||[\*] vaqjā=to  
rājakulāḥ sa-
- 42 rvyasv-āpaharapam kuravṛat tathā dēva-vārikāmāh(gām) śrōtakam na dattadi chēt-śadā  
mathikā-dvārāḥ
- 43 dattatām Bhagavatīm(tyā) vā pūjyām(jāḥ) vīdava(dha)tām parham-madhya-varitṭy=anyā  
vā āma-hamamāḥ karōti sa mṛ-
- 44 tēpi śva-garidabha-śhāṣṭāḥ-da(va)ḥ-anayā śhityā vyavasth-ōyam=ā-chandr-ārka-kālāḥ  
yāvāḥ-abhaya-vu-
- 45 rgō-āpi pāṇtyā ||[\*] yas-tu pāṇāḥ śrōtak-ābhāṣṭāḥ-vaṣṭāḥ bhūmīr-āpaharāḥ karōti sa
- 46 parichabhr-mamāpātakaḥ supapātakaḥ-cha subpṛktō bhavēto(vō) || yathā ak=  
ātai=tathā vyavasthā-
- 47 dātā śva-matam=ārōpayati | matam mama śrī-Bhīllamāladēvasya vārika-purassaraśya ||[\*]  
[\*]-nija-
- 48 Ām-Rāyastha-gōttrē tatī-[ka]<sup>6</sup>ca-vimalē jōgapaṭy-ābhichānas-tamād-Amvāṇa<sup>7</sup>-āṣm-  
[\*]-nija-
- 49 kula-tilakō-bhūt-tatāḥ sūri-sēvyāḥ | jātaḥ śrī-Sambhūdēśō(vō) vinaya-naya-yata[ḥ] ||[\*]  
mad-dhavyō va(ba)ndho-
- 50 kātō dha[ḥ]<sup>8</sup>majhāḥ āsanāḥ drāg-ālikhaḥ-anumatē=ōbhayaḥ apacham-ōtai || [20\*]  
santigāntāḥ ||

<sup>1</sup> The śrōtak are supplements.

<sup>2</sup> Better read *vaṣṭāḥ* 2.

<sup>3</sup> Better read *parichabhr*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *apāṇāḥ* in *śrōtak*.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. *śrōtak-āṣṭāḥ*.

<sup>6</sup> This is a contraction of *āṣmā*.

<sup>7</sup> The word *apāṇ* has been used here in the sense of *small* which is, however, used in line 41 below.

<sup>8</sup> We may add *yaḥ* in this line.

<sup>9</sup> Originally *sa* was inserted in the place of *ka*.

<sup>10</sup> The intended name may be *śrībhāṣya*.



## No. 5—THREE GRANTS FROM CHINCHANI

(3 Plates)

D. C. SINGAR, OOTAQAMUND

Two of the five copper-plate grants discovered at Chinchani in the Daharu Taluk of the Thana District, Bombay, have been edited in the foregoing article. One of them pertains to the reign of king Indra III (915-28 A.D.) and the other to that of Krishna III (939-67 A.D.), both the rulers belonging to the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty of Mānyakhōṭa (Mālkhōḍ). Of the three other copper-plate charters discovered at the same place, two were issued by a Mōḍha chief of Sanyāna (Sānjan in the Thana District). The name of the family to which the issuer of the remaining charter from Chinchani belonged is not mentioned in the record; but he was also a ruler of Sanyāna and seems to have been a Mōḍha. The family name, viz. Mōḍha, associates these chiefs of Sanyāna with the Brāhmanas and Bāṇiyā communities of the same name now residing in various parts of the Northern Konkan and its neighbourhood.<sup>1</sup> No ruler of this dynasty was known so far from any other source.<sup>2</sup> The three charters are dated respectively in Śaka 956 (1034 A.D.), Śaka 969 (1048 A.D.) and Śaka 975 (1053 A.D.). Before the inscriptions are taken up for discussion, a few words may be said about the circumstances leading to the rise of the Mōḍhas at Sanyāna.

We have seen above<sup>3</sup> how an Arab governor was ruling over the territorial division of Sanyāna on behalf of the Rāshtrakūṭa kings Krishna II (878-915 A.D.) and Indra III (915-27 A.D.). It is well known that the Śilāhāras claimed to be the rulers of the Northern Konkan with their capital at Puri since the days of Amoghavarsha I (814-80 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> The founder of the Śilāhāra house was Kapardin I whose son Pullakuti (842-44 A.D.)<sup>5</sup> and grandson Kapardin II (851-78 A.D.)<sup>6</sup> are known to have enjoyed the title 'lord of the Konkan' or 'lord of the entire Konkan' as feudatories of the said Rāshtrakūṭa monarch. The Śilāhāra inscriptions give the names of the following rulers of the family after Kapardin II: (1) his son Vappuranna, (2-3) Vappuranna's sons Jhañjha and Gōggi, and (4) Gōggi's son Vajjada I. Little is known about these rulers, although Al Mas'ūdī speaks about 916 A.D. of Jhañjha as governor of the Lār (Lāṭa) country and

<sup>1</sup> See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. IX, part I, pp. 2-3, 11-12, for the Mōḍha Brāhmanas who are believed to have migrated to Gujarat from Upper India, and for the town of Mōḍhārā (*cf.* also *ibid.*, p. 72; Vol. VII, pp. 898-99) which is supposed to have given the Mōḍhas their name. For the same sub-caste of the Brāhmanas in Kutch, Kathiawar, Poona, Bera Kantha and Thana, see respectively Vol. V, p. 45; Vol. VIII, p. 146; Vol. XVIII, part I, p. 183; Vol. VI, pp. 23-24; and Vol. XIII, p. 80. For the Mōḍha Bāṇiyās in Gujarat, Kutch, Kathiawar and Thana, see respectively Vol. IX, part I, p. 72; Vol. V, p. 80; Vol. VIII, p. 148; and Vol. XIII, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> For a Mōḍha named Kanyera who was the son of Vajjala and a *Mahāśakrapālaka* of Chavdūkyā Bhims II, see an inscription of V. R. 1206 in *Jad. Ins.*, Vol. XI, p. 72, text lines 41-43. See also Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 208 and note 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, p. 80.

<sup>4</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 238 ff. The identification of the city of Puri is not definitely settled. Different scholars have identified it variously with Thāpa (chief town of the Thana District), Ghāṣāpuri (Elephanta), Rājāpuri in Kolaba and Rājāpur in Ratnagiri. See *ibid.*, pp. 233-34. Some of the Śilāhāra records were issued from Śhānaka or Thāpa. It is sometimes also believed that Thāpa was the capital of the Śilāhāras while Puri was their secondary capital (*Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, p. 402).

<sup>5</sup> *Jad. Ins.*, Vol. XIII, p. 136.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 134-35.



of Samur or Chaul as lying within his territory<sup>1</sup> and Aparājita, son of Vajjada I, is known to have ruled in 993-97 A.D.<sup>2</sup> The recently published grant<sup>3</sup> of Chhadvai, who was a younger brother of Vajjada I and a feudatory of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III (939-67 A.D.), seems to have been issued about the close of the Rāshtrakūṭa king's reign. Chhadvai is not mentioned in the later records of the family and may have really been a usurper of the throne which rightfully belonged to his brother's son Aparājita.<sup>4</sup> In spite of the fact that Aparājita ruled after the end of Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy, he also clearly speaks of the subservience of his ancestors to the Rāshtrakūṭa monarchs. It seems, however, that during the reigns of Kṛṣṇa II and Indra III and probably for sometime more, the territorial division called Saṁyāna-maṇḍala, comprising wide areas of the Northern Konkan, was under governors who were directly responsible to the Rāshtrakūṭa monarchs and had little to do with the Śilāhāras. This fact appears to explain the temporary decline of Śilāhāra power in the Northern Konkan after the reign of Kapardin II as indicated by the paucity of Śilāhāra records of the period in question and also by the Chinchani inscription of the time of Indra III and Madhumatī Sugatipa who governed Saṁyāna-maṇḍala on behalf of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II and Indra III. In this period, the Śilāhāras appear to have been ruling only over parts of the territory held by Kapardin II. The Chinchani plate of the reign of Kṛṣṇa III (939-67 A.D.) does not mention the local rule of any Śilāhāra feudatory probably because it was issued at a time when the hold of the Śilāhāras over Saṁyāna had not yet been fully re-established.

The Śilāhāra grants mention the descendants of Aparājita in the following order: (1-2) Vajjada II and Arikāśarm or Kāśidāra (1017 A.D.),<sup>5</sup> sons of Aparājita, and (3-5) Chhittarāja (1026-34 A.D.),<sup>6</sup> Nāgārjuna and Mammugi or Māmvāgi (1049-60 A.D.),<sup>7</sup> sons of Vajjada II. The earliest of the three grants of the chiefs of Saṁyāna edited here was issued in Śaka 956 (1034 A.D.). In this record, the chief, who appears to have belonged to the Mādhya dynasty, although it is not so stated in the inscription, acknowledges the suzerainty of the Śilāra or Śilāhāra ruler called Chhittarāja which is no doubt a variant of the name Chhittarāja.<sup>8</sup> It is stated that Saṁyāna-pattana was received by the chief from the Śilāhāra ruler. That Śilāhāra Chhittarāja was ruling at least down to 1034 A.D. is not only known from the present record but also from the Berlin Museum plates<sup>9</sup> issued by himself. It is, however, interesting to note that the other two records

<sup>1</sup> See *Domb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part 3, p. 25; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 403. The Yadava ruler Bhīlana II married the daughter of Śudhaja while his son Viṅgi married the daughter of Gōgi. E. G. Bhandarkar was inclined to identify Śudhaja and Gōgi with Jhaḍja and Gōgi of the Śilāhāra dynasty of the Northern Konkan (*Arch. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 232-33); but Fleet did not support the identifications (*ibid.*, pp. 425, 513, 514 note 3).

<sup>2</sup> *Ahore.*, Vol. III, pp. 271 ff.; *Gandri, Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp. 46 ff., 53 ff. Cf. *Vaidya, Hist. Med. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 349 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ahore.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 282 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The Gangs king Satyavākya Kṛṣṇaivarma Mīraḥkha II (c. 900-75 A.D.), who was a feudatory of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III, claims to have defeated Vijjala, the younger brother of Pīṭājamalla, and Kishora is inclined to identify this Vijjala with Śilāhāra Vajjada I (Kishora's Southern List, Supplement, p. 6). If this identification is accepted, it may not be impossible to think that it was the Rāshtrakūṭa king who subdued Vajjada I and placed Chhadvai on the Śilāhāra throne although the reference to Pīṭājamalla cannot be explained in the present state of our knowledge. Vijjala (i.e. Vijjala) and Vajjada, however, appear to be different names.

<sup>5</sup> *As. Res.*, Vol. I, p. 387.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 276 ff.; *ZDMG*, Band 69, 1909, pp. 263 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ahore.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 53 ff.; *JBRAS*, Vol. XII, pp. 329 ff.

<sup>8</sup> As will be seen below, Mahamatya Nāgaṇaiya and Mahamatyāśrīgrāhita Nānyaiya, known from Chhittarāja's grants, served under Chhittarāja of our record, while we have a charter of Chhittarāja issued in the same year, viz. Śaka 956 (1034 A.D.).

<sup>9</sup> *ZDMG*, Band 30, pp. 366 ff.



from Chinchani, dated respectively in Śaka 969 (1048 A.D.) and Śaka 975 (1053 A.D.), in both of which the donor is described as a Mōḥha, are conspicuous in their silence about the allegiance of the ruler of Saṁyāna to the Śilāhāras. This fact may suggest that, for some time about the middle of the eleventh century, Śilāhāra hold on Saṁyāna became weak. This seems to be further indicated by the record of Śaka 975 (1053 A.D.) in which the Mōḥha chief is endowed with the typical Śilāhāra title 'lord of Tagarapura' and is stated to have been ruling over 'the new kingdom' obtained by the strength of his own arms (line 8). In the inscription of Śaka 969 (1048 A.D.), he calls himself *Śaravāṅga-vyā-paṇḍara* in imitation of the Śilāhāras. We have also to note that the Saṁyāna chiefs enjoyed the same feudatory titles as the Śilāhāra rulers and that one of them claimed to have ruled over nearly a half of the Northern Konkan. It was probably Śilāhāra Mummuṇi or Māmraṇi who subdued or supplanted the Mōḥhas and re-established Śilāhāra authority over the Saṁyāna region shortly after the middle of the eleventh century. The Khatepatan plates<sup>1</sup> (Śaka 1015=1095 A.D.) of Anantadōva or Anantapāla, son of Nāgārjuna and successor of Mummuṇi or Māmraṇi, speak of his success against a calamity facing the Śilāhāras of the Northern Konkan owing to *dāyāda-sauri-ṛṣṭanta*,<sup>2</sup> although it is difficult to say whether the chiefs of Saṁyāna were encouraged to rule without reference to the Śilāhāras in the period of trouble referred to in that record.

#### 1. Grant of Chāmuṣṭarāja, Subordinate of Śilāhāra Chhinturāja, Śaka 956

This is a **single** plate measuring 10·5" in length, 7·5" in height and 1" in thickness. There are altogether 32 lines of writing, 20 on the first side and 12 on the second. A ring-hole disturbs the continuity of writing in the first two lines both on the obverse and the reverse of the plate. But no ring or seal was found with it. Since the writing was completed on both sides of a single plate, no ring bearing seal may have been attached to it. The plate weighs 77½ tolas.

The **characters** belong to the Northern Class of alphabets and closely resemble those of the Śilāhāra inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D.<sup>3</sup> The draft of the record as well as its engraving exhibits an amount of carelessness. The letter *ṣ* has been written in two different ways; cf. *śroṣṭa* and *śrṣṭi* in line 2. Although medial *ṣ* is generally of the *prishṭha-sūtra* type, its *śrṣṭa-mātrā* form is also used in a few cases (cf. *maṣṣaṭ*<sup>4</sup> in line 9). The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is written in **prose and verse**. In point of **orthography** and style also the inscription resembles the contemporary Śilāhāra records and little calls for special mention. The **date** of the charter is quoted in lines 15-16 as **Śaka 956 expired, Bhāva, Bhādrapada-badi 15**, both in words and figures. The date seems to correspond to the **15th September 1034 A.D.** (It may be recalled in this connection that the Berlin Museum plates of Śilāhāra Chhinturāja were dated only a few months earlier on Dvitiya-Chaitra-endi 14 of the same year, viz. Śaka 956, Bhāva.<sup>5</sup>)

The inscription begins with the symbol for *Siddham* followed by the *maṇigata*: 'May there be victory and prosperity.' Next follows a stanza in *adoration* of the god (Gaṇaśyaka (Gaṇeś)). We know that many of the Śilāhāra grants begin with the same passage and the same stanza.<sup>6</sup> Lines 2-4 introduce the reign (*kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājya*) of *Mahāmaṇḍalākara Chhinturāja* described as 'the supreme lord of Tagarapura', 'the illustrious **Śilāra** (Śilāhāra) king' and 'one born

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 33 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 34-35, text lines 32-33. Cf. *Ind. Coll.*, Vol. II, p. 311.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. III, pp. 271 ff.; *Gadon*, op. cit., pp. 40 ff., 55 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 277; above, Vol. XXV, pp. 63 ff.; Vol. XXVI, pp. 292 ff.; *JBHRAS*, Vol. XII, pp. 329 ff.; *ZDMG*, Band 50, pp. 295 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See *ZDMG*, Band 70, pp. 284-85.

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., above, Vol. XXV, p. 59; *ZDMG* Band 70, p. 296; etc.



in the family of Jimūtavāhana'. As in many other records of the Śilāhāra dynasty, Chhintarāja is credited with the banner bearing the golden Garuda and endowed with the titles *Abhināma-mahādadhī* and *Saṃyāgata-rajya-pājara*. As already pointed out above, Chhintarāja of our inscription is no other than the well-known king **Chhittarāja** of the Northern Konkani branch of the Śilāhāra family.

Lines 4-6 speak of the *Mahāmūḡya* Nāgapaiya and the *Mahāsāmāntāgrahika* Nāmpaiya, both of whom served under the Śilāhāra king and are already known to us,<sup>1</sup> and of *Mahāmāṇḍālikara* **Chāmupḍarāja** who was governing *Saṃyāna-pattana*, i.e. the town of Saṃyāna, granted to him by Chhintarāja. Besides the usual feudatory titles *Mahāmāṇḍālikara*, *Samadhigat-āffīsha-pāñcha-mahādadhī* and *Mahāsāmāntādhipati*, Chāmupḍarāja is endowed in lines 7-9 with the titles *Niṣa-bhaja-vikram-ādīya*, *Sāhana-chakravartin*, *Lāṭa-prākāra-rāya-dharmakata*, *Tribhuvana-nāṭa* and others. Among these, *Lāṭa-prākāra-rāya-dharmakata* seems to refer to Chāmupḍarāja's success against some ruler or rulers of *Lāṭa* identified by scholars with the present Nautari-Broach region.

Lines 10-14 state that, while ruling over Saṃyāna, Chāmupḍarāja passed an order regarding a grant, to be made by him, to his subordinates and others including the elders (*mukhya*) of the *hanyamana* (i.e. the Parasee community),<sup>2</sup> the courtiers and officials as well as the officers like Alliya, Mahara and Madhumata, the city elders named *Satadhīna* Kṣātrīa, Svarajya and Kakkala, the merchants such as Uva, Suvajya and Sūmriya, the district officer (*vishaya*) Vārthalaṭya, the *śālā-ādhīna-mukhya* Yājñikara, the district officials such as Kāṭita, Limburiya, Vēlaiya and Kṣavaiya, and the members of the *Mahā-parashad* such as Agartī, Gayī, Sīluva, Bhāskara, Arjuna, Dinakara, Dēlā, Ārya, Sindūra, Ādityavarga, etc. Chāmupḍarāja's officials called Alliya, Mahara and Madhumata appear to have been foreigners as the names are apparently of Arabic origin. The name Madhumata (Arabic *Muhammad*) is found in the form *Madhumatī* in the Chinchani plates of the time of Indra III, which apply it to a Tājika or Arab governor of the Rāshtrakūṭa king, while a Tājika (i.e. Tājika or Arab) officer of the Kadambas of Goa is known to have borne the name Madhumata.<sup>3</sup> Alliya appears to be the same as the well-known Arabic name 'Ali. Whether the word *śālā* in *śālā-ādhīna-mukhya* means 'a stable' is difficult to determine. The *Mahā-parashad* is no doubt the same as the *Pañcha-Gaṇḍīya* or *Ārya-dēvīya* *Mahā-parashad* of Saṃyāna mentioned in both the Chinchani epigraphs of the time of Indra III and Kṛṣṇa III, edited above.<sup>4</sup>

Lines 14-21 describe the object of the record which was the grant of a *ghṛīṃka* or oil-mill, made by **Chāmupḍarāja** in favour of the *Kaṭṭuka-maṭhikā*, i.e. the temple or monastery built at Saṃyāna by Kaṭṭuka and others and known from the two Chinchani records of the time of the Rāshtrakūṭa monarchs, referred to above. This section begins with the stanza *Ohakā vīdhātī*, etc., found in so many Śilāhāra records,<sup>5</sup> and is followed by the date already indicated above. The purpose of the grant was to burn a lamp in front of the Bhagavatī known from both the Chinchani inscriptions of the time of Indra III and Kṛṣṇa III to have been worshipped in Kaṭṭuka's *maṭhikā* at Saṃyāna, as well as for besmearing oil on the feet of the *śāldhīyikar* or scholars apparently belonging to the *Mahā-parashad* attached to the *maṭhikā* and of the Brāhmanya visitors

<sup>1</sup> Both the officers are mentioned in Chhittarāja's Berlin Museum plates. See ZDMG, Band 80, pp. 282-83 (text lines 22-23). In the same king's Bhandarp plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 278, text lines 6-7), the name *paṃpaya* occurs; but the name of the *Mahāsāmāntāgrahika* is quoted as *Sīhapaiya* whom Nāgapaiya appears to have succeeded.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 43 ff., 53 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. III, p. 373; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 277; etc.



to the *mathikā*. The *śrōdhyāgīkās* of the *Mahā-parthad* or *Kautuka-mathikā* of *Saṁyāna* are mentioned several times in the Chinchani plate of the reign of *Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III* as well as in the last of the three grants edited here. One of the *śrōdhyāgīkās*, *Chāṇḍa* by name, received the gift which was made as a *sanmūṣya-ryūti* (i.e. a permanent tax-free holding), free from all obligations. People were warned not to cause any obstacle in the enjoyment of the oil-mill by the donee. It is stated that the mill was granted together with the oil and oil-sakes (*ghṛaṭika* for Sanskrit *dhulika*) produced by it probably meaning that the produce of the mill was free from taxation like the mill itself.

Lines 21-28 quote some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory mantras together with certain prose passages of similar import, which are both generally met with in the *Śilāhāra* charters. The concluding part of the record in lines 29-32 states, in the style of the *Śilāhāra* grants, how the donor made his decree known through the language of the charter as drafted by the scribes and how the authoritative character of the grant could not be challenged on the basis of mistakes creeping into the text. The sentence beginning with *matam mama* in this section refers in the usual way to the signature of the donor put on the original document later incised on the plates. But a peculiarity of the present inscription is that *Chāṇḍa* is mentioned here together with a string of epithets. One of these refers to the 64 black horses received by him from an unspecified source. In the passage in question, *Tribhuvana-nīla Mahāmāṇḍalībhāra Chāṇḍa* is represented as the son of *Akasa-nīla Mahāmāṇḍalībhāra Vijja-rāpaka*. The charter is stated to have been written by *Dhruva Maumalaya*. The official designation *Dhruva* is a contraction of *Dhruv-ādhiparāṇika*, etc., which indicate an officer in charge of the collection of the royal share of the produce from the farmers.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it introduces *Chāṇḍa*, ruler of *Saṁyāna* under *Śilāhāra Chhinterāja* (*Chhinterāja*), as also *Vijja-rāpaka*, father of *Chāṇḍa* and probably an earlier ruler of *Saṁyāna* under the same *Śilāhāra* king. The family to which *Vijja* and *Chāṇḍa* belonged is not mentioned. Since, however, the name *Vijja-rāpaka* or *Vijjala* was also borne by the *Mōḍha* chief of *Saṁyāna* who issued the other two charters to be edited below, it is not impossible that the two *Vijja-rāpakas* belonged to the same family. Thus *Chāṇḍa* may have belonged to the *Mōḍha* dynasty. But it should be admitted that the relationship that may have existed between *Chāṇḍa*, who issued the present grant in 1034 A.D., and *Vijja* or *Vijjala*, who issued the other two grants a few years later in 1046 and 1053 A.D., cannot be determined without further light being thrown on the subject by future discoveries.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, *Tagarapura*, to which the *Śilāhāras* appear to have traced their origin, is now generally identified with *Tor* in the *Naldurg* District of the former *Hyderabad State*.<sup>1</sup> *Chāṇḍa* is stated to have been ruling over the *pattana* or town of *Saṁyāna* (elsewhere called only *Saṁyāna*), which had been granted to him by *Śilāhāra Chhinterāja* (*Chhinterāja*). *Saṁyāna-pattana* is of course the present town of *Saujan* in the *Thana District*. But the exact extent of the land under *Chāṇḍa*'s rule cannot be determined, although it may have been much smaller than the *Saṁyāna-maṇḍala* under *Madhamati Sagastipa* of the Chinchani plates of the time of *Indra III* and the *Saṁyāna-pattana* too mentioned in the second of the two sets of Chinchani plates of *Mōḍha Vijja*, to be edited below. *Chāṇḍa* is also stated to have destroyed certain ruler or rulers of the *Lāṭa* country in the present *Nasari-Broach* region. The inscription does not state where the *Kautuka-mathikā* was situated; but we know from the Chinchani plates of the time of *Indra III* that the *mathikā* was built by *Kautuka* and others at *Saṁyāna* itself.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1901, pp. 337 ff.

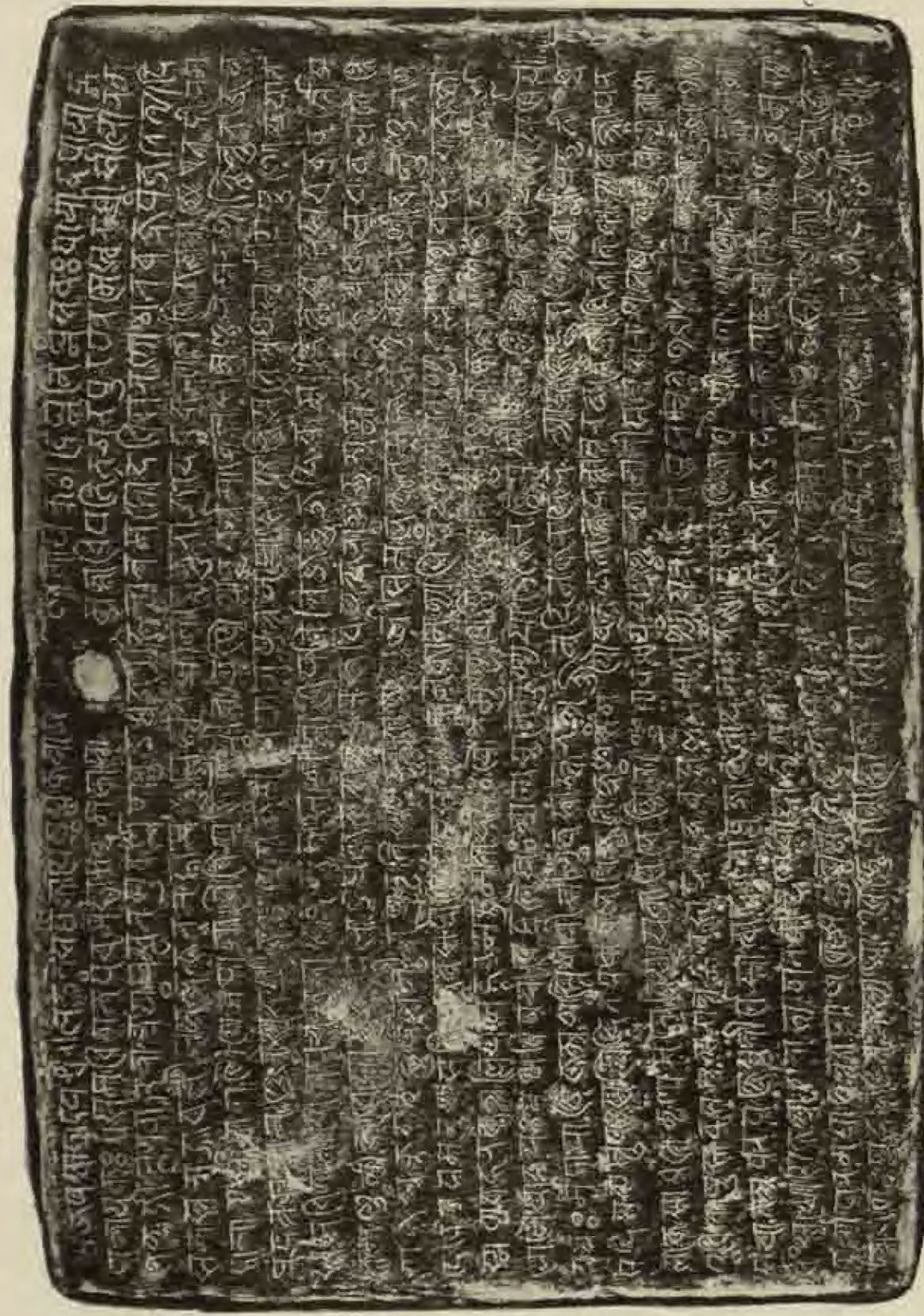






# THREE GRANTS FROM CHINCHANI—PLATE I

I. Grant of Chamundaraja, Saka 956



Scale : Four-Fifths







- 13 *dayah<sup>1</sup> mahā-pāreṣika<sup>2</sup> Agastī-Gavi-Silva-Bhāskara<sup>3</sup> Arjuna-Dinakara-Dāśa<sup>4</sup> Ā[r]ya-Sū[śa]-  
dūr-Āvi(di)tyavarṇa-prabhāṭita<sup>5</sup>-cha*
- 14 *as[ra]dīa[śa]ty=asta vah samvi(samvi)ditam yathā Chālā vibhūti[ka<sup>6</sup>] kshaga-bhāga(gi) ya-  
vanam Kṛitānta-dant-āntara-vartti jīvitam(tam) | tadha(th-ā)py-avā(va)jñā pam-*
- 15 *lōka-sādhanā nṛpām=abō vismaya-kārī chāhāṭitam(tam || 2) ity-avadhārya Śaka-aripa-kāl-  
ātī[ta<sup>7</sup>]-samva(samva)tsara-śatēshu navasu shaṭ-parichāsa-*
- 16 *[d-a]dhikēshu Bhāva-samva(samva)tsar-āntargata-Bhādrapada-va(ba)hula<sup>8</sup>-  
amāvā[śy]ām(syām) yatr-ānikatō=pi Samva(Samva)t 956 [Bhādra]pada-va-  
(ba)hula 15*
- 17 *samyātō apara-pakshē su-tīrthē anātvā dēvatā-pūjā-kṛitād-anantaram Kautuka-maṣṭik-ā-  
rtham<sup>9</sup> śrī-Bhagavatya(ty-a)grē dīpa-prajvalan-ā-*
- 18 *rtham avādhyāyika<sup>10</sup>-āgat-[ā]bhīyāgata-Vai(Brī)hmaṇa-pād-ābhyaṅga(ja)ṇ-ārttham avādhyā-  
yika-Chiṭṭaḍa-hastē [kṛit]-ōdak-ātisarggēna namasya-*
- 19 *xṛittyā(ttyā) paramayā bhāktiyā ghāṇakō samutpanna-tāilya(la)-samutpanna-ghaṭika<sup>11</sup>-samam  
mahāmaṇḍalēva(ēva)ra-ācī-Chāmunda[rājēna*
- 20 *ghāṇakab praduttah [ ][\*] tad=asya ghāṇaka[m<sup>12</sup>] bhūmijatō bhōjayatō vā na kōṇ-āpi pari-  
pāthikanā karāṇiyā ||<sup>13</sup> ebha<sup>14</sup> ||*

*Second Side*

- 21 *ābhāta-bhaṭṭa<sup>15</sup>-pravēsa(sam) anādēyam-anādēdhyam<sup>16</sup> | Va(Ba)huhir-vvasudhā bhuktā  
rājabhīḥ Sagar-ādibhīḥ | yasya ya-*
- 22 *ya yadā bhūmī=asya asya tadā phalaṇ(sam) || [3\*] Sadyō-dānam nīr-āyāsam a-āyāsam  
dīrgha-pālanaṇ(uam) | ata ēvava<sup>17</sup>-*
- 23 *śasyaḥ prāhur-dlānāch-āhīrēyō-nupālanaṇ(uam) || [4\*] Datvā(ttvā) bhūmīm bhāvinaḥ  
pārthiv-śandra[n<sup>18</sup>] bhūyō bhūyō yāchatō Rāmabhadraḥ |*
- 24 *sāmānyō-yam dharmma-hē(ē)tu[r<sup>19</sup>]=nṛpānām kālē kālē pālānyō bhavadbhīḥ || [5\*] iti muni-  
rahanāny-avadhāryā(rya) samast-ā-*
- 25 *gām-aripatibhir=api pālana-dharmma-phala-lōbha-ēva karāṇiyah | na punas-ta[l<sup>20</sup>]-lōpana-  
pāpa-kaladhik-āgrēva-*
- 26 *rēṇa kōṇ-āpi bhavitavyam(vyam) || yastvam=ā<sup>21</sup>vam=ādhyarthitō=pi lōbhād=a[[rā]na-timira  
paṭal-āvrīta-matir-ā<sup>22</sup>chāhāṭitya-*

<sup>1</sup> Read 'dāha'.

<sup>2</sup> Read 'pāreṣadāsa'.

<sup>3</sup> *Sundhī* has not been observed here.

<sup>4</sup> Better read *maṣṭikāpāsa*.

<sup>5</sup> The intended word seems to be *śālita*.

<sup>6</sup> There is a *visarga*-like mark before this double *śa*da.

<sup>7</sup> This marks the end of a section of the writing. See above, Vol. XXX, p. 218.

<sup>8</sup> Read *a-chāpa-bhāṣa*. The passage quoting certain usual terms governing the grant of land seems to be rather out of place here.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'adikyam'.

<sup>10</sup> Read *śa-s*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *yastvam*.

<sup>12</sup> Read 'rāchāhāṭitya'.



- 27 māsam-anumōdāta vā sa pañcābhūṛ-apī pātakair-upapātakāi[ś=chā\*] sa[m\*]hṛitō raurav-  
ākṣa(nḍha)tāmūchā(er-ā)di-narakā[m\*]ś=chiram=.
- 28 nubbhaviṣhyati || Ā(tā)miāpāh nahaśrēṇa taḍāgānām katēna cho | gavām kōṭi-paradānō ghāṇka-  
hantā na sa(śu)ddhyati || [8\*]<sup>1</sup>
- 29 yathā eb-aita[ś=ā]vath tathā śāśana-dātā eva-matama(m=ā)rōpayati | matam mama lavuṣa-  
(bḍha)-chata[h]ṣhaṣṭi-śā(āyā)ma-turamgama(m-ā)lhyāsi-vā.
- 30 dya-prōddāma-ṭirakkisa-ṭ[ā]rya<sup>2</sup>. Āhavanīla-mahāmaṇḍalā-ava(āva)ra-śrī-Vijja-rāṇaka-anta-  
T[ā](Tā)bhuvauṇṇīla-mahāmaṇḍa.
- 31 śava(āva)ra-śrī-Chāmurch(mu)ṇḍarā[ś]ēna<sup>3</sup> || [1\*] la(h)khitam śāśanath dhruva-Mammulāiyah-  
(ya)-svaśasthū || [1\*] vad-atr-ōn-ākāharam-adhik-ā-
- 32 kṣhamavā(ram-vā) tat-sarvām pramāgam-iti || [1\*]

## 2. Grant of Vijjala, Śaka 969

This is a set of two plates, each measuring 7.35" in length, 5.425" in height, and .1" in thickness. They have writing only on the inner side and are strung on a ring, the ends of which are affixed beneath a seal. The counter-sunk surface of the seal bears the figure of a standing deity looking like Vishnu or the Sun-god. The inscription consists of 30 lines of writing, 14 of which are engraved on the first plate and 16 on the second. The weight of the two plates together with the ring bearing the seal is about 140 tolas.

The characters resemble those in the grant of Chāmūḍarāja, edited above. For the two types of *ś* referred to in connection with the other epigraph, see *śaṇḍa* in line 2 and *śapana* in line 4. There is close similarity between the two records also in regard to language and orthography and little calls for special remark in these respects. The date of the charter is quoted in the last line (line 30) as the Śaka year 969 (written in figures only) without any other details. But the occasion of the grant is referred to as the Māgha-sankrānti in lines 11-12. The grant therefore seems to have been issued on the 22nd January in the year 1048 A.D.<sup>4</sup>

The record begins with the symbol for *Siddham* followed by the word *vanti* and the *maṇḍala*: 'May there be victory and prosperity.' But there is no stanza in adoration to any deity as in the record edited above. Then in lines 1-6 *Mahāmaṇḍalāśvara Vijjaladēva*, also styled *Samadhigat-āśoka-pañcha-mahāśabda*, is represented as flourishing at Vijayapura. Vijjala is endowed with several other epithets, of which *Sarapōgata-mjra-pañjara* was imitated from the Śilāhāra, although it is found in the records of some other royal families as well. He is also described as 'the sun that opened the lotus bud which is the illustrious Mōḍha family'. Another of his epithets seems to refer to his success against certain adversaries called Śilāhāra, Śalla and Sahaarabāhu. They appear to have been small local chiefs; but their identification is uncertain. In the description of Vijjala, there is a stanza in lines 6-7, saying that he was successful against his enemies even when he was the Yamarāja. The same stanza is found in the Rāshtrakūṭa records in the description of Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.) and must have been adopted from the said source. But whom Vijjala served as Yamarāja cannot be determined.

<sup>1</sup> There is a metrical defect in the stanza.

<sup>2</sup> *śaṇḍa* has not been observed here. The word *ṛakṣa* is difficult to explain.

<sup>3</sup> Read *\*rāṇaka*.

<sup>4</sup> There are two concentric circles between the double *daḍḍas*.

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 70, note 3.



Lines 7-19 record the grant of the *śreṣṭhikā* (apparently a sort of tax or cess) relating to the village of **Kaṇāḍḍa-grāma** in the possession of the Kavatika-maṭhikā in favour of the house-holders Bahudhara and Kāṅkua as well as the scholars Mahādēva and Lakṣmīdhara, all of them apparently attached to the *maṭhikā* of Kavatika, on the occasion of the **Māgha-saṅkrānti**. There is no doubt that *Kavatika* is a modification of *Koutala*, the name of one of the builders of the *maṭhikā* at Saṅgyāna, which is not only known from the record of Chāmuṇḍarāja, edited above, but also from the Chinchani plates of the time of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III and Kṛishṇa III. Lines 8-9 state that the grant was made in consultation with the ministers (*mantri*) including *Varishṭaka* Mummuraka and *Phakkura* Dombalaṅga, the first of the two being the chief minister (*śreṣṭhikā* *nigāṭhā*). It is also stated that it was made by the chief after having worshipped the lord Mayūkhamālin, i.e. the Sun-god. This fact coupled with the possible representation of the Sun-god on the donor's seal seems to suggest that the Mōḍhas of Saṅgyāna were devotees of the said deity. The well-known stanza beginning with *chola viśāṅga* is quoted in this section. The grant was made on a permanent basis (apparently as a permanent endowment) and people were warned not to create any obstacle in the enjoyment of the gift by the donees.

Some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses are quoted in lines 20-27. Another stanza in lines 27-29 prays for the continued rule of **Vijjala**, the donor of the grant. The date in the Saka year is quoted in lines 29-30. The charter ends with the statement that it was written by *Limbāditya*.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, **Vijayapura** seems to have been the name of the capital of the chief Vijja or Vijjala. The name, apparently coined after that of the chief, may have been applied to a suburb of Saṅgyāna. I am not sure about the location of **Kaṇāḍḍa-grāma** (name as *Kāṇḍuka*?) in the possession of the Kavatika-maṭhikā (*Kutuka-maṭhikā*). As stated above, the *maṭhikā* is known from other records to have been situated at Saṅgyāna, modern Sanjan in the Thana District.

### TEXT

[Metres : verses 1, 3-8 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 2 *Varṣastu* ; verse 9 *Śāli* ; verse 10 *Śāṇḍilya-vikrīḍita*.]

#### First Plate

- 1 Siddham\* svasti [1\*] jayaś-cha-bhhyū(hhyu)dayaś-cha | śri-Vijayapurē samadhigat-āśeṣa-  
pachcha-mahā-
- 2 śarva(ba)(h\*) śri-Mōḍha-kula-kemaḷa-kalikā-vikāśa-bhāṣaka(h\*) sa(ha)raṇ-āgata-vajra-
- 3 puṁjara(h\*) ari-maṇḍalika-raṇa-vijaya-lakṣmī-svayamvara-dra(r)āga-jalanidhi-jala-
- 4 śayana-pad-ākṛtta(na)-Lakṣmī-vilāsa-Nārāyaṇa(h\*) vidyādharī<sup>1</sup>-uraathala-muktāphal-ā-
- 5 hāra-rāya(h\*) Sādhara-Sella-Sabastevā(bā)hv-śāli-vija<sup>2</sup>-vijay-śāka-māli-virājita(h\*)
- 6 mahāmaṇḍalāvaru-śri-Vijjaladēva(h\*) Yuvarājya-sthītā-śha yēn-śva rāṇavaḥ |<sup>3</sup>
- 7 kaḥayam(yam | ) nīḥ hari-kis(bā)ṇa dvipā iva mad-śikāṭhā[ ] |<sup>4</sup> tat-pāda-pāṇi-ōpaṭ-

\* From impressions.

\* Expressed by symbol.

<sup>1</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>2</sup> Read *vira*.

<sup>3</sup> This *śva* is superfluous.

<sup>4</sup> This stanza is quoted from the description of Kṛishṇa III as found in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records. See above, p. 59, text lines 19-20.



- 8 vi sarva-ūdhukāra-niyukta-varishṭhaka-<sup>1</sup>et-Mināmakaḥ tathā bhṭhakra<sup>2</sup>-<sup>3</sup>et-Dōniva(mha)-  
layā-ā-
- 9 dayah itair-mantribhū-mantrayitvā | Chālā vibhūtiḥ kalāpa-bhaṅga(gi) yanvaneti kritān-  
nānta-daṣṭh<sup>4</sup>ā-ā-
- 10 ba(nīa)ra-varitā |<sup>5</sup>viṭān(tam | ) tathāpy-avaṣṭā paralōka-sēva(dīa)u<sup>6</sup> abō nṛpān viama-  
ya-kū-
- 11 ci-chāṣṭitām(tam | ) [2\*] itat-saṁsār-āśāntān |<sup>7</sup>ḥātvā bhagavan-Mayūkhamālīnō ch-ārga-  
[m\*] ḥatvā(ttvā) Mā-
- 12 gha-saṁkrāntan ||<sup>8</sup>Ṣaṭam-ibolu-kahayō dūnān sahaasān tu dīna-kahayō<sup>9</sup> ||\*] vishuvō<sup>10</sup> śata-  
śāhāra[m\*] vya-
- 13 Upātēh<sup>11</sup>-<sup>12</sup>anantakara(karo) || [3\*] śrīmat-Kavatika-mathikā-prahhujyamāna-Kapāḍḍa-  
grāma-
- 14 śrīlīkā śrīmat-Kavatika-mathikā-grīhaṣṭha-Ya(Ba)hndharaḥ tathā

## Second Plate

- 15 Kāḍḍakā | tathā a(v)dhyaṣṭakā[ḥ]<sup>13</sup> Mahādēvāḥ tathā Lakṣmīdharāḥ |<sup>14</sup> ḥtō-
- 16 bhyaḥ kṣat-śākhāna-pradātā ā-chaṇḍr-āṅka-kāśaṁ yāvata(vat | ) na kōn-āpi khaśchā<sup>15</sup>
- 17 karṇyā |<sup>16</sup> yea-to pamaḥ kām-kāśā-lāḥ-āntaritaḥ<sup>17</sup> pāpa-timir-āyṇa-
- 18 chaśchubh ayaḥ pratighātān vidhāsyatī vidhīyamānā ch-ānataślayishyatī sa
- 19 paṇḍita-mahāpātaka-<sup>18</sup>npapātakaś-cha saṁyuktō bhaviṣyatī | tathā cha Vyāsaḥ |
- 20 Prāśādā yataḥ suvarṇā vasa-dhārā-cha kāmāḥ ||\*] Gaṇḍharv-Āpsarasō yatra tatra ti-
- 21 śāṣṭi śāśatā || [4\*] Kāpa-kōṭi-mūsarāṇi kaipa-kōṭi-śatāni cha ||\*] nivasēd-Vra(d-Bra)-  
hmasā
- 22 śikī dharmā-dāyān karōḥ |<sup>19</sup> yāḥ || 5\*] Dhavalāṅg-ātapatrāṇi dantīnā-cha māḍ-ōkaṣṭāḥ |
- 23 anṭhā-<sup>20</sup>dhjautāni harmyāṇi yavatyo ratna-bhūṣhaṣṭāḥ || 6\*] Dharmā-dāyasya mahapāṇi phala-
- 24 ra-āyānā-bhaviṣyatī<sup>21</sup> || [7\*] Shashthi(abtī)-<sup>22</sup>vvarāha-sahaasāṇi svargē tiasthatī dānolāḥ  
||\*] āchchhōṭā(nā) ch-ānā-
- 25 nantā cha tāvyā(ny-<sup>23</sup>ḍ)va narka[m\*] vrajāḥ || 8\*] Sarvān-<sup>24</sup>etāna(tān) bhūgi(vi)śaḥ pā-  
rībhvōḥ[ḍ]rān bhūyō bhū-
- 26 yō pā(yā)śatē Rāmabhaḥṣṭāḥ ||\*] sāmūyō-yam dharmā-sōtar-nṛpāpān kālō kālō pāṇā-
- 27 yō bhavaḥbhūḥ || [9\*] Yāvat-īḍyam-<sup>25</sup>apā[ḍ]m\*]patē-vrasumatī saṁtiśṭhatē ch-āśalā<sup>26</sup> (\*  
viraṇā<sup>27</sup> chā[ḍ]m\*)<sup>28</sup>grāma-

<sup>1</sup> Read *śākhā*.<sup>2</sup> *Saṁskṛta* has not been observed here. Read *viśam-āḥ*.<sup>3</sup> Himmānī (*Dhātānā*, Benares, p. 75) judges the stanza to Yājñavalkya (*see* *Logha-Sūtrapa-moṣā*, verso 100) and quotes (*ibid.*, pp. 82-83) *Yasakṣha* and the *Padma Purāṇa* interpreting *dinābhaya* as the day that witness the end of two *vīthi*. If Śaka 989 is regarded as current, the Māgha-mūḍrāntī day (January 22, 1047 A.D.) witnessed such a phenomenon.<sup>4</sup> Read *śāṣṭhīkā*.<sup>5</sup> Read *śāṣṭhā*. The intended word may be *śāṣṭhā*.<sup>6</sup> Better read *vīra-matī*.<sup>7</sup> This is only half of a stanza in *Anantakā*. The first half is sometimes quoted as *śāṣṭhā śāṣṭhā-ānān* + *ānān* + *śāṣṭhā* + *śāṣṭhā*. The last foot of the stanza is sometimes quoted as *phalaṁ svargā Purāṇa*.<sup>8</sup> The *śāṣṭhā* is superfluous.<sup>9</sup> Read *śāṣṭhā*.



[illegible]

Scale: Actual Size



[illegible]



- 28 sa[m\*] ravēś-cha vimalam yāvat=apāt(pōd) bhāsvaram(ram) yāvatvi(t=tv-l)ud[ā]śikhā-  
manā[re-yu]va-na[ta]na dhanā[tā]  
29 dhātū[m\*] Pārvati bhūya(gām)a=tāvad=ih=śaśam vīnūtām śrī-Vijja[udōvā]ś mādā  
[ ] 10\* Sa(Śa)kmu(ha)-vatsa\*  
30 969 likhita=īdara Linvā(mhā)dityēna ||

### 3. Grant of Vijala (Vija, Vija or Vijja), Śaka 975

This is also a set of two plates, each measuring 10" in length, 7.15" in breadth, and .15" in thickness. They have writing only on the inner side. A ring bearing the seal of the issuer of the charter passes through a hole made in the side of the plates. The ends of this ring are soldered beneath the seal. The figure on the countersunk surface of the seal is similar to that found on the seal attached to the second of the two inscriptions edited above. There are in all 50 lines of writing on the two plates, 21 of them on the first and 29 on the second. The two plates together with the ring and seal weigh 278½ tolas.

In respect of palaeography, language and orthography, the inscription resembles the two other epigraphs from Chinchani edited above. Initial i has been written for gi in lines 25 and 31. The draft of the document and its engraving exhibit considerable carelessness on the part of the scribe and the engraver. The date of the charter is quoted in lines 27-29 as the expired Śaka year 975 (in words only), Vijaya, Kārttika-hadi 15, and the occasion of the grant is stated to have been a solar eclipse. The details of the date work out correctly and it corresponds to the 13th November 1053 A.D.

The inscription begins with the symbol for Śāddham followed by the *Prayer*. Next follow the passages: 'Salutation to Vināyaka (Gaṇēś)', and 'May there be victory and prosperity'. The above is followed by the stanza in adoration of Gaṇaśyaka (Gaṇēśa) which is also found in the Chinchani plate of Chāmaraḍa, edited above, and several Śādhana grānta. Lines 3-4 introduce the chief Vija-rāṇaka who is described as born in the Mōḍha family and as having obtained the grace of the goddess Khadrāvati, apparently the family deity of the Mōḍhas of Saṃyāna. The name of the ruler also occurs elsewhere in the inscription in lines 4, 7, 8, 48 and 49 in various forms. In lines 8 and 48 it is spelled as Vija, while in lines 7 and 49 it is written respectively as Vijāla and Vija.

In the sentence referred to above (lines 3-4), Vija-rāṇaka is stated to have been śrī-Dīmarāka-śrī-Aṅgala-sūta. This passage may mean to say that Vija-rāṇaka was the son of Aṅgala alias Dīmarāka. But considering the carelessness of the scribe and engraver exhibited by the inscription, it is not impossible that a word like *pautra* has been omitted through oversight after the mention of Dīmarāka, so that the passage was really intended to indicate that Vija-rāṇaka was the son of Aṅgala and grandson of Dīmarāka. No royal title is applied to either of the two names. The next sentence in the same ruler's description in lines 4-5, which is extremely corrupt, states that he was responsible for the prosperity of the Mōḍha family even when he was a child. It is, however, interesting to note that this sentence is a modification of a stanza in the description of the Śādhara ruler Chhittarāja as found in the records of the Śādhara dynasty probably suggesting that Chhittarāja ascended the throne fairly early in his life. The same may have been the case with the Mōḍha chief who issued the charter under review. The following sentence or clause in lines 5-6 speak of Vijaladēva of the Mōḍha family, described as Mahāmāṇḍalīvara, Samābhīgat-Śādhara-patīcha-mahāśāhī, Mahāśāhī-mahāśāhīpati and Tugimāpura-paramāśāhī. It is really unnecessary and uncalled for in the text. But apparently it was modified from a passage in the earlier records of the Mōḍha

\* The asterisk is in the notes in excess of the metrical requirement.

\* This is a contraction of the word *vatsara*.



family referring to the contemporary Śilāhāra ruler to whom the Mōḍhas then owed allegiance. This suspicion seems to be supported by the typical Śilāhāra title 'supreme lord of **Tagarapura**' applied here to Mōḍha Vījala apparently through oversight. It was over-looked by the officer responsible for the draft of the present charter that, while replacing the name of a Śilāhāra ruler by that of a Mōḍha chief in the passage in question, a title existing only the former was left unmodified.<sup>1</sup>

It may be argued that Mōḍha Vījala mentioned in line 7 is different from Mōḍha Vīja of line 4 and that the latter was a subordinate of the former. But I do not think it possible to agree with such a view. In the first place, Vījala is phonetically the same as Vījjala which is again a mere variant of Vījā. It is a popular Kannaḍa name and is generally found in the various forms Vījjala, Vījjana, Vījjapa, Bījja, Bījjana, Bījjala and Bījjala.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, the issuer of the present charter is apparently identical with the Mōḍha chief Vījjala of the Chinchani plates of Śaka 969 (1049 A.D.) edited above, in which the chief does not represent himself as a subordinate of any other ruler. Since the Śilāhāras were still a ruling power in the Northern Konkan, it is difficult to believe that the ruler of Saṁyāna, who issued the present grant, would have acknowledged allegiance to anybody other than a ruler of the Śilāhāra dynasty. There is no evidence of the emergence of a Mōḍha king in the Northern Konkan in the period in question, to whom the Mōḍha chief of Saṁyāna could have offered allegiance. Thirdly, we have to note the fact that, as will be shown below, the Mōḍha chief of Saṁyāna seems to have been ruling over a wider territory in 1053 A. D. than he was holding without reference to a master five years earlier in 1048 A. D. While the chief now claimed to have ruled over the Saṁyāna 300 division, the Śilāhāra king Chhotarāja, to whom the rulers of Saṁyāna originally owed allegiance, claimed to have held the Koṅkana 1400 country.<sup>3</sup> About 1053 A. D., the Mōḍhas were thus ruling about a half of the Northern Konkan.

Lines 8-12 state that, when **Maṇḍalikā Vījja-rāpaka** was ruling over the **Saṁyāna-pattana 700** which was a **Maṇḍala** or district consisting of 4000 *deśas* and extending as far as **Ākāśikā**, the burden of the administration of his kingdom lay on the head of **Varaśthaka** Mummuraka and that of the administration of **Saṁyāna** (apparently meaning the town which was the headquarters of the Mōḍha territory) on the head of **Maṇḍalikāra** Dombalaṁṇa, while there were other chief officers such as the **Mahāpaddhāna** Badilimappaya. As we have already seen, the chief minister Mummuraka and the minister Dombalaṁṇa are also mentioned in the Mōḍha chief's earlier record issued in Śaka 969 (1048 A. D.).

The chief's order in respect of the grant to be made was addressed to the following subordinates (lines 12-15): the future princes, ministers, priests, administrative officers (*manāḍas*) and chief officials (*pradhāna-niyōgika*) as well as the officers in charge of the *rāshṭras* (territorial units), the cities and the *Dhruvas*, as also the people of the countryside. It was also addressed with due respect to the *kanyamama* (Parava community), the citizens, and the Mōḍha Brāhmanas of **Śrīsthāna** (i.e. modern Thāna). The Mōḍha Brāhmanas mentioned here probably hailed from Śrīsthāna and were settled at Saṁyāna. Then follows in lines 16-26 a long section in prose and verse dealing with the transitoriness of life and wealth, the propriety of giving grants, etc. It is found in some Śilāhāra grants<sup>4</sup> and, in a smaller form, not only in most of the Śilāhāra charters but also in the two records edited above. It also contains some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas. Lines 26 ff. state how, on the date and occasion indicated above, the Mōḍha chief made a grant after having worshipped Trailōkyachakshas (i.e. the Sun-god) and Trailōkyasvāmin (either

<sup>1</sup> For a similar case found in inscriptions, see *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XX, p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 222 ff., 468, 470.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Post-pannāśa-chōṭarāja-grāma-pat-samantānta* *śaṁyāna-kōṭaka-lāṅgana* *śamantānta* (s.g. in *ZDMG*, Band 90, p. 282, line 21).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXV, pp. 59 f. (lines 44 ff.)



Śiva or Viṣṇu). The language of the passage recording the grant, which follows in lines 30 ff., is defective; but it apparently means to say that the amount of three *drummas* received by the government as *śirīṣikā* (the same as *śirīṣikā* of the previous record, meaning a sort of tax or cess) on account of the village of **Kēpasā-grāma** in the possession of the Kautuka-maṭhikā was granted in favour of the householders and scholars attached to the maṭhikā in the form of a permanent endowment for the purpose of feeding 25 Brāhmanas probably per day. It will be seen that Kautuka's maṭhikā at Saṁyāna is mentioned in all the five grants discovered at Chinchani, including the three edited here, although, in the second of the three epigraphs now under study, the name Kautuka is spelt as *Kamitika*. The endowment has been called a *bhṣjan-ākṣhayaṇī* or *bhṣjan-ākṣhayaṇī*, the word *ākṣhayaṇī* or *ākṣhayaṇī* being a corruption of Sanskrit *akṣhaya-nirī* meaning 'a permanent endowment'. The expression thus means a permanent endowment created for the purpose of providing food free of cost. In line 42, the endowment is referred to merely as *bhṣjana* and in line 46 as *grāṣa*.

The following section in lines 33-47 in prose and verse contains some more of the benedictory and imprecatory stanzas. Lines 47-48 contain the statement that the donor's decree was contained in the text of the document as written by one of his officers styled *Dhruva* (i. e. the collector of the royal share of the produce from the farmers). This is followed in lines 48-49 by the sentence: 'Confirmed by me, the *Maṇḍalādhipa*, the illustrious **Vīja-rāpaka**', in the well-known style of putting the signature of the donor on a document later engraved on copper plates. The next sentence says that *Dhruva* Mammalaīya wrote the document at the request of both the parties (i. e. the donor and the donees) under orders of *Maṇḍalādhipa* **Vīja-rāpaka**. It is further stated in line 50 that the text of the charter was to be regarded as authoritative. The record ends with a *maṅgala* of the usual type.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the most interesting is the **Saṁyāna-pattana** 700 forming a *maṇḍala* consisting of 4000 *dravaga*. It was apparently the district round the town of Saṁyāna (Sanjan). But it is difficult to explain the passage used in the inscription to indicate the territorial unit. We know that expressions like 'Saṁyāna-pattana 700' normally meant 'the Saṁyāna-pattana division consisting of 700 villages or hamlets' although the number may have been conventional or exaggerated.<sup>1</sup> But the word *dravaga* generally means 'a town' and it is impossible to believe that a territorial division consisting only of 700 villages or hamlets contained as many as 4000 towns. It therefore seems that *dravaga* in the inscription is a mistake for *dramma*. The intended meaning of the passage in question may therefore be that the annual revenue income of the territory under the rule of the Mōḍha chief of the Saṁyāna district consisting of 700 villages or hamlets was 4000 *drummas* possibly meaning coins of silver. A locality called **Ākāṣikā** is stated to have stood on the borders of the said district. The donor seems to have made a permanent endowment out of the *śirīṣikā* tax or cess amounting to 3 *drummas*, probably payable annually or periodically to the government by the Kautuka-maṭhikā at Saṁyāna on account of a village called **Kēpasā-grāma** in its possession. I am not sure about the location of this village.

#### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

Metres: verses 1, 3-9, 13-16 *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 2 *Varāha*; verse 10 *Puṣpāṅgā*, verses 11 *Śālit*.

<sup>1</sup> See *ABKS*, Vol. XI, part I, pp. 5 ff.

<sup>2</sup> From *imprimis*.







2 2  
 4 4  
 6 6  
 8 8  
 10 10  
 12 12  
 14 14  
 16 16  
 18 18  
 20 20  
 22 22  
 24 24

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥  
 अथ विप्रः प्रोवाच ॥ २ ॥  
 कथं श्रीमद्भागवतं प्रपद्यते ॥ ३ ॥  
 मया कथं प्रोवाच देवता ॥ ४ ॥  
 पश्यन्तं प्रोवाच देवता ॥ ५ ॥  
 गन्तव्यं प्रोवाच देवता ॥ ६ ॥  
 मया कथं प्रोवाच देवता ॥ ७ ॥  
 अथ विप्रः प्रोवाच देवता ॥ ८ ॥  
 कथं श्रीमद्भागवतं प्रपद्यते ॥ ९ ॥  
 मया कथं प्रोवाच देवता ॥ १० ॥  
 पश्यन्तं प्रोवाच देवता ॥ ११ ॥  
 गन्तव्यं प्रोवाच देवता ॥ १२ ॥  
 मया कथं प्रोवाच देवता ॥ १३ ॥  
 अथ विप्रः प्रोवाच देवता ॥ १४ ॥  
 कथं श्रीमद्भागवतं प्रपद्यते ॥ १५ ॥  
 मया कथं प्रोवाच देवता ॥ १६ ॥  
 पश्यन्तं प्रोवाच देवता ॥ १७ ॥  
 गन्तव्यं प्रोवाच देवता ॥ १८ ॥  
 मया कथं प्रोवाच देवता ॥ १९ ॥  
 अथ विप्रः प्रोवाच देवता ॥ २० ॥  
 कथं श्रीमद्भागवतं प्रपद्यते ॥ २१ ॥  
 मया कथं प्रोवाच देवता ॥ २२ ॥  
 पश्यन्तं प्रोवाच देवता ॥ २३ ॥  
 गन्तव्यं प्रोवाच देवता ॥ २४ ॥



26

28

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48

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28

30

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44

46







- 33 *uḥ(rā)* [1\*] *na kām-āp*<sup>1</sup> *kāhūdrādakāstrēna*<sup>2</sup> *karagṭyaḥ* | *Balubhīr-(v)rasudhā bhuktā rājabhūḥ Sagar-ā*.
- 34 *di[blūb]* [4\*] *yaaya yaaya yadā bhūmib(mis-)tasya tasya [tadā\*] phalaḥ(lam || 8)* *Sadyō-dānam nir-āyāsam s-āyāsam dirgha-pāla*.
- 35 *nam(nam |)* *ata ēv=avarabayah*<sup>3</sup> *prāhu[=dā]uśch=chirēyō=anpālanam(nam || 9)* *Iti kamala-dal-āmva(nbu)-vignū-lō[ā]h*.
- 36 *ariyam=anulohintya manu\**<sup>4</sup> *ahya-jivitām [cha || 10\*] Datvā(trvā) bhūmib bhāvina-[h\*] pāṭha(rthi)vēndrā[n\*] bhūyō 2<sup>5</sup> yāchatā Rāmabhadrā[drāh |] aśmā*.
- 37 *nyō-yam dharma-bē(sē)to[ī\*] aripūgām kālē 2<sup>6</sup> pāṇiyo bhavadbhīh [ || 11\*] samast-āga(gā)mlka-aripati[bbi\*] r=arhi(pi)*.
- 38 *pāṇa-dharmuna-phala-lōbha eva kata(ru)ṇiyah*<sup>7</sup> *na punasta lōpana ēva karagṭyah | na*  
*7<sup>8</sup>*
- 39 *nastā(=tal)-lōpana-pāṇ-kalamk-āgrēpa[sa]rōpa*<sup>9</sup> *kū=āpi bhavitavyam yav-tam-ōvam\*=*  
*40 bhayarthitō=pi lōbhād=ajñāna-timira-patalām(i-ā)vṛta-matira\*cheliḥyamānam=*  
*anumōdā*.
- 41 *tu(ta) vā sa pariccha[bbir=ā\*]papātakaib sa[th]bptō Raurava(v-ā)[mha]tu(tā)mitrō(ar-ā)di-*  
*narakō(kāh)=chiram=anubha[vi]*.
- 42 *ahyat [1\*] Sva-dattām para-dattānyā(ttām vā) yō [harō]d-bhōjanam<sup>11</sup> [1\*] [a\*] viś-*  
*phāyām tva(kṛ)mir=bhūtvā kṛmibhi[ti\*] saha*
- 43 *pachyatō [ || 12\*] Vidhīy-ātavishva=āyāṣaṇ aupka<sup>12</sup>kōjara-vāśina[ || 1\*] mah-āhoyō*  
*hi jāyantō [bbō]*.
- 44 *jan-ākahayant haru[ra]nti yō<sup>13</sup> [ || 13\*] Grā(Gā)m=śkām svargam=śkad mvo(vā)*  
*bhūm(mō)ir=āpy-ākam=amgulaṁ(lam |) haru[ra]n=saraka*.
- 45 *m=āpūti yāvād-āhūta-sahplavam(vam || 14) Ārāmāḥ arō(sa)harōpa ta-lōgōnām*  
*to<sup>14</sup> kātēna cha [1\*] ga*.
- 46 *vām kōpi-pradūṣēna grāsa-hartā na sa[ra]ddhyat [ || 15\*] Sha[sh]phī(ahṭi)=eva-*  
*raha-sahasrānti svarggē tiṣṭha-*
- 47 *u bhūmidā[ || 1\*] āchchhātā ch=ānnumantā cha tāny=āva narakam vra[stu]jēt [ || 16\*]*  
*yatha(tlā) ch=aitad=ēvath tathā*
- 48 *dhruv-ākaharēna eva-matam=ārōpayat [1\*] matam mama mapalā[eva]ra-ār-*  
*Vijā-rāpakasya [1\*]*
- 49 *likhitam=idam=ūha(ha)y-ābhayarthitōh(tē)na mapatō(lē)eva[eva]ra-ār-Vijā<sup>15</sup>-rāpaka-*  
*(k-ā)jān(sā) dhruva*.
- 50 *Mamvā(unā)lāyēna [1\*] likhita-sāsam tat=pramāpam=itī | mangalā mahā-*  
*ārō ||*

<sup>1</sup> Read *kāhūdrā-gē upāghāṭak*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *ē=arōhant*.

<sup>3</sup> This is only half of a stanza in *Purāṇapūra*. The second half is generally quoted as *sakalavāśanam=udābhikā* *As buddha na hi parashakā para-kṛtāyō vāpṛāh*.

<sup>4</sup> *Lo. āhāpō bhāpō*.

<sup>5</sup> *Lo. bhā bhā*.

<sup>6</sup> The following 13 letters (from *sa* to *harmāpāt*) are redundant.

<sup>7</sup> Read *āgrēpāṇa*.

<sup>8</sup> In this context, we have often *pat-to=man*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *\*rāchchhātāchchhātā*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *\*rāchchhātāchchhātā*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *harō=chhōjara=chhōjara*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *saḥā*.

<sup>13</sup> Better read *lōgō=āhāpā=ārōhāt* for the sake of the metre.

<sup>14</sup> Omit this syllable for the sake of the metre.

<sup>15</sup> As already indicated above, the name is spelt as *Vijā* in line 4 and as *Vijā* in lines 8 and 48, while it is spelt as *Vijā* in line 7.







# GOLD COINS OF DANDINAGOVA



Scale : Actual Size



## No. 6—GOLD COINS OF DANDINAGOVA

(I Plate)

P. B. DESAI, DHARWAR

In November 1936 plaster casts of ten gold coins were received for examination in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India from the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. These coins with two more, according to the information furnished, were sent to the said Museum by the Mamlatdar of Ramdurg, Belgaum District, Mysore State. The details regarding the discovery of the coins as communicated by the Numismatist of the said Museum in his letter, dated the 24th January 1937, are as follows :

"The coins were found on the 18th June 1930 by one Shri Namadevappa Ningappa Badiger in a field belonging to Shri Shankarappa Devarayappa Badiger in the village of Mudakavi, six miles from Ramdurg, about a furlong from the Ramdurg-Badami Road. It is said that the man, while going through the field, noticed a small earthen pot lying there. On breaking it, he recovered the 12 gold coins which were later deposited at the Ramdurg Police Station."

These ten coins which are circular in shape bear close resemblance to one another in their mould and design. Their diameter is about 1.5 centimeter on average. Their weights ignoring slight variations are stated to be as follows: Nos. 1-2—60 grains; Nos. 3-8—59.75 grains; No. 9—60.25 grains and No. 10—59 grains.

On the *obverse* of the coins is depicted under decorations the figure of a warrior facing right, going for a fight. He wears a helmet and armour, holding in the right hand a long dagger pointing to the front and a hawk in the left hand which is bent and turned upwards. Figures of the sun and crescent moon are shown to the right and left of the warrior's head. This figure apparently represents the issuer of the coins, whose identity is discussed below. The *reverse* bears the legend in Kannada characters of the 12th century, inscribed within two circles, the outer one of which is dotted. The coins appear to have been struck from more than one die. On account of the difference in the arrangement of the letters in the legend, it is clear that at least two different dies were used for the two legends. The readings of the legend on the two types are as follows :

I	II
1 <i>Nigajam</i>	<i>Śrī-Niga-</i>
2 <i>kamala-Daṣaṭi</i>	<i>ṣa[ṁ]kamala-Da[ṁ]</i>
3 <i>vaḍa</i>	3 <i>ṣaṣa[ṁ]</i>

The above legend is a combination of two titles *Nigajāṅkamalla* and *Daḍiṅgaḍa*. Both these titles are familiar to the students of Kannada epigraphy as having been enjoyed by different rulers of various dates. But, for the identification of the particular chief who issued these coins under his titles only, interesting information is available from an inscription of the area.

This inscription<sup>1</sup> comes from Torgal in the Ramdurg Taluk. It is dated 1187-88 A.D. and describes the achievements of a local chief by name *Barma-bhūpāla* who was administering the areas round about Torgala (modern Torgal) which was his capital. By virtue of his valour,

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 93 ff.



this chief earned the distinctive title *Dandīnagodea* meaning 'the protector of the army like the Cowherd God'. He is also referred to in the record by another title *Nigalanka* which is an abbreviation of *Nigalankamalla* meaning 'a warrior adorned with the chain of distinction'. The inscription further relates that this Barma-bhūpāla proceeded at the behest of his overlord and suzerain on a conquering expedition along the four quarters and acquired the tracts of Lōhāpura-Twelve, Hojalgunda-Thirty, Doḍḍavāḍa, Navilgunda-Forty and Kojenūru-Thirty, all of which came under his direct rule. The areas mentioned above as being governed by Barma-bhūpāla embrace parts of the present Bijapur, Belgaum and Dharwar Districts.

An examination of the above details together with the provenance of the coins leads us to the conclusion that it was this Barma-bhūpāla who issued them under his distinguished title *Dandīnagodea*. The period in which Barma-bhūpāla lived was characterised by a state of uncertainty caused by the decline of imperial power, both the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and their adversaries of the Kalachuri dynasty having virtually vanished from the political arena, making way for enterprising leaders like Bhīllama of the Yādava family. It was under these circumstances that Barma-bhūpāla appears to have made a bold bid for territorial expansion and power and issued coins as an independent king.

As for the remaining two coins of the group, they appear to be what are known as *Padma Tanāka*, generally associated with the rulers of the Kadamba family. One of them (No. 11) is identical with the coin published in Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*, Plate II, No. 67. The other coin (No. 12) is of a similar pattern, though not identical in all respects.

I am indebted to Shri Parameswari Lal Gupta, Numismatist, Prince of Wales Museum, who was kind enough to give me an opportunity for studying these interesting coins.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coin No. 2 could not be illustrated.



## No. 7—SACRIFICIAL INSCRIPTION FROM SONDA

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, DHARWAR

This inscription was copied by me at Honnehalli, near Sōndā, in January 1940, in the course of an epigraphical survey of the Sira Taluk, North Kanara District, formerly in the Bombay State, but now in Mysore. The slab bearing the epigraph was set up near the Narasimha shrine inside the Svayambhalla matha.<sup>1</sup> The record<sup>2</sup> is edited here for the first time with the help of impressions taken under my supervision.

The slab measures 31 inches long and 28 inches broad. Its upper part is shaped into a broad curve. In the space at the top above the inscription proper are cut in relief the figures of the sun and the crescent. Above, below and to the right of these symbols are engraved the two invocations in Kannada characters, *Vishṇuśaṅkṣa jayati* and *śrī-Narasimha jayati*, and another in the Nāgarī script referring to a third deity.<sup>3</sup> About the middle of the slab are carved in relief four figures which are eminently conspicuous. The main figure at the centre is elongated and made up of four curves. The one to its north is almost a square; another towards the east is a semi-circle and the third one to the south is a circle. The significance of these figures will be pointed out below.

The inscription is engraved in the Kannada alphabet and language. The characters are late being normal for the date of the record. Noteworthy is the form of initial *ā* (line 12), its length being denoted by a sign attached to it and looking like the medial *ā* mark. In some cases a superfluous curve is appended to the lower limb of *l* giving the impression that it is doubled; cf. *śaravati* in line 3 and *pratiṣṭhita* in line 6. The doubling of the letter *l* in *kalḷi* in line 3 and *beḷḷi* in line 9 is denoted by a curve affixed to its lower part. In line 8 the word *śruti* is misspelt as *śrutī*.

The epigraph commences with the date which is given as Śalivāhana-Śaka 1595, Pramādi, Māgha-śuk. 4, Saturday. This date regularly corresponds to the 31st January 1674 A.D. It is stated that at this time Saṅgāyā Rāmanandha-nāyaka, the chief of Sāle, was ruling the principality. The object of the epigraph is to commemorate the completion of a sacrifice which was caused to be performed by Saṅgāyā-sarasvati, a pontiff of Honnehalli, for the prosperity of the above chief. The ritual was conducted by Agnibhāra Kṣāya-bhāṭṭa of Kaṣṭūrke under the guidance of Śaṅkṣa Viśvapati-bhāṭṭa who was specially invited for the occasion from the holy city of Kāśī. The performance lasted for five days and was completed on Wednesday, the 8th of the bright half of the above month. The passage at the end of the inscription indicates that the stone bearing the record was set up to mark the sacred site where the sacrificial ceremony actually took place. From the duration of the sacrifice it appears to have been a Soma-yāga.<sup>4</sup>

An interesting part of the epigraph is the representation, on the commemorative tablet itself, of the sacrificial spot, which, as described above, consists of four figures. The central elongated figure stands for the Vāḍi or the raised seat intended for the performer. The adjoining three figures to the south, east and north respectively depict the three pits wherein the three sacred fires, known as Gārhapatya, Dakṣiṇa and Āhavanīya, are kept burning throughout the performance.<sup>5</sup> The tablet thus presents a unique instance of sacrificial memorial.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This matha belongs to the pontiffs of the Havyaka or Harik community of Bāhmanas largely residing in the area.

<sup>2</sup> E. K. Coll., No. 15 of 1939-40.

<sup>3</sup> [See below, p. 81, note 2.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> Cf. A. Chinnaswami Sastrī's *Tajikānta-prakāśa*, ed. A. M. Ramanatha Dikṣita, for illustrations of the sacrificial fire-pits.



The chief Savāyi Rāmachandra-nāyaka of Sōde who was instrumental for the sacrificial performance is not known from other sources. The principality of Sōde, more familiarly known as Svādi,<sup>1</sup> played a significant role in the later period of Karnāṭak history and an authentic account of its Nāyaka rulers remains to be worked out in detail with the help of epigraphical, literary and archaeological sources.

In this context it would be worthwhile to review briefly the contents of a few epigraphs bearing on the Nāyaka chiefs of Sōndā, copied by me while conducting an epigraphical survey of the Sirsi Taluk. An inscription<sup>2</sup> in the Sōndā fort called Honakōṭe belongs to the reign of the Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya II and is dated 1432 A.D. It introduces his subordinate *Mahāprabhu* Arasappa of Sōrade, who was the son of Saṅkappa. This is the earliest epigraph mentioning the Sōndā chiefs so far known. This Arasappa appears to be the first ruler of the name who founded the principality and his father's name is disclosed here for the first time.

Arasappa-nāyaka I, it appears, continued to rule during the subsequent reigns of the Vijayanagara kings. For instance, a record<sup>3</sup> from Hulekal belonging to the reign of Virūpākṣa and citing the cyclic year Hāviṣambhi (1478 A.D.) introduces Arasappa-nāyaka of Sōde, and another from Chalgār,<sup>4</sup> dated 1478 A.D., refers to a ruler of Sōde having the same name.

Arasappa-nāyaka II was the next distinguished chief who is said to have ruled from 1555 to 1598 A.D.<sup>5</sup> As the gap between Arasappa-nāyaka I and Arasappa-nāyaka II is fairly big, we have to assume that another chief whose name is not known to us ruled in the interval.

We have five records for Arasappa-nāyaka II. The earliest from Honnehalli,<sup>6</sup> dated 1556 A.D., speaks of Arasappa-nāyaka as ruling at Sōmudāpuri. The next one<sup>7</sup> is dated 1569 A.D. in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Sadāśiva. The information furnished by this epigraph is that this chief claimed his descent from the solar lineage and had a daughter named Arasamma. The third epigraph,<sup>8</sup> which apparently has to be assigned to this chief, belongs to the reign of the Vijayanagara king Venkaṭapati and cites the date 1593 A.D. The fourth record<sup>9</sup> from Hulekal referring to the death of a warrior in the service of Arasappa-nāyaka gives the date, Durmakha, Vaiśākha-paurṇimā, Sunday, corresponding to May 2, 1596 A.D. The last epigraph from Karaavalli<sup>10</sup> is dated in 1602 A.D. and extends the rule of this chief by four years. Two more inscriptions on hero-stones, one at Hulekal and another at Pañchalāṅga,<sup>11</sup> the dates of which cannot be determined with precision, may also be assigned to this ruler.

<sup>1</sup> Sōde has become Sōndā under the influence of English. For the variants of this name and importance of the place, see above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 292. In an inscription from Guttal, Haveri Taluk (B.K. Coll., No. 51 of 1932-33), dated 1162-63 A.D., mention is made of a *Vaddataganakari* (i.e. merchant-chief) described as an ornament of the Sōnde family. This appears to be the earliest reference to Sōndā so far known. [See below, p. 81, note 2.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> B. K. Coll., No. 71 of 1939-40.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., No. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., No. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *North Kanara Gazetteer*, Part II, p. 120.

<sup>6</sup> B. K. Coll., op. cit., No. 16.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., No. 76.

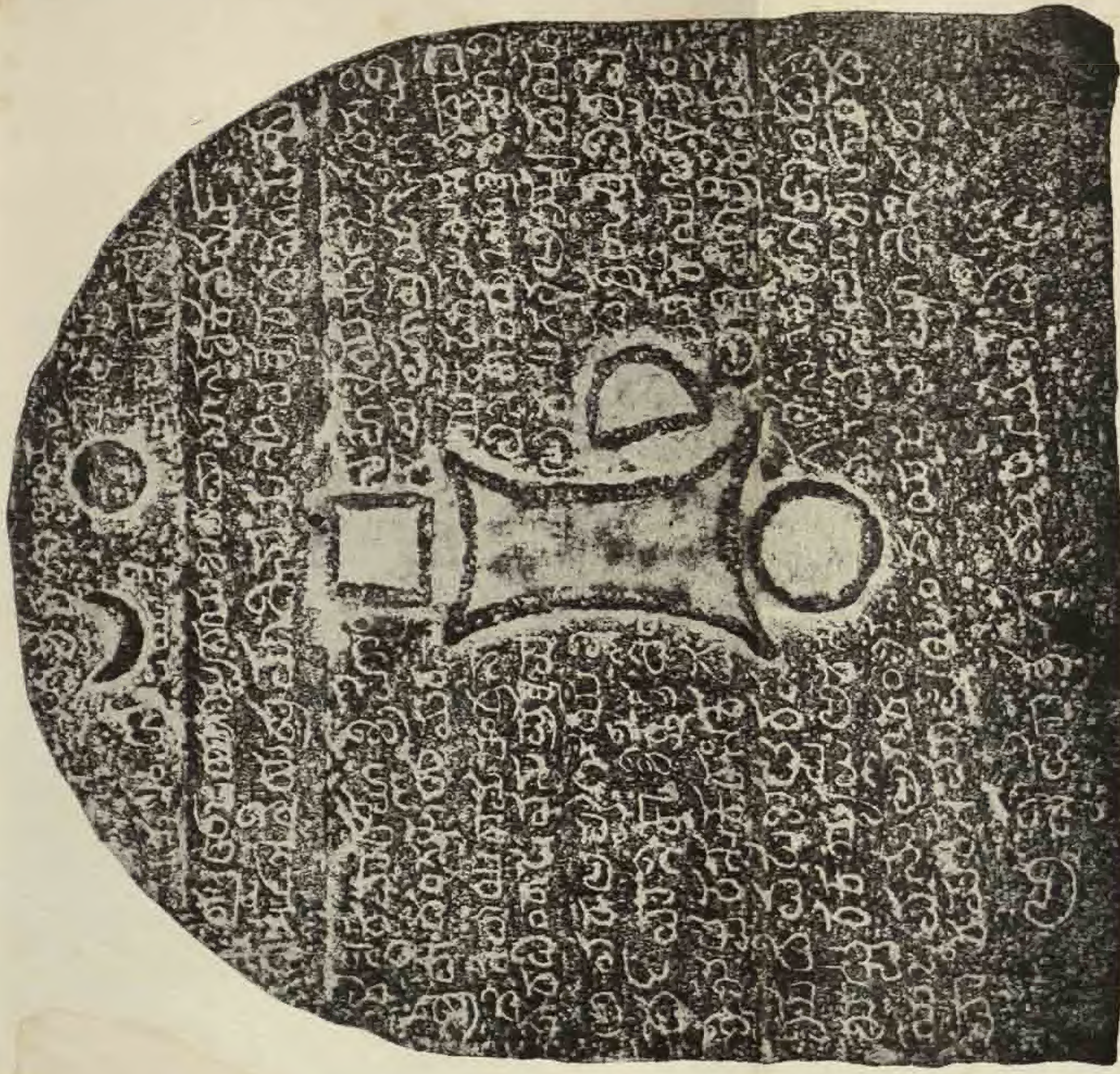
<sup>8</sup> Ibid., No. 71.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., No. 25.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., No. 46.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., Nos. 32 and 59.





Scale : One-Third







TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti [\*] Śrī-jay-ābhyudaya Śālivāhana-Saka-varsha
- 2 1595 neya Pramādi-nāma-sarivataarada Māgha-ku
- 3 4 Śthiravārada<sup>1</sup>llā Śrī-Homa[ś]ha||ya Sarvajña-sarasvati-
- 4 Śrīpādamga||ū Śrī-maṅga|a-mahāprabhu Sō-
- 5 de Savāyi Rāmachandra-nāyakarū sukha-samkatā-vi-
- 6 nādadiṁ rāja(jya)vanu pratipālisaikam[du] harattirahalli
- 7 avara apjapeyalli aramga|a abhyudaya-
- 8 rthavāgi Kāśkahōtradiṁḍa Śraṇṭi Viāvapa-
- 9 ti-bhaṭṭarānu kārasi Kaṭatōkeya Be||i Śaṇi-
- 10 bhudēvaru-bhūṭṭara maga Agnihōtri Kāśava-
- 11 bhaṭṭara kayyallu Aruṅgalanū karnākoḍu
- 12 yaṭṭavanū śraṁbhava mādiṁ ā-ku 8 Budha-
- 13 vāra parisamāptiyimda yaṭṭava māḍisitaru [\*]
- 14 Agnihōtrada maṁṭapa-vēdi [\*]<sup>2</sup>

6

<sup>1</sup>From impressions.<sup>2</sup>This *de* which was omitted first is inserted slightly above the line between *ra* and #4. Read *\*dita*.

<sup>3</sup>[The Nāgaṇi passage reads *Śrī-Dharmakīrtijapati*....—The language of lines 3-6 seems to suggest that Sarvajña-Sarasvati and Rāmachandra were ruling together and that the sacrifice was performed under their orders.—The name of the sacrifice performed is not mentioned; but the *pita* indicated does not seem to suit a Sāmavedya. The last sentence speaks of the *vēdi* (sacrificial altar) in the *maṁṭapa* for the celebration of Agnihōtra (a daily sacrifice), with references to its representation on the stone.—The name *Sōṇḍi* is not due to English influence since it is called *Sōṇḍe* and *Sōmadā* respectively in B. K. No. 51 (Saka 1084) of 1222-33 and No. 10 (1506 A. D.) of 1039-40. See also Sonda in *SHI*, Vol. IX, part. I, No. 339 (Saka 1145), line 20.—Ed.]



## No. 8—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUNTUR DISTRICT

(I Plate)

D. C. SINGAR, OOTACAMUND

It is now nearly a decade and a half that Mr. P. Seshadri Sastri of Guntur, who is an energetic student of the antiquities of the Guntur District of the Andhra State, published the tentative transcripts of two interesting early epigraphs in the now-defunct periodical entitled *Journal of Andhra History and Culture*.<sup>1</sup> The first of these two stone-pillar inscriptions was found at Velpūru<sup>2</sup> in the Sattenapalle Taluk and Mr. Sastri's short note on it was published in the said journal, Vol. I, No. 2 (July 1943), p. 64, with a small facsimile. He published his short note on the second epigraph, stated to have been found 'at some distance from Ropachintala in the Palnad Taluk', in the same journal, Vol. II, No. 2 (July 1944), pp. 68-69, without any facsimile. On reading Mr. Sastri's notes, I, as one interested in the early history of the area in question, felt that the inscriptions should be properly edited with good illustrations. In January 1957, when I was camping for a few days at Guntur, Mr. Sastri showed me a few stampages of both the records and requested me to edit them in the *Epigraphia Indica*. This roused in me a special interest in the inscriptions. I visited Velpūru where I examined the original stone bearing the first of the two records and prepared fresh impressions of it. The pillar was found lying in front of the temple of the god Rāmlīngesvara, although it is stated to have been formerly built into the shrine of the village goddess by the road-side in the neighbourhood of the other temple. I was told that the second inscription had been found in the village of Mañchikallu in the Palnad Taluk. But, on reaching the village, I learnt that the inscribed stone had been removed to the Taluk office at Gurazala some six months previously. I went to Gurazala but only to learn from the Tahsildar that the inscription had been transferred to the Bungalow of the Collector of the District at Guntur. I therefore came back to Guntur where the inscribed stone, which is the fragment of an octagonal pillar, was ultimately traced in the Collector's old Bungalow. In the search of the inscriptions, I received considerable help from Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, Superintendent of the Nagarjunikonda Excavations Project, who takes great interest in matters relating to the early history of Andhra.

### 1. Velpūru Inscription of Aira Māfajāsada

The inscription consists of six lines of writing covering an area about eleven inches in length and twelve inches in height. Individual akṣaras are roughly about 1" x 1" or slightly bigger. The inscribed surface of the stone is damaged at both the left and right ends of the writing and a letter at the beginning or end of the lines is generally damaged or broken away. In a few cases, two letters at the commencement of the lines are similarly affected. The first three letters at the beginning of the last line are now completely lost; but the second and the third of them are traceable on the impressions of the inscription prepared by Mr. Seshadri Sastri in 1935. The layer of stone had broken away even before the Epigraphia Branch copied the record in 1940-41. Some akṣaras in the central part of lines 3-5 are also damaged. An original defect in the stone which compelled the engraver to leave some space further affects the same lines.

<sup>1</sup> A few volumes (Volume I, 1942; Volume II, 1944) of this Journal were published from Guntur under the editorship of Dr. M. Rama Rao. Both the inscriptions are noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* as No. 468 of 1940-41 and No. 22 of Appendix B of 1939-40. See the *Reports for the years 1939-40 to 1942-43*, pp. 127, 229, and for the years 1943-44 to 1944-45, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Maṣṣa over long a and e has not been used in this article.



The characters resemble very closely those of the inscriptions<sup>1</sup> of the Śātavāhana king Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi (c. 100-30 A.D.) and his son Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi (c. 130-50 A.D.) from Nāsik, Amravati and other places.<sup>2</sup> The inscription may therefore be assigned to a date about the first half of the second century A.D. The alphabet employed in the inscription under study is decidedly earlier than the Jaggaṃpeta<sup>3</sup> (Nandigama Taluk, Krishna District) and Nāgarjunikonda<sup>4</sup> (Paland Taluk, Guntur District) inscriptions of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta who flourished about the middle of the third century A.D.<sup>5</sup> The letter *a* has a straight horizontal base, while *i* has not the angular or flat base noticed in the Ikshvāku inscriptions. The letter *t* also does not exhibit the looped type noticed occasionally in the Śātavāhana epigraphs of the age of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi and Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi but generally in the Ikshvāku records of the time of Virapurushadatta. The forms of the letters *l*, *t* and *a*, as found in the present epigraph, may be compared with their forms generally noticed in the later Śātavāhana inscriptions discovered in the Krishna-Guntur region and its neighbourhood such as the Amravati inscription<sup>6</sup> of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi, the Kodavali inscription<sup>7</sup> of Chaṇḍa or Chandra Śāta, the Myakadoni inscription<sup>8</sup> of Puṣumāvi and the Chinnā inscription<sup>9</sup> of Yaśa Śātakarṇi. The comparison would suggest that the inscription under study should have to be assigned to a date about the time of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi and not to the period after the end of Śātavāhana rule in the said area about the close of the first quarter of the third century A.D.<sup>10</sup>

The language of the inscription is Prakrit and no influence of Sanskrit is noticed in it except in the use of the vowel *ai* in the word *Airasa* in line 2. As regards orthography, there is no case of the reduplication of consonants or the use of conjuncts. But the modification of *j* to *y* in the word *maṭṭhāyasa* (lines 2-3) is interesting to note.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 60 ff. and Plates; *Arch. Surv. S. India*, Vol. I, p. 100, Plate LVI No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> For the date of the Śātavāhana kings, see *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 202, 204. In spite of the great difference between the palaeography of this record and that of the Maheśkhalla inscription edited below, both the epigraphs have been assigned in the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy*, referred to above, to the third century A.D. The Maheśkhalla inscription no doubt belongs to the end of the third century; but the present record is certainly earlier by more than a century.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Surv. S. India*, Vol. I, Plates LXII-LXIII.

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., above, Vol. XX, pp. 1 ff. and Plates.

<sup>5</sup> *The Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 16; cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 223.

<sup>6</sup> *Arch. Surv. S. India*, Vol. I, p. 100, Plate LVI No. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 316 ff. and Plate. This inscription has been differently read and interpreted by Sten Konow and Krishna Sastri. We are inclined to disagree with the views of both the scholars and to read the epigraph as follows:

1. Sidham rathito Vāśiṣṭhī
2. puṣumā viṣṇu-ur(i).
3. Chaṇḍa(ṇḍa)śāta(ṣa) [śāta]śhara
4. [10 1] ha pa 2 dya(ṣa) 2 [1]
5. amach-ṣa(ṣa)mi(t)ṣa(na) dhams
6. thāp(i)ṣa

The inscription therefore seems to be dated on the second day of the second fortnight of *Herasta* (i.e. winter) of the eleventh regnal year of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Chandra Śāta (or Chandra Śāta), when his *maṭṭha* (i.e. a minister or executive officer) named Saryamitra established a *dharmā* in the vicinity of the inscription. The word *dharmā* here apparently means a religious object or institution, traces of which have been noticed near the findspot of the record (cf. op. cit., p. 317).

*Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 165 and Plate.

<sup>9</sup> *JASB*, Vol. XVI, 1920, Plate XVI. The palaeography of this record closely resembles that of the Ikshvāku inscriptions of about the middle of the third century and does not look earlier than the Kodavali and Myakadoni inscriptions, although the rulers mentioned in these two records are generally supposed to have flourished later than Yaśa Śātakarṇi.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *The Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 163.



Considering the length of the other lines, it is clear that two letters at the beginning of line 1 are lost, although traces of these two are visible. These lost *akṣaras* appear to have been *śiḍha* or *śiḍham* (Sanskrit *śiḍham*), the *maṅgala* found at the commencement of numerous early records. The above is followed by the words *namo Bhagavato* (Sanskrit *namaḥ Bhagavate*), 'Obeisance to the Lord'. This kind of adoration without mentioning the name of the deity in question is known from other inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> The Ikshvāku inscriptions often begin with the *maṅgala* : *namo Bhagavato Buddha*, 'Obeisance to the Lord Buddha'. But the word following the word *Bhagavato* in the present record is not *Buddha* and does not appear to be the name of a deity. The first two letters of this expression, viz. *ga*, are engraved at the end of line 1 and the third letter at the beginning of line 2 is broken away, while the last two letters are clearly *gasa*. It is not possible to restore the word with any amount of certainty. But it is tempting to suggest *Gālavaya* (Sanskrit *Gālavayarga*), 'of the Gālavaya', Gālavaya possibly being the *gotra* or clan name of the king mentioned further on. The following letters of line 2 are *Aīraṃ Mahārāja* with a partially damaged *aa* (completing the second of the two expressions) at the beginning of line 3. It is clear from this passage that the king, whose name follows, enjoyed the royal title *Mahārāja* and claimed to have belonged to the *Aīra* family. *Aīra* as a family name also occurs in the inscriptions of the Chedi-Mahāmēghavāhana of Kallūga.<sup>2</sup> Some scholars think that the word stands for Sanskrit *Aīla* (i.e. a descendant of Ilā) while others equate it with Sanskrit *ārya* through the Prakrit forms *aryā > oyā > aīra*. We are inclined to agree with the second group of scholars, especially because the change of *r* to *l* does not appear to be a characteristic of the language of the inscription under study. Moreover, the forms *ayira* and *aīra* (for Sanskrit *ārya*), from which *aīra* seems to have been derived, are actually found in the Amarāvati and Nāgarjunikonda inscriptions.<sup>3</sup>

The letters following the damaged *aa* in line 3 are : *Hārīṣputa* *ai* *r* (*i* *Mā*). The name of the king, who enjoyed the metronymic *Hārīṣputra*, 'born of a lady belonging to (i.e. whose father belonged to) the Hārīṣ *gotra*', cannot be determined with certainty as the letter following *Mā* at the beginning of line 4 is damaged, although the following three *akṣaras* read *śada*. Traces of the damaged letter in the facsimile published by Mr. Seshadri Sastri, however, appear to suggest the reading *aa*.<sup>4</sup> Now, it may be supposed that the letters *śada* go with the following expression and that *aa* preceding *śada* represents the sixth case-ending added to the king's name in two syllables. The name of the king in that case may be *Māna*, if our view regarding the reading of the second letter is accepted. Since, however, *śada* added to the following word scarcely gives any sense, the suggestion does not seem to suit the context. The other possibility is that the king's name was written in four syllables beginning with *mā* and ending with *śada*. In that case, the name of the king may be taken, at least tentatively, to be *Mānaśada*; but whether *śada* representing the second half of the name stands for *Śāla* cannot be determined. A ruler named Śivannaka Śada

<sup>1</sup> See Arch. Surv. S. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 85, 105 (Nos. 48-49). The god referred to in line 1 of the inscription under study seems to be the one mentioned by name in lines 5-6. Sometimes a god is mentioned by name in the adoration at the beginning of the epigraph and later only by the epithet *Bhagavat* (cf. JRS, Vol. XXXIX, Parts 1-2, pp. 4-5).

<sup>2</sup> Select Inscriptions, pp. 206, 214. See above, Vol. XX, p. 80. For a king named Ārya-Viśākhakṛta who ruled over Magadha in the second century A.D., see above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 229 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Leaders' List, Nos. 1270, 1280; above, Vol. XX, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> In ancient India, marriage was often performed without *gar-śada*, i.e. the change of the wife's paternal *gotra* to that of her husband. See Frez. IHC, Annamalaiagar, 1943, pp. 48 ff.

<sup>5</sup> It may be conjectured that the damaged letter is *śa*, so that the passage would read *śiṣṭaśaśada* (Sanskrit *śiṣṭaśaśada*), 'of the illustrious Śiṣṭa'. Cf. *śiṣṭa* for Sanskrit *śiṣṭa* in a Nāgaṭṭa record (Select Inscriptions, p. 124). In the Prakrit epigraphy, however, the name of a king is generally preceded by the word *śri* in compound. Moreover the damaged letter at the beginning of line 4 does not look like *śa*.



is known from an Amaravati inscription<sup>1</sup> and the latter part of the name is generally taken to stand for *Sātavāha* or *Sātavāhana*. Consequently, Sivamaka Sada is assigned to the Sātavāhana family.<sup>2</sup> The present epigraph, however, does not look like a Sātavāhana record and seems to show that a king of the Krishna-Guntur region bearing a *sada*-ending name belonged to the Aira (possibly also called Gālavaya) and not to the Sātavāhana family. Whether Sivamaka Sada, whose inscription has to be attributed to the same age as the epigraph under study on grounds of palaeography, belonged to the Aira family cannot of course be determined without further evidence.<sup>3</sup>

The next word in the latter half of line 4 reads: *disidhārikāya* (Sanskrit *drīṣi-dhārikāyā*),<sup>4</sup> 'by the female torch-bearer'. The first letter of the name of this female official of the Aira king contained in the first word of line 5 is lost, the following two letters of the word reading [*vā*]ya, 'by ... vā'. The name was therefore something like *Revā*, *Devā*, etc.

The following four letters of line 5 are damaged; but the second and third appear to read *gura* and the expression may be restored as *Bhagavato*, 'of the Lord' which is followed by what looks like *Bhūtagā[ha][ka\*]sa* containing the name of a deity. Of this name, which may be compared with the word *Bhūtagrāhya* meaning a class of domestic spirits, the fourth letter is partially damaged at the end of line 5 while the last letter was broken away at the beginning of the next line even when Mr. Sastri copied the inscription eighteen years ago. As already indicated above, *sa* (the last *akṣara* of the above expression) and *ma* (the first letter of the following word *maṣa[pā(pu)]*) were lost at a slightly later date. The above is followed in line 6, with which the inscription concludes, by the words *eko* [*ni*]vāhito, the passage *Bhagavato Bhūtagāhakasa maṣapa eko nivāhito* (Sanskrit *Bhagavato Bhūtagrāhakasya maṣapaḥ ekaḥ nirvāhitaḥ*) meaning 'one *maṣapa* of the god Bhūtagrāhaka has been completed'. The word *maṣapa* may mean here 'a building consecrated to a deity [in the vicinity of his temple]'. The inscription thus appears to record the construction of a building for a god called Bhūtagrāhaka by a lady in the service of a *Mahārāja* of the Aira family and probably of the Gālava *gura*.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that the rule of the Aira (Ārya) family over the Guntur District and the adjoining areas in the second century A.D. is known from it for the first time. We know that about the end of the first century B.C., the Chedi-Mahāmeghavāhana king Khāravela of Kalinga, who claimed Aira (Ārya) descent, ruled over the territory lying to the immediate east of the dominions of the contemporary Sātavāhana king Sātakarṇi and that the former besieged the city called Anikanagara (Sanskrit *Rishikanagara*) situated on the bank of the river Kanhavatā (Sanskrit *Kṛṣṇavātā*, i.e. the modern Krishna) probably within the latter's dominions.<sup>5</sup> In the absence of any reference to the Chedi-Mahāmeghavāhana family in our inscription and of epithets like *Hārīṣiputra* in the records of the Chedi-Mahāmeghavāhanas of Kalinga, it is difficult, in the present state of our knowledge, to determine the exact relation of the Aira king mentioned in our epigraph with the family of Khāravela. But it is equally difficult

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Surv. S. Ind., Vol. I, p. 61, Plate LVI, No. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc., p. III.

<sup>3</sup> According to some scholars, the Chinnā inscription preserves the Prakrit word *aripa* for Sanskrit *aripata* to the name of Yajña Sātakarṇi (above, Vol. I, p. 96, note 2; Vol. X, Appendix, p. 180, No. 1340), although there are other scholars who disagree with this view and hold different opinions on the subject (*AEAS*, 1913-14, pp. 213-14; *JASB*, Vol. XVI, 1920, pp. 329-30). Even if, however, it may be believed that *aripa* of the Chinnā inscription stands for Sanskrit *aripata* and for *Aira* of the Velpūra inscription, it is difficult to determine whether Yajña Sātakarṇi (not described as a Sātavāhana in the Chinnā inscription) belonged to the Sātavāhana family but was so called because he was born of an Aira princess (cf. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 316).

<sup>4</sup> Apte's *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1924, p. 500) recognises 'light' as one of the meanings of the word *drīṣi* or *drīṣi*. Cf. the official designation *dīpaḥkara* in the *Rajamahatmya*, VIII, 222.

<sup>5</sup> See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 206 ff.; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 213.



to dissociate the rule of the Aīras over the Guntur region in the valley of the Kṛishṇā in the second century A.D. from the above facts of the early history of Kālīnga especially in view of the title *Mahārāja* claimed by Mānasada, which was popular with the Chōdi-Mahāmēghavāhanas but not with the Sātavāhanas. It is thus not impossible that Aīras rule was established in the Kṛishṇa-Guntur region as a result of one of Khāravela's expeditions in those areas.

In the second century A.D., the title *Mahārāja*, enjoyed by the Aīra king in our record, indicated an imperial status. The Aīra rule in the Kṛishṇā valley in the period in question seems to go against the suggestion that the Sātavāhanas, called Andhras in the Purāṇas, ruled over the Kṛishṇa-Guntur region in the heart of the present Andhra country from the post-Maurya age down to the beginning of the third century A.D.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere we have suggested that the Andhra people were originally living in the northern parts of the Deccan, that the early rulers of the Sātavāhana family belonging to the Andhra race ruled over territories to the north of the Kṛishṇā and that it was Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi (c. 130-59 A.D.) who conquered the Kṛishṇa-Guntur area in the second quarter of the second century A.D.<sup>2</sup> The main argument in favour of the suggestion is that no inscription of the Sātavāhanas down to the days of Gaṇtamīputra Śātakarṇi (c. 100-30 A.D.) has been discovered in the area in question and that no land lying to the south of the Kṛishṇā seems to be included in the long list of territories quoted in the Nasik inscription<sup>3</sup> of the nineteenth regnal year of Puṣumāvi as comprised in his father's dominions. The present inscription seems to support our view. It now appears that the Aīras ruling over the Kṛishṇa-Guntur region were supplanted by the Later Sātavāhanas. This is indicated by the existence of many Later Sātavāhana epigraphs in this region such as the Amarāvati (Guntur District) inscription<sup>4</sup> of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi, Chinnā (Kṛishṇa District) inscription<sup>5</sup> of Gaṇtamīputra Yājña Śātakarṇi, Kōḍavali inscription<sup>6</sup> of Chandra or Chandra Śāta and the Myakadoni (Bellary District) inscription<sup>7</sup> of Puṣumāvi.

#### TEXT\*

- 1 . . . 7[\*] namō Bhagavato [\*] Ga[ra]-
- 2 . . . yasa<sup>10</sup> Aīrasa Mahārāja[-
- 3 [sa] Hārithi[putasa] [a]h[il]-[Ma]-
- 4 . . . [sa]dasa<sup>11</sup> ā[s]i[-dh]ārīkāya-
- 5 . . . [v]āra<sup>12</sup> . . . [gava]<sup>13</sup> Bhūtagā[ra]-
- 6 . . . [sa]<sup>14</sup> na[ra]dā[pā(po)] [a]ko [nīra]hito [\*]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. K. Gopalanchari, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 193 ff., 204.

<sup>3</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 106, 106 note.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Surv. R. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 100, Plate LVI, No. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. I, pp. 94f.; *JASR*, Vol. XVI, 1920, pp. 327 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 316 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 155.

<sup>8</sup> From impressions and the facsimile published in *JASR*, Vol. I, No. 2, Plate facing p. 84. We have also utilised one of Mr. Sastri's impressions for illustrating the present article.

<sup>9</sup> The lost word may be *śiśa* or *śiśam*.

<sup>10</sup> The intended reading may be *Golacayasa* (i.e. *Golacayasa*)-Sanskrit *Golacayasa*.

<sup>11</sup> Traces of the damaged letter at the beginning of the line seem to suggest the reading *sa*. The name of the king thus appears to have been Mānasada.

<sup>12</sup> As suggested above, the name of the lady was something like *Śiśā*, *Devi*, etc.

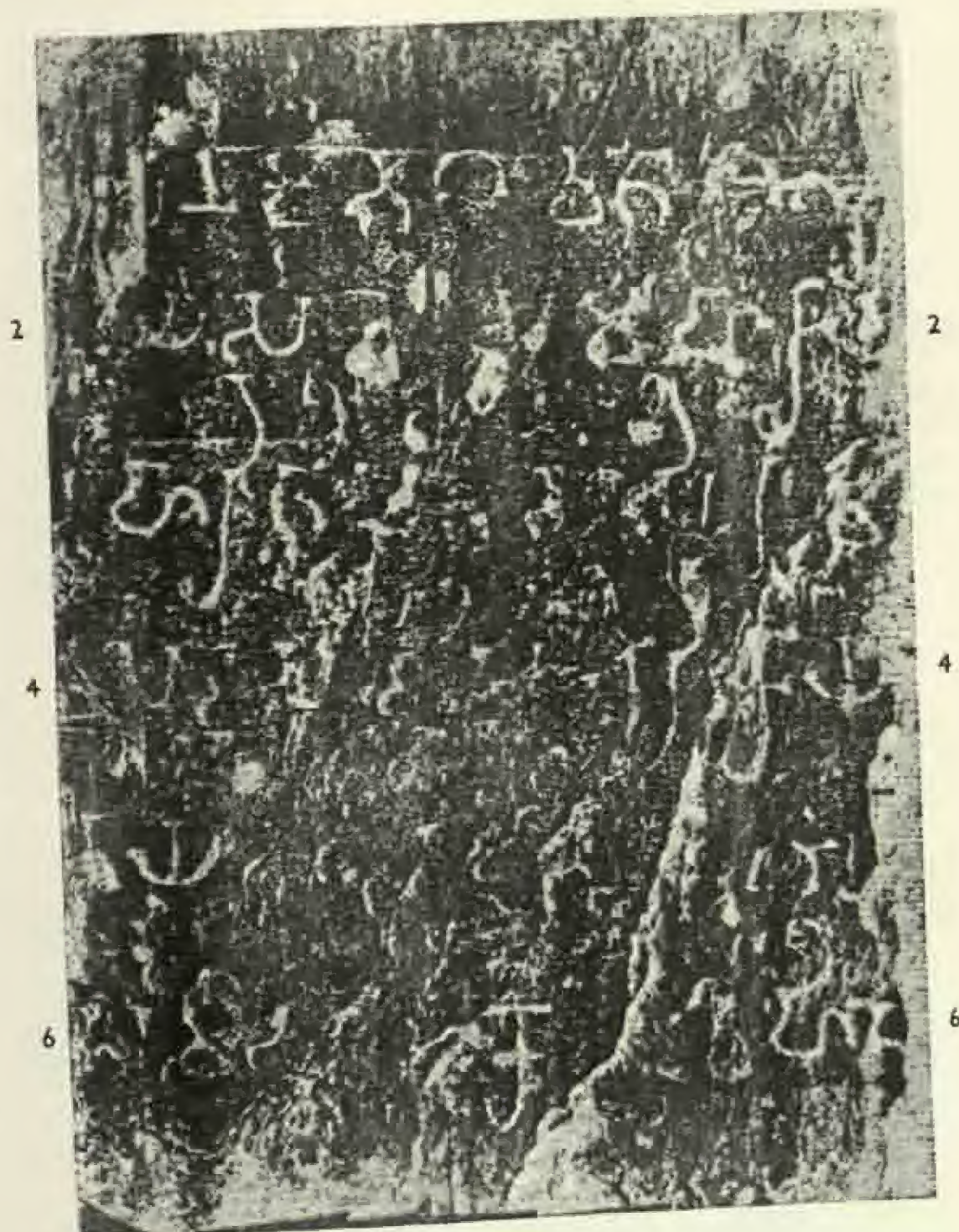
<sup>13</sup> The word may be restored as *Bhagavāta*.

<sup>14</sup> The intended reading seems to be *Bhūtagāhara*. The *śiśa* and *sa* are traceable on Mr. Sastri's impressions but are lost now on the stone.



# TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUNTUR DISTRICT

## 1. VELPURU INSCRIPTION OF AIRA MANASADA (?)





2. MANCHIKALLU INSCRIPTION OF PALLAVA SIMHAVARMAN



Scale: One-half



## TRANSLATION

May there be well! Obelance to the Lord. One *Mandapa* for the Lord Bhūtagrāhaka has been completed by . . . who is the *Drīti-dhārīkā* (i.e. the female torch-bearer) of the illustrious *Mahārāja Mā(na)sada*, the son of *Hārītī* (i.e. the queen belonging to the *Hārīta-gara*), the *Atra* (and) the *Gālatreya*.

## 2. Mañchikallu Inscription of Pallava Simhavarmān

The area covered by the writing measures about seventeen inches in length and nine inches in height. The lower part of the inscription is broken away and lost. There are altogether five lines of writing. The first letter of line 4 is damaged and the last two or three *akṣaras* of it are broken away, while only a few letters of line 5 are visible. The *akṣaras*, each measuring about  $\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{1}{2}$  or more, are boldly and neatly engraved; but some of them about the middle of all the lines are severely damaged.

The characters very closely resemble the *Harvāḥa* inscriptions from Jaggayapeta. Nāga-rjūṅkondā and other places and little calls for special remark in this connection. The consonant *t* has a looped (cf. *vardhamutike* in line 2, *kāṭiga* in line 3, *tethikāsa* in lines 3-4 and *kāṭas* in line 4) as well as an unlooped (cf. *agottena* in line 1, *saṁtā* in line 2 and *kartakā* in line 4) form. The letter *n* generally exhibits the unlooped form (cf. *vardhamutike* and *saṁtā* in line 2, *tethikāsa* in lines 3-4). But *ṇ* shows both the looped (cf. *dhāreya* in line 1, *gāyapaṇ* in line 3) and unlooped (cf. *Palavāṇa* in line 1, *vaṇṇaṇa* in line 2, *kāṭiga* in line 3) forms. *y* is of two types; cf. *Rhāradaya* in line 1 and *vajayike* in line 2. The medial *ā* mark in *kāṭiga* in line 3 is interesting to note. Double *ḍ* has been used to indicate the mark of punctuation after *siddhant* in line 1. The record can be assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to a date about the second half of the third century A.D. to which the *Harvāḥa* epigraphs have been attributed, although the language and internal evidence, as discussed below, would suggest the close of the century. The letters *niya*, in Telugu-Kannada characters of about the seventh century A.D., are found at the end of line 2 while there are traces of similar *akṣaras* at the end of line 3 as well. These appear to have belonged to a different record which had nothing to do with the inscription under study and is now almost completely lost.

The language of the record is Prakrit; but its orthography is considerably influenced by literary Prakrit and Sanskrit. Reduplication of consonants is noticed in *siddhant* and *agottena* in line 1, *apjapa* in line 2 and *bhāṭṭā* in line 4, while in line 5 we have the word *kartakā* which not only exhibits the influence of Sanskrit in its spelling but is also of lexical interest. In *vaṇṇaṇa* in line 2, however, *vaṇṇaṇa* has been employed instead of the reduplication of *ṇ*. Double nasal has been used in *vardhamutike* and *saṁtā* in the same line. In most cases, *n* has been changed to *ṇ*, although its use is noticed in a few words (cf. *uti* twice occurring in line 2 and *niya* at the beginning of line 4). The seventh case-ending in *a* is used in *pāṇamā* in line 5 and in *vajayike* and *vardhamutike* in line 2; but in the last two words the seventh case-ending seems actually to be meant for the fourth. These features are also noticed in other records; e.g., the Mayidavolu plates of Pallava Śivaskandavarman<sup>1</sup> have the passage: *Śivakṣāṇḍavarmanō Dharmākaḍe vipatāṁ ānapayati amhehi dāni amhevajayike dharmā-ṣya-bāli-vadhanike ya . . . . . gāma . . . . . saṁpadatu* (Sanskrit *Śiv-*

<sup>1</sup> Some scholars are inclined to take *śiva* in the name as an honorific and Śivaskandavarman as the real name of the king. This is unwarranted not only because *śiva* as an honorific is scarcely used singly without any other honorific like *śrī* as in the records of this ruler but also because the popularity of similar names like Śivaskanda, Bhavaśankar, Śivashayamukha, etc., in South India throughout the ages, can easily be demonstrated. Cf. *The Successors of the Samudras*, pp. 166-67.







of Śivaśkaṇḍavarman who issued from the city of Kāñchi the Mayūlarola plates<sup>1</sup> as a Yama-kārāja (crown-prince) and the Hiraḥadagalli plates<sup>2</sup> as a *Dharmamahāvīrādhirāja*. While the first grant was issued very probably during the reign of Śivaśkaṇḍavarman's father, the second records the renewal of a grant originally made by his father mentioned as *mahārāja-deppa-vāṇin* (i.e. the lord who was the issuer's father and enjoyed the title *Mahārāja*) without quoting his personal name.<sup>3</sup> The first record shows that Andhrāpatha with its headquarters at Dhānyakṣa (Anurāvatī near Dharmakṣeta in the Guntur District) formed a part of the Pallava empire when Śivaśkaṇḍavarman was the crown-prince apparently during the reign of his father. The present inscription seems to suggest the presence of king Śiṃhavarman in the said area. It is thus not impossible that it was he who extended Pallava power in the Krishna-Guntur region and annexed it to the dominions of the Pallavas of Kāñchi. Considering the proximity between the date of the inscription under study (i.e. about the close of the third century A.D.) and that of the Mayūlarola and Hiraḥadagalli plates of Śivaśkaṇḍavarman (i.e. about the first quarter of the fourth century A.D.), as suggested by their language,<sup>4</sup> it is also possible to conjecture that Śiṃhavarman was the father and immediate predecessor of Śivaśkaṇḍavarman. The close resemblance between the palaeography and language of the present epigraph and those of the Ikshvāku records would further suggest that it was the Ikshvākus who were supplanted from the Krishna-Guntur area by the Pallavas about the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century A.D. The presence of Pallava Śiṃhavarman in the vicinity of the Ikshvāku capital of Vijayapura situated in the Nāgārjunikonda valley, as suggested by the inscription under study, seems to show that it was he who was responsible for the destruction of that city together with its Buddhist establishments. The bull crest of the Pallavas, as indicated by their coins and the seals attached to their copper-plate charters,<sup>5</sup> appears to point to their Śaiva inclination. In this connection it may be noted that many of the Pallava kings who flourished between the fifth and eighth centuries A.D. claimed to have been *Kaliyuga-dosh-śamanta-dharm-oddharana-cārya-mahādharma* which seems to refer to the fact that they were determined to revitalise their Brahmanical faith which had been encroached upon by heretical doctrines like Buddhism during the age of the Later Śātaśāhas and the Ikshvākus.<sup>6</sup>

## TEXT

1 Siddha[m] || Bhāradāja-sago[stema].....<sup>7</sup>[dha]ṇṣa Palavāpam Si[ha]-

2 varuṇapa ap[pl]aṇo vejayike..... [la<sup>8</sup>-va]rūṇa[ni]ha[n]tike sam[sa]mācathij.<sup>10</sup>

3 yūyapaṇa kātāṇa Bhaga[vuto]...<sup>11</sup>[Jiya]jivasāma tathik[ā]-

<sup>1</sup> *Sanskrit Inscriptions*, pp. 433 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 437 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Some scholars take Deppa to be the personal name of Śivaśkaṇḍavarman's father. But the use of the word in similar passages in numerous inscriptions clearly goes against the suggestion. Cf. *Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 438, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 170-71.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 296-97; Vol. XXIX, p. 99.

<sup>6</sup> See *The Successors of the Śātaśāhas*, pp. 196-97; *ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>7</sup> From impressions.

<sup>8</sup> About four characters damaged here cannot be restored with certainty.

<sup>9</sup> The faint traces of the letters suggest the reading *dharmabala*.

<sup>10</sup> As indicated above, there are two Telugu-Kannada letters after this. They have nothing to do with the inscription under study.

<sup>11</sup> The damaged letters may be *śūṣ*.



- 4 na kurtiaks(k-o)pahārak-ādi kāśich ([\*] Ki[ha].<sup>1</sup>[d]evakulasa Bhāṭṭ[ā])<sup>2</sup> .....
- 5 .....[sa] pādū[mūle] .....

## TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-4) May it be well. Presents of woollen carpets and other (*presents*) have been made by **Sindhavarman** who belongs to the **Pallavas** (i.e. the Pallava family), is...dhara, and belongs to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, in favour of the *śaśthitas* (probably, priests of the temple) of the lord, the illustrious Jyotsnāśāmin, after having performed *śānti* and *śaṅkayama* for his own victory (and) the increase of his merits and prowess.

(Lines 4-5).....at the feet of the *Bhāṭṭāraka*,.....in the temple of Kilaṭṭhi(?) .....

<sup>1</sup> The first *alshara* may also be read as *śa* and the second as *pa*. The last *alshara* of the name of the *śraṭṭula* looks like *NAI*, so that the name may be *Kilaṭṭhi*. But, if the second letter is *pa*, there was possibly another *alshara* between this and the last letter.

<sup>2</sup> The two letters after this may be conjecturally restored as *raṭa*.



**No. 9—VUNNA GURAVAYAPALEM PLATES OF PARAMESVARAVARMAN I,  
YEAR 19**

(1 Plate)

D.C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND, and P. SESHADRI SASTRI, GUNTUR

Some time ago a set of three inscribed copper plates strung on a copper ring bearing a bronze seal was shown to Sastri by the son of the Village Munsif of **Vunna Guravayapalem** in the Podili Taluk of the Nellore District of Andhra. Sastri had prepared a transcript of the inscription and got the surface of the seal and the inscribed faces of the plates photographed before the record was returned. The photographs of the plates, however, were taken without cutting the ring holding them together and taking them out of it.<sup>1</sup> Thus some letters on all the inscribed faces of the plates are seen covered by a portion of the ring in the photographs. In January 1957, a set of the photographs was received by Sircar from Sastri. Sircar then tried to secure the original plates for examination with the help of the State Government; but the attempt was a failure.

Each one of the three plates is of almost the same size as any of the three inscribed plates of the Rôyûru grant<sup>2</sup> of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman II who, as will be seen below, was the son and successor of the issuer of the charter under discussion. But they have writing on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second, while the Rôyûru grant has writing also on the reverse of the third plate. The number of lines in the inscriptions on both the sets of plates is the same. The twenty five lines of writing in the present epigraph are distributed on the plates as follows: I—6 lines, II—6 lines, III—6 lines and III—7 lines, whereas the Rôyûru grant has five lines each on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second and six lines on the outer side of the third plate. The hole about the left border of the plates, for the seal-ring to pass through, was made in both the records before the incision of the documents in question. The space between the hole and the border of the plates is slightly bigger in the present set than in the Rôyûru grant. The size of the letters in the inscription under study is slightly smaller than in the other epigraph, although they are almost as neatly and carefully engraved.

The ends of the ring holding the plates together are soldered to the bottom of the seal having a circular surface. The central part of this counter-sunk surface of the seal bears the representation of a recumbent bull with its head towards the proper left and face slightly turned towards front. There appear to be a crescent and a *dhvaja* above the head of the bull which is known to have been the emblem of the Pallavas. The upper part of the surface, above the back of the bull is occupied by the crude representation of what looks like a deity seated on a throne. Below the bull, there is a legend in three *aksharas* which appear to read *Śrī-pādī* apparently standing for *Śrī-Nandī*. This was probably a *biruda* of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I (sometimes called Paramēśvarapūṣṭavarman or *Iṣvarapūṣṭarāja*) who issued the charter under review.<sup>3</sup> It has, however, to be admitted that this secondary name of the Pallava king is as yet unknown, although we know many of his other *birudas* such as *Aṅgastakīṇa*, *Śrīnīdhi*, *Śrībhava*, *Rajajaya*, *Tarṇa-*

<sup>1</sup> The first letter of the lines is often found partially or fully cut off from the photographs.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 89-97 and Plates. There are two more uninscribed plates in this set.

<sup>3</sup> The legend on the seal does not appear to refer to the bull represented on it.



*Ākura, Kōmāṭṭa, Avagraha, Kūlakāla, Samaradhanaṭṭaya, Atanachayāḍa, Vidyāvinīta, Lakṣhṇa and Ugrahāḍa.*<sup>3</sup>

It will be seen that, in spite of the bull emblem, the seal described above does not resemble those attached to the Sanskrit charters of the Early Pallava kings as they do not bear any legend.<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to note that the seal of the Rājīra grant of Narmadavarman II resembles in this respect the seal of the Early Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters, whereas the seal of the Kurram plates<sup>5</sup> of Paramāśvaravarman I, who was the father of the said king and issued the present charter as well, bears a legend. Still more interesting is the fact that the seal of the Kurram plates and that of the present charter, both issued by the same Pallava king, do not exhibit any close resemblance between them. The seal of the former grant has been described by Hultzsch in the following words: "The seal is about 2½ inches in diameter and bears a bull which is seated on a pedestal, faces the left and is surrounded by the moon and a *dhvaja*. Further up, there are a few much obliterated syllables. A legend of many letters passes round the whole seal. Unfortunately it is so much worn that I have failed to decipher it."<sup>6</sup>

The date of the record is quoted (lines 23-24) as Sunday, Pancha-su. 13 in the nineteenth regnal year of king Paramāśvaravarman I. In line 13, the *Āyana* or *Uttarāyana* (i.e. the Mahara-sukrānti) is mentioned as the occasion of the grant. The importance of the date will be discussed later on.

The characters belong to the Telugu-Kannada alphabet of the seventh century A.D. They generally resemble the characters employed in the Rājīra grant, although some *akṣaras*, e.g. *śeṣa*, *ṣa*, *ṣa*, etc., have different forms, and on the whole the present record exhibits an earlier look. Of initial vowels, *a* occurs in lines 12, 15 and 17; *ā* in lines 13, 22 and 24; *i* in line 19; *u* in line 13; and *e* in lines 17 and 23. The *upadhmāṇiga* has been employed many times in line 4 (twice), 8 (twice), 9 (twice), 14, 15 and 18, while the *jikṣumāṇiga* only once in line 8.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The major part of it is written in prose, although there are three stanzas in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre in lines 19-23. Two of these are the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. The third stanza contains the name of the executor of the document and is also found in a modified form in the Rājīra grant.

Among orthographical peculiarities, mention may be made of the general reduplication of many of the consonants following *r*. The rules of *Sandhi*, which are optional in prose composition, have not been observed in some cases. Cases of *Sandhi* in expressions like *pāpā-āśira*<sup>7</sup> in line 19 are interesting. The writing exhibits a general tendency to use the class nasal *an*, excepting a few cases (cf. *anirāṇa* in line 5, *śaṅkhāṇa* in line 29), the *anuvāra* has been changed to class nasal in *Sandhi*. The final *m* at the end of a stanza has in one case (line 20) been wrongly changed to *anuvāra*. In another case (line 24,) it has been similarly changed before a vowel. Double nasal has been used in *śaṅkhāṇaṇa* in line 18.

In style, the record under discussion closely resembles that of the Sanskrit charters of the Early Pallava rulers.<sup>8</sup> Among copper-plate charters of the Later Pallavas of Simhasiśyū's line,

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, Vol. X, pp. 6-12; *SII*, Vol. I, pp. 12, 150; Sewell's *Ind.*, p. 376. Hultzsch (*SII*, Vol. I, p. 147) seems to be wrong in taking Vidyāvinīta to be the name of a relative of Paramāśvaravarman I. Some of these *bandas* are also known to have been assumed by his grandfather Narmadavarman I and son Narmadavarman II. See *SII*, Vol. I, p. 13; *A.E. Ep.*, 1917, paragraph 3.9; Sewell, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. XXIV, Plate facing p. 297. The Prakrit charters of the earlier Pallava ruler Śaṅkhaśvarman (about the first quarter of the fourth century A.D.) have, however, seals bearing legend (cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 493, note 3, 437).

<sup>5</sup> *SII*, Vol. I, pp. 144 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144. See *SII*, Vol. XII, Plate VII.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the Chaudāra grant of Kumārāśrīma II (above, Vol. VIII, p. 293 ff.); Udayandira plates of Nandivarman (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 142); Uṅgaḍa grant of Śaṅkharman II (*Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 246); Uṅgaḍa grant of Viśvaṇḍavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 56); Uṅgaḍa, Pihā, Mangalūr and Vilaratti grants of Simhasiśyū (above, Vol. XV, p. 246; Vol. VIII pp. 159 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 134; above, Vol. XXIV, p. 291).



this characteristic is noticed only in the Râyûrî grant of Narasimhavarman II and not even in the Kurrâm plates of Paramêśvaravarman I who issued the present charter. The records of the early rulers of the Later Pallava house (i.e. the branch represented by Simhavishnu and his descendants) are mostly on stone. The only copper-plate grants of this house, issued by rulers who flourished before Nandivarman Pallavamalla (a descendant of Rihnavarman, brother of Simhavishnu), are only three in number, viz. the Kurrâm plates and the present record belonging to Paramêśvaravarman I and the Râyûrî grant of Narasimhavarman II. Of these, the Kurrâm plates bear close affinity in respect of the script and style with the grants of Nandivarman Pallavamalla such as the Udayandipuram and Kosakudi plates.<sup>1</sup> It is an elaborate *prastâva* written in Sanskrit prose and verse and Tamil prose and in the Grantha and Tamil alphabets and contains, besides the details of the grant, three lengthy sections, viz. an invocation, a legendary account of the origin of the Pallavas and a description of the donor of the charter and his ancestors. The style of the present record as well as of the Râyûrî grant, on the other hand, is like that of the Sanskrit charters of the Early Pallavas, much simpler. Many of the passages occurring in the Early Pallava grants have been used in these two records without any modification or with slight modification.<sup>2</sup> The same or similar epithets applied to different rulers in different records would suggest that the officers who drafted the documents were scarcely very scrupulous about the accuracy of statement. The number of epithets used with reference to the donor and his ancestors in the present record is smaller than in the Râyûrî grant.

As in the case of the Râyûrî grant and many of the Sanskrit charters of the Early Pallavas the inscription begins with the auspicious word *svasti* followed by the *vaishya* : *jitathâ Kingarathâ*, "Victorious is the Lord". The next passage refers to the issue of the charter from Kâñchîpûrâ. Then (lines 1-2) the Pallava family, to which the donor of the charter belonged, is introduced as belonging to the Utharadvâja *gôtra* and as having performed many sacrifices including the *Asramêdha*. As in many Early Pallava charters, this no doubt refers to the horse-sacrifice celebrated by two of the Early Pallava kings viz. Śivastandavarman and Kumâravishnu.<sup>3</sup> In lines 3-10 the donor of the grant, king Paramêśvaravarman I, is introduced as the son of Mahêndravarmavarman (i.e. Mahêndravarmân II, circa 668-69 A.D.), the grandson of Narasimhavarman I (circa 630-68 A.D.) and the great-grandson of Mahêndravarmân I (circa 600-60 A.D.). The epithets *sva-vîryâdhigata-râja*, *prathîpâpanata-râja-sambhâta*, *madhyama-lôka-pâla* and *lôka-pâlinâm-pâdichârma*, applied in the present record to Mahêndravarmân I, are used with reference to his grandson Mahêndravarmavarman or Mahêndravarmân II in the Râyûrî grant and in connection with some other rulers in the Early Pallava charters. It is difficult to believe that all the rulers called *sva-vîryâdhigata-râja* succeeded in adding any territory to their paternal kingdom; but the epithet seems to suit Mahêndravarmân I (son of Simhavishnu) better than his grandsons of the same name. We do not agree with the view<sup>4</sup> that the epithets *madhyama-lôka-pâla* and *lôka-pâlinâm-pâdichârma* refer to the god Varuṇa. As we have elsewhere<sup>5</sup> shown, the four *Lôka-pâlas* or the guardians of the four different quarters were Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Vâsava,<sup>6</sup> and the king's description as the fifth *Lôka-pâla* means to say that he was a protector of the earth like those divine guardians of the quarters. In classical Sanskrit literature also the king is often called *madhyama-lôka-pâla* or protector of the central world (i.e. the earth bounded by the four quarters guarded by the *Lôka-pâlas*).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 272 ff. ; *SIU*, Vol. II, pp. 242 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> See *The Successors of the Sâmbhâratas*, pp. 189, 201, 206.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 95; note B.

<sup>5</sup> *The Successors of the Sâmbhâratas*, p. 194.

<sup>6</sup> Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 149; Raghu's *Kâṇḍâra*, II, 33; *Lalors' List*, No. 1112. For the four *Lôka-pâlas* of the *Smṛiti*, see *Children's Full Dictionary*, s.v. *madhârjita*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Raghuvamśa*, II, 16. *Madhyama-lôka* may also mean the earth lying between the heaven and the lower world.



Among the three epithets applied to Narasimhavarman I in the present record, the Râyûra grant applies *bahu-samara-labdha-yatah-prakāśa* and *vidhi-vihita-sara-maryāda* to Paramēśvaravarman I and *śamudhāt-sika-vīra* (forming the latter part of a bigger epithet) to Narasimhavarman II. In the inscription under study, Paramēśvaravarman I has been called *prajā-sukhān-jana-paripālana-nitya-yukta* and *Kaliyuga-dēśa-śivasana-dharm-śādhana-nitya śamudhā* while these epithets are applied to Narasimhavarman II in the Râyûra grant in the slightly modified form; *prajā-sukhān-jana-paripālana-śāyoga-satata-satya-vrata-dīkṣita* and *Kali-yuga-dēśa-āpūrita-dharm-śādhana-nitya śamudhā*. The claim of the Pallava rulers from the fifth century down to the age of the present charter to have up-lifted Dharmas above the *dēśa* of the Kali age seems to suggest that their ideal was to revitalise their Brahmanical faith which had been encroached upon by heretical doctrines like Buddhism.<sup>1</sup> The donors of both the Râyûra grant and the present charter are called 'Devotees of the feet of the lord, the father'; but, while the Râyûra grant describes Narasimhavarman II as a *paramabhāgavata* (i.e. devotee of the Bhagavat or the god Viṣṇu), *paramasāhācāra* (i.e. devotee of Mahāvara or Śiva) and *paramabrahmagya* (i.e. devotee of the god Brahman or devoted to the Brāhmanas), his father was a *paramasāhācāra* and a *paramabrahmagya* but not a *paramabhāgavata* according to the present grant.

Another interesting fact is that the Râyûra grant applies the epithet *yathāval-ābhī(hi)ṭ-śamudhā-nitya-śānta-kṛta-yāja* to Paramēśvaravarman I. The present record of Paramēśvaravarman I himself, however, does not credit him with the celebration of the horse-sacrifice. On the other hand, it applies the same epithet to the Pallava family. This shows that the epithet has been wrongly applied in the Râyûra grant to Paramēśvaravarman I who did not perform the *Āśvamedha* till his nineteenth regnal year (i.e. the date of the present grant) and probably never at all.

Lines 10-17 record the grant proper. It is stated that the king made the grant on the occasion of the *Ayana*, i.e. the *Uttarayana-samkrānti* (Makar-samkrānti) in this case since the month specified in line 23 is *Paushya*. The donee was the Brāhmana Dēvaśarman who was the son of Dōṣaśarman (Dōṣaśarman I) and grandson of Setaśarman. The donee's family hailed from the village called *Uṣṭûra-grāma* and belonged to the *Mandagya gôra* and *Āpastamba śāra*. His grandfather is described as an expert in the *Vēdas*, *Vēdāngas*, *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* exactly as the grandfather of the donee of the Râyûra grant.

The gift village was **Kubugûru** situated on the right or southern bank of the river **Musupa** within the **Pāṇi rāṣṭra**. The village was made a *brahmanīya* and endowed with all kinds of exemptions. In the description of the village, there is an expression which seems to read *Muvuvadya-mārga* which either means 'on the road leading to Muvuvadya' or 'in the subdivision called Muvuvadya'. The king's order was addressed to the inhabitants of the said village which is stated to have been granted for the increase of the longevity and health of the donor. This seems to suggest that the grant was made in connection with the king's recovery from an illness. The officers were ordered to exempt the gift village from the collection of taxes and other levies while on their tour of collection. The transgressor of the order was liable to physical punishment.

The above section is followed in the document in lines 19-21 by two of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas. Another verse that follows in lines 21-23 says that the executor of the grant was Kuśavarman who was the son of Nagi or Tagi-pallava and the ruler of **Nandakurra**. This stanza is also found in lines 20-21 of the Râyûra grant in the following modified form:

*Sāmādhya-vato[?]<sup>1</sup> śrīmān-Nandakurra-rajaputrah [?]<sup>1</sup>*

*ājñāpāśa-śāsanayogya Rājāditya[?]<sup>1</sup> pratīpada [?]<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> The Successors of the Śālisthānas, pp. 196-97. See also above, p. 80.



The executor of the Rēyūm grant was therefore Rājāditya who was the son of Śmāditya and the ruler of Nandakurra. The word *nripīśvara* in these cases apparently means 'a ruler' and not 'a king of kings' or 'a ruler named Iśvara'.<sup>1</sup> The chiefs of Nandakurra were no doubt feudatories of the Pallava kings of Kāñchi at least during the reigns of Paramēśvaravarman I and Narasimhavarman II. Rājāditya, son of Śmāditya, was preceded in the rulership of Nandakurra by Kuṣavarman, son of Tagi<sup>2</sup> or Nāgi-pallava whose name seems to point to his descent from the Pallava family. But what relations existed between the two cannot be determined without further evidence.

Lines 23-25 record that the document was written by Viśākhavīdita belonging to the Ghanaskandha family (or, the family of Ghanaskandha who may have been an ancestor of the scribe) on **Sunday, Pausya-sudi 13 in the nineteenth regnal year of Paramēśvaravarman I.** The record then ends with the *maṅgala*: *svasti-svā gō-Brāhmaṇikāya*, 'Let happiness come to the cows and Brāhmaṇas.'<sup>3</sup>

The importance of the present inscription lies in its date. No dated inscription of Paramēśvaravarman I has hitherto been published and this happens to be the first record of the king, which offers a verifiable date. So long there was no means to determine the date of this king's accession with any amount of certainty. Now, with the help of this record and the Rēyūm grant which is the only dated inscription of his son, the reign period of Paramēśvaravarman I can be determined with a fair degree of precision.

The Pallava king Narasimhavarman I seems to have been living about the year 668 A.D. when, with his help, Mānavarman succeeded in seizing the throne of Ceylon,<sup>4</sup> whereas the Chālukya monarch Vikramāditya I is known from the Gadval plates,<sup>5</sup> dated the 25th April, 674 A.D., to have fought with the three successive Pallava kings named Narasimha (i.e. Narasimhavarman I), Mahendra (i.e. Mahēndravarmān II), and Iśvara (i.e. Paramēśvaravarman I). These facts show that the death of Mahēndravarmān II and the accession of his son Paramēśvaravarman I took place sometime between 668 A.D. and the 25th April of 674 A.D. Now the charter under study was issued in the nineteenth regnal year of Paramēśvaravarman I, that is to say, sometime between 687 A.D. and April 693 A.D. The exact date when the charter was written is Pausya-sudi 13, Sunday, while the grant was made on the occasion of the Ayana or Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti (i.e. Makara-saṅkrānti).

In his recent work entitled *A History of South India*,<sup>6</sup> Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri gives the duration of the rule of Paramēśvaravarman I as 670-80 A.D. and of his son and successor Narasimhavarman II as 680-720 A.D., while we have suggested the following reign-periods for these two Pallava kings: Paramēśvaravarman I, circa 670-95 A.D.; Narasimhavarman II, circa 695-722 A.D.<sup>7</sup> In the absence of any dated record of the time of the rulers in question, differences of opinion as regards the duration of their reign-periods was of course inevitable. But now we have a record of each of the two kings, both of them bearing verifiable dates. From the present epigraph we learn that Paramēśvaravarman I ruled at least down to his nineteenth regnal year and that, in the said year of his reign, Pausya-sudi 13, was a Sunday, although whether Uttarāyana occurred on the same day or a few days earlier or later cannot be determined from the words of

<sup>1</sup> The interpretation of the above verse of the Rēyūm grant offered elsewhere (above, Vol. XXIX, p. 63, note 6) seems to be wrong. The name of the *ājāyaka* has been taken there to be Iśvara who is supposed to have been the son of Śmāditya and grandson of Rājāditya.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 441 (text line 35).

<sup>3</sup> Sewall's List, p. 24; *The Classical Age*, p. 289.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. X, pp. 101 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, 1953, pp. 148, 163.

<sup>6</sup> *The Classical Age*, 1954, pp. 260-61, 263.



the epigraph since the document may have been written sometime after the grant had been made on the day of the Uttarāyana-sankranti or a few days before to keep the document ready for the occasion of the grant to be made on the day of the sankranti. If therefore Paramāvaravarman I ascended the throne about 670 A.D., he could not have ended his rule much earlier than 689 A.D. Similarly, the Hāyaga grant was issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the full moon day of Vaisākha in the twelfth regnal year of Narasimhavarman II and, about the approximate period of this king's rule, lunar eclipses occurred on the full moon of Vaisākha only in the years 791, 792, 791 and 720 A.D. suggesting that his first regnal year roughly corresponded to 690, 691, 700 or 709 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

We have seen that the nineteenth regnal year of Paramāvaravarman I could not have fallen earlier than 687 A.D. and later than April 693 A.D. During this entire period, Pausa-sudi 13 fell on a Sunday only in the year 687 A.D., although the Uttarāyana-sankranti occurred on the previous day. The date corresponds to the 23rd of December 687 A.D., while the sankranti took place on the 21st of the same month. Thus the 19th regnal year of Paramāvaravarman I fell between December 686 and December 688 A.D. He therefore ascended the throne between December 686 and December 688 A.D. His first regnal year should probably be regarded as having corresponded to 689-70 A.D. His son and successor Narasimhavarman II seems to have ascended the throne about 690-91 or 700 A.D.

The following geographical names are mentioned in the inscription: Kāñchīpura whence the charter was issued; Kubuṣṭru-grāma which was the subject of the grant; Pāmi-rāshṭra in which the gift village was situated; the Muvuadya(?)-mārga and the Musuṣa-nadi near the gift village; Urputūru-grāma where the donor's family lived, and Nandakurra which seems to have been the capital of the chief who executed the grant. Of these, Kāñchīpura, the capital of the Pallavas, is well-known, while Nandakurra has been tentatively identified with modern Nandavaram in the Udayagiri Taluk of the Nellore District. The Musuṣa-naḍi seems to be no other than the modern Musi which runs along the boundary line between the Kandukur Taluk in Nellore and the Ongole Taluk in Guntur and falls in the Bay of Bengal to the north of the mouth of the Pālāra. Since the village of Kubuṣṭru stood on its southern bank, it seems to have been situated in the present Podili-Kandukur region of Nellore. The Pāmi-rāshṭra, in which it belonged, appears to have comprised parts of the Nellore District lying to the south of the ancient Maṇḍa-rāshṭra. Urputūru is apparently the present village of Upputūru in the Bapatla Taluk of the Guntur District.

### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

#### First Plate

- 1 [Sv]e[ṣ]ṭi [i]\* [j]i[ṣ]ṭa Pā. Bhāgaratā [i]\* kṛmāt-Kāñchīpurāt-Pallavānān Bhāradvāja-  
agōṣṭrāgām yathāvad-ā-
- 2 [ṣi]ṣṭi-āva[m]ṣṭi-ādy-ānka-kraṇa-yājñān eva-v[ī]r\* [y]y-ādhigata-rājyaṣṭa pratāp-āpa-  
na-rājā-
- 3 [ma]pdaṣaṣṭa madhyama-lōka-pāṣaṣṭa lōkapālānām-pañchamaṣṭa [i]ṣṭi-Ma-
- 4 [h]ā[nd]ra[va]rman[ma]pāṣṭa-prajant[ra]h bala-sam[ma]hāṣṭa-yathā prakāśaṣṭa vādhā-
- 5 [i]ṣṭiṣṭa-sarva-ma[r]\* [y]yādaṣṭa vasmāṣṭal-ānka-viṣaṣṭa āt-Narasimha[va]rman[ma]pāṣṭa
- 6 [ma]ṣṭaṣṭa dīva-diviṣṭa-gura-viṣṭa-āpachāṣṭa viṣṭaṣṭa-viṣaṣṭa-ānka-ā-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> From a set of photographs.

<sup>3</sup> These letters are hidden under the ring in the photograph, while the first letter of the line is either wholly or partially cut off. Similar is the case with the other inscribed faces of the plates.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'vādhā'. The accent has been missed away from its proper place.



VUNNA GURAVAYAPALEM PLATES OF PARAMESVARAVARMAN I,  
YEAR 19

i

2	2	2
4	4	4
6	6	6

ii, a

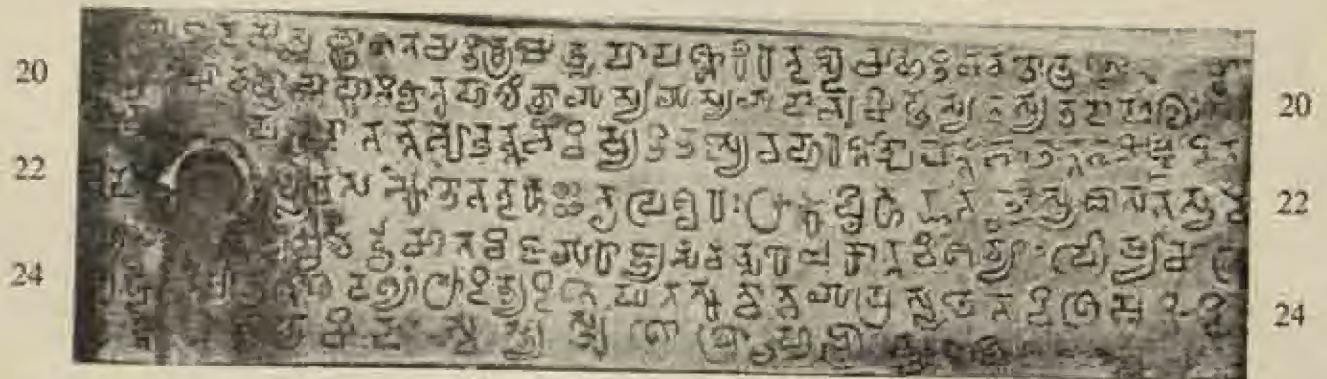
8	8	8
10	10	10
12	12	12

iii, b

14	14	14
16	16	16
18	18	18

(From Photographs)





(From Photographs)

## SEAL



(From a Photograph)



*Second Plate, First Side*

- 7 hiraṇya-bhūmy-ādi-pradānair-ahar-ahar-abhivarddhamāna-dharmma-saṁbhayasya śrī-Mahā-
- 8 ndravikramavarmanmah-putrah=<sup>1</sup>prajā-saṁra[<sup>2</sup>ih\*]jana-paripālana-nitya-yuktah-Kali-  
yuga-<sup>3</sup>lō[<sup>4</sup>ah-ā].
- 9 [va]sanna-dharmm-ōddharaga-nitya-sannadhaḥ=paramamāhōśvaraḥ-paramabrahma-
- 10 [ya]h bappa-bha[<sup>5</sup>śraka-pōda-bhaktah śrī-Paramāśvaravarmanā Pāmi-cāh[<sup>6</sup>irē [Mul].
- 11 [va]l[<sup>7</sup>va[<sup>8</sup>dya]-mā[<sup>9</sup>riḥ] Musuṇa-andi-dakṣiṇa-tatē Kubuṇḍu-nāma-grāma(mō) gra[<sup>10</sup>grā]-  
māya-
- 12 [k]ān-<sup>11</sup>[ttham-ā]jūṣapayati [<sup>12</sup>\*] ayam grāmah sarva-kara-parihārah brahmadhy-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 13 k[<sup>13</sup>ri]tya [a]yana-nimittē Urppuṭṭuru-grāma-va(vā)stavyasya Maudgalyāyana-gōtraasya  
Āpasta-
- 14 vaś(mha)-cha[<sup>14</sup>raṇa]sya vēda-vēdāh[<sup>15</sup>g-ētilāsa-purāṇa-tatra(ttra)-vidah Svāmīdarmmah-  
pauṭrāya yama-miyama-
- 15 svā[<sup>16</sup>dhyā]ya-tatparāyaṇasya<sup>1</sup> sarva-sāstra-tatra(ttra)-vidah Dōṇadarmmah<sup>2</sup>-putrāya  
abhijana-vid[<sup>17</sup>yā].
- 16 vṛṇta-sampannāya satata-satiya-vrata-samhyuktāya aha-karmma-niratāya Dēvalarjuna-
- 17 nē amad-āyur-ārōgy-ābhivarddhayē mayē pradattah [<sup>18</sup>\*] ayam-araganya sar[<sup>19</sup>v]-v-ādhi-  
karaṇa-niyu).
- 18 k[<sup>20</sup>ā]h rāja-vallabhās=cha am[<sup>21</sup>am]ścharantah sarva-kara-parihārah-pariharanta parihāraya-  
[ntu]

*Third Plate*

- 19 [a]ha [<sup>22</sup>\*] ya nāma-sannah-ohhāsa(=)nom=sukramōt=sa pāpā-sārīraṇa-daḍḍam-achati  
[<sup>23</sup>\*] bhavātō<sup>4</sup>-tra [Mōhan<sup>5</sup>] Bahu[<sup>24</sup>].
- 20 [bhīr-vrasa]hā dattā bahubhū[<sup>25</sup>eb-ānnā[<sup>26</sup>ā]liti [<sup>27</sup>\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūm[<sup>28</sup>is-tasya  
tasya tadā phalaṁ[<sup>29</sup>lam ] [<sup>30</sup>Bhūmī].
- 21 [dā]nā[<sup>31</sup>] pa[<sup>32</sup>ra]n-dānaṇ-na bhūtan-na bhaviṣhyati [<sup>33</sup>\*] tasya-iva karaṇāt-pāpāna-na  
bhūtan-na [bhaviṣhyati] [<sup>34</sup>\*] [Na[<sup>35</sup>Ta<sup>36</sup>]].

<sup>1</sup> The *anuvāsa* has been engraved away from its proper place.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. *śāṅgīya-parā*.

<sup>3</sup> The correct form of the name may be *Dōṇa*.

<sup>4</sup> This obviously refers to the following two imprecatory and benedictory stanzas, without counting the third verse mentioning the *śāṅgīya*.







# No. 10—KILUR INSCRIPTION OF NANDIVARMAN, YEAR 16

K. G. KRISHNAN, OOTAOMUND

The inscription<sup>1</sup> edited here is engraved on a rock in the *prākāra* of the Virattāpōvvara temple at Kilūr, Tirukkōvilūr Taluk, South Arcot District. The text of the record has been published in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VII, No. 325. Palaeographically the inscription may be attributed to the ninth century A. D. The script as well as the language of the record is Tamil. The inscription is dated in the sixteenth year of the reign of Kō-Vijaiya-Nandivikrama-paruman and records a gift by Maravan<sup>2</sup> Pūdi alias Tennavan Hāṅgōvēlār. The gift consisted of twentyfour *kalasāṅṅu* of pure gold weighed by *Vēṭṭimūṇṇu*, the standard stone, out of the interest of which the *Nagarattār* of Tirukkōvalūr undertook to supply ghee for burning a lamp day and night in front of Mādēva of Tiruvirattāṇam at Tirukkōvalūr.

The record is important in that it proves the contemporaneity of Bhūti Vikramakēśari, the earliest well-known Koṇumbāḷūr chief, with the Pallava king Nandivarman (III). The genealogy of the family of the Irukkuvēḷs, to which this chief belonged, has been thoroughly discussed by Shri K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer and Shri K. S. Vaidyanathan.<sup>3</sup>

The name of the donor in this record consists of two words, viz. *Maravan* and *Pūdi*. While the former stands for his father's name, the latter is his own name and is only a Tamil variant for Sanskrit *Bhūti*.<sup>4</sup> It is known from the Mūvarkōyil inscription<sup>5</sup> of Bhūti Vikramakēśari that *Vikramakēśari* was a title earned by him for his success in battle against the Pallava king as well as *Vin-pāṇḍya* and *Vaṇji Vēl* (i.e. the Chēra king). Maravan Pūdi alias Tennavan Hāṅgōvēlār figures in a number of inscriptions of Rājakēśarivarman who has been identified with Āditya I. Of these, a record<sup>6</sup> from Tiruppalāturai, dated in the 27th regnal year of a Rājakēśarivarman, mentions one Tennavan Hāṅgōvēlār alias Maravan Pūdiyār. Karraḷi, the wife of Tennavan Hāṅgōvēlār alias Maravan Pūdi who is the same as the donor of the present record, figures as the donatrix in another inscription<sup>7</sup> from Tiruppalāturai. It is not unlikely that the same Karraḷi is spoken of as one of the wives of Bhūti Vikramakēśari in his Mūvarkōyil record. Varaguṇā, his other wife, may be identified with the homonymous lady mentioned as the wife of Tennavan Hāṅgōvēlār in another inscription<sup>8</sup> of Rājakēśarivarman. Bhūti Parāntukan, a son of this chief according to the Mūvarkōyil inscription, built a stone temple for the god at Andanallūr in the

<sup>1</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, No. 209 of 1932.

<sup>2</sup> The final *ṅ* is changed to *ṇ* in accordance with *p* of *Pūdi*. This is in accordance with the rule *Mellaiṇṇuṇṇu vāṇṇuṇṇu* in the *Tolāppāṇṇu* (Eṭṭalakkōṭṭam, Poḷḷimayāṇṇiyal Sūtra No. 341).

<sup>3</sup> *QIMs*, Vol. XLIII, p. 79 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The best examples of such double names referring to both the father and the son will be found in *A. R. Ep.*, Nos. 147 and 148 of 1937.

<sup>5</sup> *JOR*, Vol. VII, p. 1 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *SII*, Vol. VIII, No. 560. The identification of this Rājakēśarivarman with Āditya I is supported by palaeography and the high regnal year quoted in the inscription. The absence of the *prattil* of Rājartja I, viz. *Tōrvaṇṇu pōḷu*, etc., in it would confirm this view.

<sup>7</sup> *SII*, Vol. VII, No. 581.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 308. In the impressions the letters *Pa...* can be read before the word *Hāṅgōvēlār*.



fourteenth regnal year of Parakēsarivarman<sup>1</sup> and gave land as *kīyikkūḍamam* five years later<sup>2</sup> to Araiyan Vira-pāṇḍya who in his turn gave it back to the *śrīs* of Andavanallūr after a period of six years<sup>3</sup>. The date of this last transaction is the twentyfifth year of Parakēsarivarman's reign, which is too high for any king bearing the said title and ruling in the period in question except Parāntaka I. It follows that Bhūti Vikramakēśari, the father of Bhūti Parāntaka, was a contemporary of Āditya I. It will thus be seen that Maravan Pūdi is the same as Bhūti Vikramakēśari who was the husband of Kariṇi and Varaguṇā and was a contemporary of both Nandivarman and Āditya I.

The donor's relationship with the Chōlas may be examined here. His mother Anupamā was a Chōla princess according to the Mūvarkōyil inscription. One Pūdi Mādēvaḍigaḷ<sup>4</sup> is mentioned as the queen of Kaṅḡaradēva who may be identified with the homonymous son<sup>5</sup> of Āditya I, as she figures as the donatrix in an inscription<sup>6</sup> dated in the 6th year of Maḍuraikunḍa Parakēsarivarman, i.e. Parāntaka I. This Pūdi Mādēvaḍigaḷ was probably a sister of Maravan Pūdi.<sup>7</sup> A record<sup>8</sup> dated in the third year of the reign of Parāntaka I mentions Pūdi Āditta Piḍāri, the wife of Prince Ari-kulākēśari and the daughter of Tenṇavan Iḷaṅḡōvāḷar. Thus Bhūti Vikramakēśari seems to be allied to the Chōla family through his female relatives, viz. his mother Anupamā, sister Pūdi Mādēvaḍigaḷ, and daughter Pūdi Āditta Piḍāri. It is interesting to note that within a few years from the date of the present record, the Chōla kings succeeded in winning away the allegiance of the family ultimately from the Pallava side.

Maravan Pūdi alias Bhūti Vikramakēśari claims, in his Mūvarkōyil inscription, to have fought against Vira-pāṇḍya who has been identified with *Chōlan-taṭai-koṇḍa* Vira-pāṇḍya, the adversary of Sundara-chōla and Āditya II. It may be noted here that Vira-pāṇḍya was a junior contemporary of Rājasiṃha, the opponent of Parāntaka I. In one of Rājasiṃha's inscriptions,<sup>9</sup> a servant of Vira-pāṇḍya is referred to and hence it may be presumed that Vira-pāṇḍya continued the feud between the Chōlas and the Pāṇḍyas after Rājasiṃha's flight to Ceylon. Therefore it is possible to surmise that Bhūti Vikramakēśari encountered Vira-pāṇḍya during the reign of Parāntaka I. This may very well explain the vigour with which Āditya II fought and ultimately killed Vira-pāṇḍya who was perhaps a continued source of trouble for the Chōlas from the days of Parāntaka I.

The Pallava king mentioned in the record under study may be identified with the last king of that name, viz. Nandivarman III. Of all the inscriptions referring to Maravan Pūdi, only the present record belongs to the reign of Nandivarman III and therefore its date may be taken as the

<sup>1</sup> *SIL*, Vol. III, No. 120. Parakēsarivarman of this record is Parāntaka I and not Uttama-chōla as is shown below.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 668. The inscription refers to the nineteenth regnal year of Parakēsarivarman. It may be noted that the transactions recorded in the inscriptions referred to in this and the next foot-note conclusively prove the identity of the kings mentioned in them as well as the date of Bhūti Vikramakēśari.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 669.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 665.

<sup>5</sup> *Above*, Vol. XXVI, p. 233 and n. 6.

<sup>6</sup> *SIL*, Vol. VIII, No. 634. She is first referred to (without her name being mentioned) in a record (*Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, No. 321) dated in the 27th year of a Rājakesarivarman who has been identified with Āditya I. Another inscription (*Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 634) in which she figures as a donatrix is dated in the 23rd year of a Parakēsarivarman who is no doubt Parāntaka I as the regnal year is too high for any other Parakēśari of this period.

<sup>7</sup> A similar example of both a brother and a sister bearing the same name may be found in Pūdi Āditta Piḍāri and Pūdi Āditta Piḍāraṅ, daughter and son respectively of Bhūti Vikramakēśari (*QJMS*, Vol. XLIII, p. 94).

<sup>8</sup> *SIL*, Vol. III, No. 98. This lady is first mentioned in an earlier record (*Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 629), dated in the 23rd year of a Rājakesarivarman who may be identified with Āditya I on account of the high regnal year and the palaeography of the inscription.

<sup>9</sup> *Above*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 87; *QJMS*, Vol. XLIII, p. 87.



earliest for Bhūti Vikramakēśari. Another epigraph, dated in the 3rd year of Parakēśarivarman identified with Parāntaka I and referring to Pūdi Āditta Pijāri, the queen of Arikulakēśari and the daughter of Teṅṅavaṇ Iḷaṅḍōvēḷār, seems to provide the latest reference to this chief. The range of the period covered by these inscriptions, which is less than fifty years, does not allow us to suggest the existence of different chiefs bearing the same title *Teṅṅavaṇ Iḷaṅḍōvēḷār*. Moreover every member of this family adopted a different title in order to distinguish himself from the others<sup>1</sup> and Maṅavaṇ Pūdi was the only chief with the title *Teṅṅavaṇ Iḷaṅḍōvēḷār*. In view of the identification of his Pallava overlord mentioned in the present record with Nandivarman III, Bhūti Vikramakēśari's claim to have defeated a Pallava king's army (cf. *Pallavarāja dāraṅṅāyā*)<sup>2</sup> on the banks of the Kāvīri deserves to be studied in the context of Parāntaka's claim to have conquered the Pallavas.<sup>3</sup>

The association of Tirukkōvillūr, the head-pot of the present region, with one of the fonsources of the Vēḷis of Koḷumbāḷūr is clearly referred to in some of the verses in the Saṅgam literature.<sup>4</sup> Malaiyāṇṇāṇ Tirumūḷikkāri, a chief of this region, was famous for his philanthropy. Very interesting is the statement<sup>5</sup> that the three kings (i.e. the Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya) vied with each other in enhancing the support of this chief. We have already seen how the Koḷumbāḷūr family was wooed and ultimately admitted into the circle (*vaṇṇa*) of the Chōḷas. The common patronage bestowed upon Vikkiyaṇṇaṇ, probably a Vēḷi chieftain, by both the Chēra Sthāṇa Ravi and the Chōḷa Āditya I furnishes a clear contemporary evidence<sup>6</sup> of the unique position enjoyed by the Vēḷis in the Tamil country.

#### TEXT<sup>7</sup>

- 1 Sēnati Sēi [ ]<sup>8</sup> K[ō]-Vijaiya-Na[n]divik-
- 2 kiramaparumarku yā ḍu padi[nā]rāvadu
- 3 Malāṭṭu-Kkurakkai-kkūṇṇattu-Ti-
- 4 rukkōvalūr-Ti.....<sup>9</sup>ṇat-
- 5 tu Mādō[va]rk ..... {a....<sup>10</sup>
- 6 iravum pagah.....<sup>11</sup>
- 7 dārkū Teṅṅavaṇ-Iḷa<sup>12</sup>ḷ.....<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *QJMS*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 94 and table.

<sup>2</sup> *JOK*, Vol. VII, p. 9, text line 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 144 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Aṅkuraṅga*, No. 33, *Pāṇḍyaṅga*, Nos. 121-126.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 122, lines 4-5. See also No. 123, lines 10-17.

<sup>6</sup> *SIL*, Vol. III, No. 89.

<sup>7</sup> From impressions.

<sup>8</sup> This gap may be restored as "ructraḷḷa".

<sup>9</sup> This passage may be restored as "Tura maḷḷi ḷḷaḷḷu".

<sup>10</sup> The missing syllables are "a chandrakittāṇṇaṇi ṇṇippi".

<sup>11</sup> The missing syllables are "pū-ḷḷaṇḍāṇṇa".



- 8 Maṇavam Pādi vaitta...<sup>1</sup>viṇḍē-
- 9 viṇḍuḡa tṭi-pōkku-eh(chempon)
- 10 kuṇṇattu-nāḡ-kaḷaṇḡa nī...<sup>2</sup>
- 11 iḍaṇ paḷḷēḷ kaḷaṇḡiṭ pāṭi-kku<sup>3</sup>-
- 12 i uriy ney aṭṭuvadāḡa Tinnukūva-
- 13 iṭṭi-ḷaḡaṇṇaṭṭār kaivaḷi vāyṭṭa-
- 14 ḍu. [||\*]

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<sup>1</sup> The missing letters may be restored as *peṇ*.

<sup>2</sup> The lost letter is no doubt *ṇi*.

<sup>3</sup> The letter lost here may be restored as *\*ai*.



## NO. 11—INSCRIPTIONS OF CHANDRAS OF ARAKAN

(I Plate)

D. C. SINGAR, OCTACAMUND

In February 1957, the Director of the Archaeological Survey of Burma, Mandalay, kindly sent to me for examination photographic prints of two small inscriptions recently found at **Vesālī** near Mrohaung in the Akyab District, Arakan. While informing him of the results of my examination of the epigraphs, I requested him to send me a few inked impressions of the records for further study and publication. He was kind enough to comply with my request and impressions of the epigraphs reached me in March together with an impression of a third record from the same place.

The **first inscription** is engraved on a slab recovered from the ruins of a Stūpa on the Unhisaka hill at Vesālī. The slab bearing the second record belongs to what is called the **Avanda-chandra Stūpa** standing on a hill near Vesālī. It is still *in situ*. The third epigraph is incised on an octagonal pillar six feet high. It belongs to a Stūpa traditionally known to have been constructed by a ruler named **Sūryachandra**.

The slab bearing the first inscription is stated to measure eighteen inches in length, ten inches in height and six inches in thickness. There are only five lines of writing. The lines are about thirteen inches long, although line 2 is slightly bigger owing to two letters, originally omitted through oversight, being engraved in the left margin. The highest number of letters in a line is 18 (line 2) and the smallest only 13 (line 4).

The **second inscription**, consisting of four lines of writing, covers an area about ten inches in length and four inches in height. The letters are slightly smaller in size than in the first epigraph. The preservation of the writing in both these records is fairly satisfactory although a few letters are damaged or rubbed off here and there. The **third inscription**, which is **fragmentary**, shows traces of six lines of writing covering an area about twentyfour inches in length and nine inches in height. In this inscription, only traces of a few letters in the first line remain while a number of letters in all the other lines are broken away. Some of the extant letters of the record are also worn out and difficult to decipher.

The **characters** of the first epigraph closely resemble those of a votive inscription in two lines on a monastery bell found at Vesālī, which was published with an illustration by the late Prof. E. H. Johnston in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. XI, 1943-46, pp. 358 ff.<sup>1</sup> The alphabet of both the records has a close resemblance with that used in certain inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., discovered in Eastern India. There is, however, an amount of local development noticed in the palaeography of all the three epigraphs now under study. This element is just slightly exhibited by Inscription No. 1 which is the earliest of the three. It is a little more pronounced in Inscription No. 2 which is a few decades later than the first inscription, while Inscription No. 3 belonging to a still later date exhibits it in a more considerable degree than even the second epigraph.

In a careful analysis of the characters of the Vesālī bell inscription which may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the same age as our Inscription No. 1, Johnston observes that the date of the record 'is shown by its forms for the letters *ka* and *sa* and its tripartite *ya* to be probably not later than A.D. 650' and that 'other indications, particularly the forms of *sa* and *wa*, suggest

<sup>1</sup> See Plate IV, figure 1.



the unlikelihood of its being much earlier.<sup>1</sup> He further notes the close resemblance of the script with that of the Faridpur plate (A)<sup>2</sup> of Dharmāditya and the Faridpur plate<sup>3</sup> of Gopachandra. He doubts the genuineness of the Faridpur plate (B)<sup>4</sup> of Dharmāditya and suggests that Gopachandra's inscription may be earlier than Dharmāditya's. In this connection, he observes, "So has the triangle on the left in both plates (Dharmāditya's A and Gopachandra's); but, while it is normal in Gopachandra's, there are two instances, ll. 11 and 19, in 1722 (Dharmāditya's A), where the triangle is enlarged and the apex reaches right up to the top line, as in the bell. Ma is nearly normal in 1724 (Gopachandra's plate), but shows the beginning of the process whereby the bell form is reached. 1729, on the other hand, has it in a form even more exaggerated than the bell and in l. 20 for instance the point of the angle is only just below the main line." After pointing out a few more differences between Dharmāditya's and Gopachandra's inscriptions and comparing some of the letters in the bell inscription with those in certain other inscriptions of Eastern India, Johnston concludes, "These comparisons are sufficient to prove that we are dealing in the bell with a script which was derived from Eastern Bengal, descending possibly from a variety slightly later than any of those described . . . . If the date is fixed on the palaeographical evidence as somewhere in the first half of the seventh century A.D. the margin of error is likely to be small."

The above views on the date of the Vāṭṭī bell inscription (of the same age as our inscription No. 1) do not appear to be fully justified as the inscription seems to be somewhat earlier. In the first place, the palaeography of our inscription No. 1 closely resembles not only that of the Faridpur plates of Dharmāditya and Gopachandra who flourished in the sixth century A.D. but also in respect of most of the characteristics that of certain earlier records of about the middle of the fifth century A.D. such as the Kalikuri-Sultanpur plate<sup>5</sup> of the Gupta year 120 (439 A.D.) and the Baigram plate<sup>6</sup> of the Gupta year 128 (448 A.D.) even though the affinity may be slightly closer with the epigraphs of the sixth century. Secondly, the suggestions that Gopachandra's plate is earlier than Dharmāditya's plates A and B and that the bell inscription is closer to the latter in respect of letters like *s* and *m* are both confusing. Pargiter seems to be justified in suggesting a later date for Gopachandra's inscription as compared to Dharmāditya's epigraphs on the basis of the forms of the letter *y'* while similar forms of *s* and *m* are also noticed in earlier records like the Baigram plate of 448 A.D. There is also no reason to doubt the genuineness of Dharmāditya's plate B. Thirdly, on the other hand, forms of letters like *y* and *h* and signs like that of medial *i* as exhibited by our inscription (as also earlier records like the Baigram plate) are not met with in Bengal inscriptions later than the sixth century A.D.<sup>7</sup> Of course *k* and medial *i* do not appear

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 260-61.

<sup>2</sup> Bhattacharya's List, No. 1722; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 195 ff. and Plate.

<sup>3</sup> Bhattacharya's List, No. 1724; *Ind. Ant.*, op. cit., p. 204 and Plate. See also the Mallamul plate apparently belonging to the reign of Gopachandra (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 165 ff. and Plate).

<sup>4</sup> Bhattacharya's List, No. 1713; *Ind. Ant.*, op. cit., pp. 200 ff. and Plate.

<sup>5</sup> *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, pp. 125 ff. and Plate; above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 57 ff. and Plate.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 81 ff. and Plate.

<sup>7</sup> See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 206-07.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the Vappachohovata grant (end of the sixth century) of Jaganāga (above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 90 ff. and Plate), Mahanpur plates (first quarter of the seventh century) of Śaśitka (*JRASS*, Letters, Vol. XI, pp. 1 ff. and Plates), Tippern plate (Gupta year 344-603 A.D.) of Lohanaśa (above, Vol. XV, pp. 308 ff. and Plate; *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, p. 224), Kailas plate (first quarter of the seventh century A.D.) of Śrīdharmapāria (*IHQ*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 221 ff. and Plate), etc. The script of our inscription No. 1 may also be compared with that of the Umashalaka inscription of Śrīdharmavarma (circa 479-54 A.D.) and the Bargaon inscription of Dharmavarma (circa 518-42 A.D.), discovered in Assam and published above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 67 ff.; cf. Vol. XXX, pp. 82 ff.



in the bell inscription. Fourthly, the internal evidence of our Inscription No. 1 seems to go against Johnston's dating if his own views on the date and evidence of the Mrohanng inscription<sup>1</sup> of Ānandachandra are taken into consideration. On palaeographical grounds and other considerations, Johnston places Ānandachandra's epigraph 'in the first half of the eighth century' and more precisely to a date not 'much later than A.D. 700'. Now, as will be shown below, our inscription was engraved during the reign of king Nitichandra who ascended the throne, according to the epigraph of Ānandachandra, 209 years before the incision of the latter's record. This would place Nitichandra's accession 'not much later than' 491 A.D. As a matter of fact, Johnston's dating of Ānandachandra's inscription was influenced by his view that the come of Dīvanachandra (who ended his rule 266 years before Ānandachandra's accession) and Dharmavijaya (who began to rule 56 years before Ānandachandra) should be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the first half of the fifth and seventh centuries respectively. Our Inscription No. 1 as the Vāṣṭī bell inscription may be actually assigned on palaeographical grounds to the **first half of the sixth century A.D.** In our opinion, their characters may have descended from a variety slightly earlier than the Faridpur plates of Dharmāditya and Gopachandra.

We have referred above to an amount of local development in the palaeography of the inscriptions under study. In Inscription No. 1, the letter *k* is written with a vertical line and a curve opening upwards or towards the right and joining the vertical towards the left not at the latter's bottom but slightly or considerably above it. This form of *k* is not noticed in East Indian inscriptions, in which the letter has its bottom curved towards the left. A vertical similar to that of *k* is sometimes noticed in *ś* as well (cf. line 2). Sometimes the form of *m* (cf. *maḥā*<sup>2</sup> in line 2) appears to be more cursive than noticed in the East Indian records. Inscription No. 3 exhibits the same type of *k*. Medial *ḍ* in this inscription is in many cases indicated by a curve opened towards the right and placed at the head of the consonant.<sup>3</sup> The vowel mark in *ṣṣ* in *bhūḥṣṣ* (line 1) is also of this type, though this form of the letter is not found in Indian epigraphs. In several cases, medial *ḍ* sign ends in an inward bend almost making a loop. This resembles medial *ḥ* as used in some Indian inscriptions as well as in the modern Tamil alphabet. The form of the letter *p* in *evāḥṣṣ* in line 1 (cf. also *vāḥṣṣ* in the same line) exhibits a cursive form more developed than that found in Inscription No. 1. Generally, however, the palaeography of the present record resembles that of the other epigraph and appears to be only a few decades later than that of the latter. This is supported by the internal evidence of Inscription No. 2 which was incised during the reign of king Virachandra, the successor of Nitichandra of Inscription No. 1 according to Ānandachandra's epigraph referred to above although it quotes the name slightly differently. This record may be palaeographically assigned to a date about the **last quarter of the sixth century**. Nitichandra is stated to have ruled for 56 years and his successor, called Virachandra in Ānandachandra's inscription but Virachandra on his coins, for 3 years only. The palaeography of the two records appears to suggest that Inscription No. 1 was engraved fairly early in Nitichandra's reign. It is interesting to note that the second epigraph writes Buddha with *b* while in Eastern India *b* was generally written by the sign for *v* from the seventh century A.D.

Inscription No. 3 exhibits the tripartite form of *y* as in the other two records as well as the same type of *k*. That, however, it was somewhat later than inscriptions Nos. 1-2 seems to be suggested by the later *double*-like medial *ḍ* sign and the slightly more developed sign of medial *a* (cf. also medial *ṣ*) resembling subscript *p* and rising to the level of the top *mate* of the consonant to its right. A local development seems to be exhibited by the serif at the top of these signs for medial *a* and *ḍ*.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 303 ff.; cf. *ARANI*, 1923-26, pp. 146-48.

<sup>2</sup> This form of the sign may be compared with that in certain East Indian records. See, e.g., Add. in line 3 of the Barganga inscription (above, Vol. XXX, Plate facing p. 97).



This tendency is noticed once in subscript *y* in Inscription No. 2 as well (cf. *mya* in line 2 with *yyā* in line 4). The form of *m* in Inscription No. 3 also shows some modification when compared to the same letter as found in the other two epigraphs. This type of *m* is not generally noticed in East Indian inscriptions. The epigraph possibly belongs to a date not much earlier than the **second quarter of the seventh century A.D.**

The **language** of Inscriptions Nos. 1-2 is corrupt Sanskrit. The first inscription begins with the Buddhist formula which is a stanza in the *Āryā* metre and Pali language; but it is found in a Sanskritised form in our record as in some votive epigraphs discovered in India.<sup>1</sup> The word *param-āpāśikhani* has been wrongly used for *param-āpāśikhā*. Of **orthographical** interest is the female name *Chandradrī(śrī)ṣā* for Sanskrit *Chandradrī*. *Chandradrī(śrī)ṣā* of this record may be compared with names like *Śrīyādīśī* found in Indian epigraphs.<sup>2</sup> In *dēyya-dharmma* (line 5), *dēyya* is a Pāli word standing for Sanskrit *dāya*. The use of double nasal in *dharmma-dāya* and *anāpāśikhā-ana*<sup>3</sup> (line 6) is noteworthy. The mute *m* at the end of the first of the two expressions has been retained before the following *s* of the word *surasa*. Some consonants following *r* have been reduplicated.

Inscription No. 2 contains only two stanzas in the *Anuśṭup* metre. The **language** is not faulty as in Inscription No. 1. But its **orthography** is characterised by the wrong use of *ṣ* for *n* in several cases. Final *m* has been wrongly changed to *anuro* in *mayānaṣ* (line 3) and final *ṣ* in the word *saṃpāṣ* (line 2) similarly to *n* (instead of *ṣ*) before the following *n* in *saṃpāṣ*.

The language of Inscription No. 3 seems to be corrupt Pali. Its purport is, however, not clear, although it seems to contain a Buddhist tract. The passages that can be read in this fragmentary inscription are: *dharmma cha* at the end of line 2; *‘āḥṇā sū tu dayatu saṃpāṣ’* about the middle and *maḥiddhāṣ* at the end of line 3; *[Sa]māś(ṣ)dhāṣ(dā)ṣ-m-saṃpāṣ-niṣa*, about the middle and *viśayaṣ bhūṣa* at the end of line 4; *deṣṣ phumantu sūm-uttama[ṣ]* at the end of line 5; and *sāḥṇā sūḥṇā n* in the last line.

The first two lines of Inscription No. 1 contain the stanza *Yā dharmma*, etc. The language of the remaining three lines (lines 3-5) is corrupt; but the sentence covering them appears to say that the stone bearing the inscription, apparently meaning the object or structure to which it belonged, was the gift (*dēyya-dharmma*) of the *param-āpāśikhā* named *Sāvatthi-Chandradrīyā* who was the queen (*dēvī*) of the illustrious *Nīlchandra*. The letters in the king's name are damaged, but the reading is certain. Whether the *anuro* in the name *Sāvatthi* is unnecessarily added cannot be determined. There is an *opīṭha* applied to the king's or queen's name, which seems to read *chandaśraṇa-parāḥṇāṣa* and is unintelligible unless the reading is amended. The purpose of the gift is quoted as 'the *anukā(ṣa)ṣa* . . . of all beings,' there being no space for more than two or three letters after *anukāṣa* or *anukāṣa* at the end of the line (line 5), although the expression expected here is *anuttama-jāṇa-saṃpāṣ*.<sup>4</sup> The letters *anukā(ṣa)ṣa* in our record possibly stand for *anuttama* with the letters *jāṇāṣa* lost at the end of the line.

The two stanzas in *Anuśṭup* in Inscription No. 2 state that the illustrious *Virachandradāva* constructed a hundred Buddha-stūpas, out of his love for the *Saṃpāṣ-dharma*, with his own money. The expression *Buddha-stūpa* appears to mean stūpas built on the relics of the Buddha while *Saṃpāṣ-dharma* or the true faith refers to the Buddhist religion usually called the *Saḍ-dharma* by its followers.<sup>5</sup> One of the epithets of the king says that he obtained his kingdom or sovereignty

<sup>1</sup> For Sanskrit influence on the stanza in Indian epigraphs, see above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 423 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, op. cit., p. 382 (text line 2).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Selected Inscriptions*, p. 77 (text line 5); *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, op. cit., p. 277 line 20; p. 378, line 1.



through Dharma. This probably suggests that he normally succeeded his predecessor on the throne and was not a usurper.

The importance of the two inscriptions lies in the fact that they are the only epigraphic records of kings **Nitichandra** and **Virachandra** of the Buddhist royal family of the **Chandras of Arakan** although both the rulers are known from their coins as well as the Mrohaung pillar inscription of **Ānandachandra**. **Nitichandra's** coins bear the legend *Niti* or *Nitichandra* while **Virachandra** is similarly called *Vira* or *Virachandra* on his coins.<sup>1</sup> As pointed out above, the Mrohaung inscription of **Ānandachandra** mentions **Virachandra** as **Viryachandra**.

The Mrohaung pillar inscription gives very valuable information regarding the **genealogy and chronology** of the **Chandras of Arakan**, who had their capital at **Vesāli**. It is a product of king **Ānandachandra** belonging to a family called *Dēva-āṇḍaj-āraya* or *śrī-Dharmarāj-āṇḍaj-a-vardā*. **Ānandachandra's** father **Dharmachandra** seems to be described as belonging to the *Is-āraya*, probably meaning 'a family of kings' or 'a royal family', while an ancestor of **Ānandachandra**, named **Vajrabakti**, is called 'born in the *Dēva* family' either to impart the same idea or to indicate that his mother belonged to the *Dēva* dynasty. The word *āṇḍaj* means a bird and *dēva-āṇḍaj* possibly indicates the divine bird *garuḍa*. The expression *śrī-Dharmarāj-āṇḍaj-a-vardā* possibly means 'the bird (*garuḍa*) family of the illustrious and virtuous kings'. The inscription was written for recounting **Ānandachandra's** pious activities in the first nine years of his reign and was apparently engraved in his ninth regnal year. While the second part of the inscription is a eulogy of **Ānandachandra**, its first part contains three sections quoting the names of the kings together with the duration of their reigns, who were believed to have ruled over the area in question before **Ānandachandra**. The first of these three sections deals with certain kings who altogether ruled for 1018 or 1060 (*saḥasraṁ śat-dś-ādhikam*) years. The beginning of this section is damaged; but, as all the five kings at the commencement of the extant portion are stated to have each ruled for 120 years, it is clear that this section (or at least its earlier part) is mythical. The second section deals with the **Chandra** kings, sixteen of whom are stated to have ruled for 230 years. The list, however, enumerates only thirteen names although their reign-periods as quoted in it come up to 230 years. This is possibly because three kings of the dynasty, who may have ruled for a few weeks or months, were omitted from the list. The last of the three sections deals with the family to which **Ānandachandra** belonged and quotes the names of his eight predecessors stated to have together ruled for 119 years and 9 months. While the first section reminds us of the mythical account of the ancient history of Kashmir in the earlier chapters of Kalhana's *Rājatarangīnī*, the second and third sections resemble the genealogical part of the inscriptions of such dynasties as the Eastern Chālukyas of Vāṅgī and the Imperial Guptas of Kāśī<sup>2</sup> and have the appearance of being based on fairly authentic information. It has, however, to be pointed out that Indian inscriptions, earlier than **Ānandachandra's** record, often quote the names of the predecessors of a king generally without the duration of their reigns.

The **chronology of the Chandras of Arakan** depends on the determination of the date not only of their coins and the inscriptions now under study but also of the Mrohaung pillar inscription of **Ānandachandra**. Johnston points out how the script of **Ānandachandra's** record is 'almost entirely identical' with that of the Nalanda inscription<sup>3</sup> of **Yaśovarmān**<sup>4</sup> both in the form of the

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, op. cit., p. 285 and Plate I (Phayre, *Coinage of Arakan, of Pegu and of Burma*, pp. 28-29 and Plate II; Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, Plate XXXI, No. 8. Smith wrongly reads *śrī-Dharmarāj* for *Virachandra* for **Nitichandra**).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Stein, *Rājatarangīnī*, trans., Vol. I, Introduction, pp. 82 ff.; *SIU*, Vol. I, pp. 20 ff.; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Whitlock's List*, No. 2166; above, Vol. XX, pp. 37 ff.



letters and in the style of writing'.<sup>1</sup> This Yaśovarman is known to have sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor in 731 A.D. and was defeated by king Lalitāditya Muktiśīla of Kashmir, who ruled in the period circa 726-60 A.D.<sup>2</sup> He seems to have died in or shortly before V.S. 813-754 A.D.<sup>3</sup> Yaśovarman's reign may thus be assigned approximately to the period 725-54 A.D. The Nalanda inscription seems to have been incised fairly early in his reign since Nalanda lay outside his own dominions in the territories of the Gauda king of Bengal and Bihar, whom Yaśovarman defeated and killed sometime before his own defeat at the hands of king Lalitāditya of Kashmir about 739 A.D.<sup>4</sup> We may therefore assign the incision of the Nalanda inscription to a date in the period 725-33 A.D., say, to 729 A.D. If Ānandachandra's inscription is assigned approximately to the same date, his accession may be tentatively assigned to 729 A.D. On this basis, Ānandachandra's eight apostors' rule of nearly 129 years may be roughly assigned to the period 600-729 A.D. and the 230 years of Candrapa rule approximately to the period 379-609 A.D. On the same basis, the rule of the individual Candrapa kings may be tentatively assigned to the following periods:

1. Dyutichandra	55 years	circa 379-435 A.D.
2. Bhāṣachandra	20 "	" 435-455 "
3. Kīlāchandra	9 "	" 455-54 "
4. Dāvachandra	32 "	" 454-78 "
5. Yaśhasthendra	7 "	" 476-83 "
6. Candrabandhu	6 "	" 483-89 "
7. Bhūmichandra	7 "	" 489-96 "
8. Bhāṣachandra	24 "	" 496-520 "
9. Nṛpachandra	33 "	" 529-75 "
10. Virachandra or Viryachandra	3 "	" 575-78 "
11. Prthivichandra	12 "	" 578-90 "
12. Prthivichandra	7 "	" 590-97 "
13. Dhṛpatichandra	3 "	" 597-600 "

#### No. 1. Inscription of the time of Nṛpachandra

##### TEXT\*

1. Yē dharmāṃs bāhu-grahavā hṛtū[di] tathā[di] Tathāga[ta]

2. āhu\* [[\*] tathāṃ cha yā-nirōdhī\* śvaṃ-vādi[di] [Ma]hāśāramaga[b] [[\*]

3. āri-[Nṛpachandra]ya chandrarat-parah[ulaya]\* dāv\* Sāv[ān]

\* Op. cit., p. 385.

\* See Stein, op. cit., pp. 67, 88-89.

\* Tripathi, *History of Kausambi*, pp. 128-27.

\* Ibid., pp. 204-68.

\* From a photograph and an impression.

\* These two letters seem to have been originally left out and later engraved in the margin.

\* Better read *avādhā*.

\* The reading and meaning of the passage are doubtful. It may be an epithet of the king in the sixth case-ending (*ya*) or that of the queen ending in the word *āya* joined in compound with the following word. The word intended may also be *yāśāpānā*.

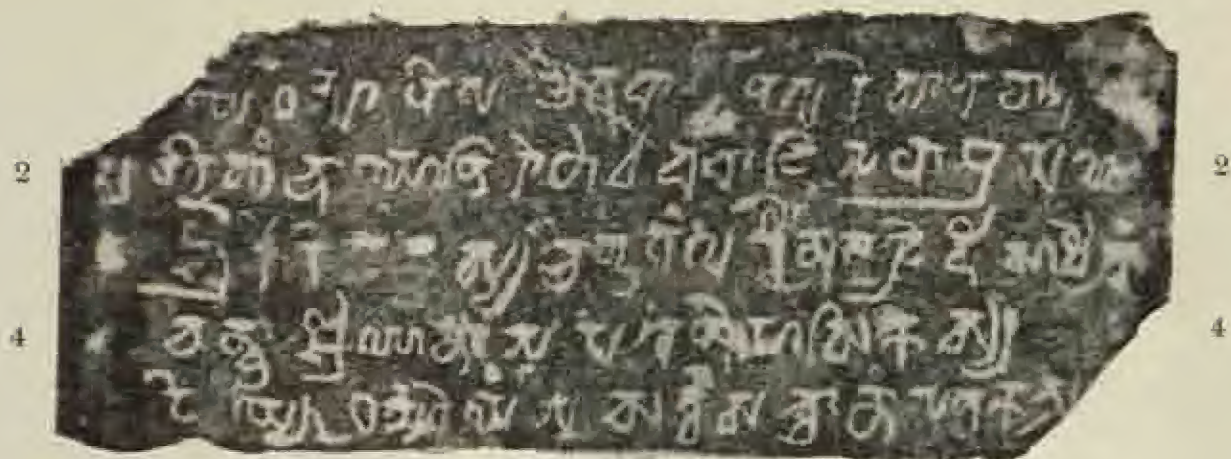
\* Better read *śāyā*.



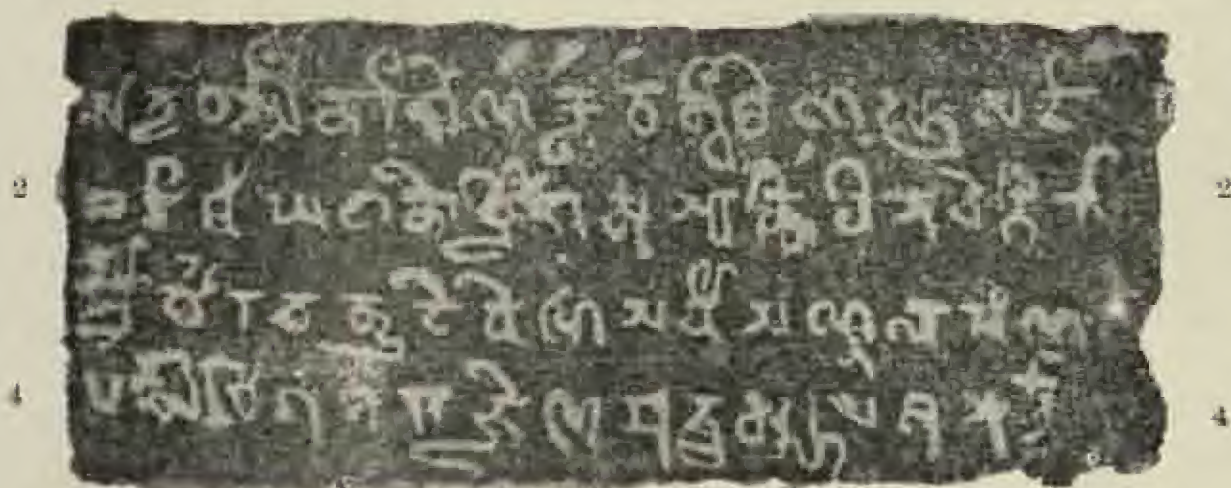
# INSCRIPTIONS OF CHANDRAS OF ARAKAN

A

No. 1.—Inscription of the time of Nitichandra



No. 2.—Inscription of Virachandra



(From Photographs)



B. Fragmentary Inscription from Vesali



Scale : Three-eighths



4 Chandratī(śrī)ṛā-nāma-parā(ra)ḥ[ra-ḥ]pās(kasya)\*

5 dēyya<sup>1</sup>-dharminī<sup>2</sup>-yasmā<sup>3</sup> sarva-satvā(ṭvā)nām(nā)m-amuka(tta)ma<sup>4</sup>

### TRANSLATION

The Sentient Being (*par excellence*, i.e. the Buddha) spoke of the cause of the conditions arising from a cause. The Great Ascetic (i.e. the Buddha) also spoke about their destruction.

This is the pious gift of the queen of the illustrious **Nīti-chandra** who is . . . . .<sup>5</sup> (the queen) by name Sāvīkāmī-Chandratīyā who is a devout lay worshipper (of the Buddha), for (the acquisition) of the best [knowledge?] by all creatures.

### No. 2. Inscription of Virachandra

#### TEXT<sup>6</sup>

1 Satya-dharmin-īna(un)cāgga kritam sv-ārthāpa(us) bhūḥbhujā [!]<sup>7</sup>

2 [pa]r-ārtha-ghaṭan-ādyaḥsa-samyasni(ā-nī)hita-śhōti(ta)sā [!]<sup>8</sup>

3 Śrī-Virachandradēva(nā) mahā-maṇḍala-maṇḍanarū(mam) [!]

4 dharmā-śhīlāga-rājyēna(us) Buddha-stūpa-śata(rū\*) [śh-śhā]<sup>9</sup> [!]<sup>10</sup>

### TRANSLATION

A hundred Buddha-stūpas (i.e. structures enshrining relics of the Buddha), which are the ornament of the earth, are made owing to his love for the true faith<sup>11</sup> (and) with his own money by the illustrious king **Virachandradēva** who has his heart fully set on exertions for effecting good to others (and) who obtained kingdom (or, sovereignty) through righteousness.

<sup>1</sup> Read 'śhīlāpā

<sup>2</sup> This is Pall for Sanskrit *śhīla*.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'yasmā. The mark below the last letter may suggest it to be a final m. If it is ignored, we have to read it as ma.

<sup>4</sup> The third letter of this word may also be read as śh. The word 'śhīlāpā seems to be broken away after this.

<sup>5</sup> As indicated above, this may also have been intended for an epithet of the queen.

<sup>6</sup> From a photograph and an impression.

<sup>7</sup> The traces of these letters may also suggest the reading *śhīlām*. But this word occurs in line 3 and would therefore be redundant, although it has to be admitted that *ch-ñi* does not suit the metre.

<sup>8</sup> The expression *śhīlā-ghaṭan-darūpa* may also be an epithet of the king.



## No. 12—VELUR INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA-NARASIMHAVARMAN

(I Plate)

K. D. SWAMINATHAN, MADRAS

The subjoined inscription<sup>1</sup> is engraved on a hero stone set up in the Vēḍiappan temple<sup>2</sup> at **Velūr** in the Chengam Taluk of the North Arcot District. Below the inscription is the representation of a warrior in bas-relief in a defiant attitude, holding a bow in his left hand and a sword in the right. There is also the representation of a small structure near his feet. I edit the inscription with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The language of the inscription is Tamil and the alphabet Vatteḷuttu. But the forms of certain *alibharas* remind us of Tamil characters: e.g., *y* in *vīḍaiya* (line 1), *Paṟaiya*<sup>3</sup> (line 3) and *\*mūḷiyār* (line 4); *l* in *Mā* (line 3); *ḷ* in *Vēḷār* and *ḷum* (in line 3). In respect of **palaeography**, the epigraph closely resembles the **Hannamantapuram** inscription<sup>4</sup> of Vijaya-Iṉravarmān. The form of *a* in *āḍṟa* (line 4) is slightly different from the usual form found in the inscriptions of the same period copied from the southern Districts.<sup>5</sup> The characters are assignable to the **9th century A.D.** The orthographical peculiarities do not call for any remarks. The word *ṟuṟ* occurs also in Kannada<sup>6</sup> and Telugu<sup>7</sup> epigraphs of almost the same period.

The inscription is dated in the **2nd year** of king Vijaya-Narasimhavarman (Narasimhavarman) and records the death of Paṟaiyamḷiyār, the chief of Mā-Velūr in **Mikoprai-nāḍu** and a servant of Vāṇakāṇ Adityaraiṣar, in a cattle raid. Only four inscriptions of Vijaya-Narasimhavarman are so far known, though he ruled for at least 24 years. Two of them dated the 3rd and 19th years of his reign are found at Kij-Mattugūḷ<sup>8</sup> in the North Arcot District, while a third dated the 24th year comes from Baṅgarāḷ<sup>9</sup> in the Kōlar District of Mysore, on the borders of the North Arcot District. The fourth record is found at Chinnā-Nagapūḍi<sup>10</sup> in the Tiruttani Division of the Chittur District. The present inscription offers the earliest date for Narasimhavarman.

The importance of the record lies in its being the only inscription of Narasimhavarman in the Vatteḷuttu script, while the alphabet used in his other known inscriptions is Tamil. The use of Vatteḷuttu in an epigraph found so far north as Velūr is noteworthy. The existence of a number of similar hero stones in and around North Arcot<sup>11</sup> testifies to the disturbed state of the region during the 9th century A.D. The major portion of this District, with the bordering portions of Salem and Kōlar, were under the sway of local chiefs who ruled contemporaneously with the Bāḷas, Nōḷamhas and Gaḍgas during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. During this period of confusion, Narasimhavarman of our record may have assumed the status of an independent ruler.

<sup>1</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, No. 69 of 1933-34.

<sup>2</sup> There is another Vēḍiappan temple at Iḍaiṉṉarai in the Polur Taluk of the North Arcot District. It contains an inscription of Paḍḍirama-pāṇḍya, dated in his 8th regnal year. See *Ibid.*, No. 141 of 1941-42.

<sup>3</sup> *Above*, Vol. VII, p. 24 and Plate.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, Vol. IX, p. 90 and Plate; *SIH*, Vol. V, No. 783 and Plate.

<sup>5</sup> See *SIH*, Vol. IX, part 1, No. 10; cf. No. 15.

<sup>6</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, No. 298 of 1935-36.

<sup>7</sup> *Above*, Vol. IV, pp. 178, 360.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, No. 193 of 1943-44. The date portion of this record is damaged.

<sup>10</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, Nos. 104 to 106 of 1940-41; Nos. 102 and 110 of 1941-42; No. 68 of 1933-34; *SIH*, Vol. XIII, No. 268.







VELUR INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA NARASIMHAVARMAN



Scale: One-fifth

Printed at the Survey of India Offices (H.L.O.)  
Dehra Dun



As the figures of the elephant and the swan are found sculptured beneath the record of Narasimhavarmān at Kū-Muttugūr, Hultzsch was inclined to assign this chief to the Gaṅga family.<sup>1</sup> There are two interesting epigraphs of the Western Gaṅga king Śrīpuruṣa in Vatteluttu characters at Oḍḍapattī in the Uttaraṅgai Taluk of the Salem District bordering on the North Arcot District. Inscriptions of other Gaṅga chiefs are also found in the North Arcot District. From Nanniyāṇḍal in the Pōṇṇi Taluk comes an epigraph recording an order of Gaṅgaraiyaṅ Āṭappirandāṅ, who claims to have been born in the Gaṅga family and bore the titles 'lord of Kuvāḷāla', *Kāśirivallabhan* and *Nandagiriṇḍar*, to the *Uṇṇar* of Ammai-āṇḍal assigning their village with its taxes as *maṭṭappuṇam* to the *maṭṭa* of Aṅḍarāṭṭa-Maḍaliyār at Tiruvannāmalai to be enjoyed permanently by him and his disciples in succession.<sup>2</sup> A hero stone from Veṅṇaṇi bearing an epigraph assignable to the 9th century A.D. records the death of one Gaṅgaraiyaṅ, who is described as the disciple of the preceptor (*āṇḍu*) Teṇṇavan, when Veṅṇaṇi was destroyed in the time of Valluvikāṅḍavaiyar.<sup>3</sup> During the second half of the ninth century, a branch of the Western Gaṅga family is known to have flourished in parts of the North Arcot District.<sup>4</sup> All these show that North Arcot was under the sway and influence of the Gaṅgas during the ninth century. The emblem of the elephant in the Kū-Muttugūr record suggests the association of Narasimhavarmān with the Gaṅgas. It is, however, not possible to say precisely the nature of this association. He may have been an early member of the branch of the Western Gaṅga family which held sway over the North Arcot District. It may be said that he was an independent ruler and was the overlord of the Bāga chief Vāpakōṇ Adiyaraiar, mentioned in the inscription. Vāpakōṇ Adiyaraiar appears to be the same as Skandha Bāḷādhirāja who figures in the Baṅgarūḍi inscription of Narasimhavarmān.

The use of the Vatteluttu script in this inscription requires explanation. The scribe who engraved the record may have hailed from the west coast where Vatteluttu was popularly used, or the warrior Paraiyaṇḍiyyar who was killed in action might have been a native of that region and the inscription recording his death might have been engraved in the script used in his native place. Instances of inscriptions engraved in characters unusual to a particular area are not wanting.<sup>5</sup>

*Mikōṇṇai-nāḍu* as the name of a territorial division in the North Arcot District is also known from other inscriptions.<sup>6</sup> *Māi-vēḷūr* may be identified with Vēḷūr, the final spot of the record under review.

#### TEXT<sup>7</sup>

- 1 Kō-vīḍaiya-Narasīṅgaparumaṅku [yāṇḍu\*] iru(va)ṇḍā-
- 2 vadu Vāpakōṇ Adi[va\*]raiār sēvakar Mikōṇ-
- 3 rai-nāṭṭu Māi-Vēḷūr Aḷam Paraiyaṇḍi-
- 4 [iyār ivēṇṇar-ṭṭeṇṇu-kōṇḍa-ṭṭāṇḍu pāṭṭi[r] ][\*]

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 177. The views of Hultzsch were questioned by Jeyarasa-Dutredul (*TN. Pallavas*, pp. 62 ff.) and T. A. Gopinatha Rao (*Nature's Christian College Magazine*, April 1907, pp. 1 ff.) on rather unauthoritative grounds. Narasimhavarmān of the Kū-Muttugūr record cannot be identified with either of the two Pallava kings of that name, viz. Narasimhavarmān I (Vāṭṭōṅḍōṇḍu) or Narasimhavarmān II (Kūṇḍōṇḍō).

<sup>2</sup> *A.R. Ep.*, Nos. 211 and 212 of 1910.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 114 of 1941-42.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 116.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1930-31, part II, p. 40, para. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *JPA&B*, Vol. XX, p. 41 ff. / *A.R. Ep.*, No. 269 of 1933-34, etc.

<sup>7</sup> *A.R. Ep.*, Nos. 66 to 68 of 1933-34; No. 106 of 1940-41.

<sup>8</sup> From inked impressions in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.



# No. 13—INDRAGADH INSCRIPTION OF NANNAPPA, V. S. 767

(I Plate)

KRISHNA DEVA, BHOPAL

This inscription<sup>1</sup> was discovered in March 1954 at the old site of Indragadh situated two miles north of Bhānpurā, headquarters of a Tahsil of that name in the Mandla District of Madhya Bharat (now Madhya Pradesh). The inscription was unearthed in the course of digging for building stones and was found about 3 feet below the surface amidst the excavated remains of an early medieval temple. The remains consisted of a shrine of sandstone with a Śivaliṅga in situ and many Śaiva images and architectural fragments of the early medieval period, which point to the existence of a Śiva temple in the age to which the inscription belongs. The place is studded with ancient remains and is picturesque, being enclosed by a rivulet on two sides and a hill containing an old ruined fort on the third side.

The sandstone slab, bearing the inscription, measures 35" long, 20" broad and 3½" thick. The record consists of 19 lines which are neatly and beautifully engraved. The characters belong to the North Indian Kṛtī script of the early 9th century A.D. and closely resemble those of the Jhalrapatan stone inscription<sup>2</sup> of the time of king Durvaghā of V.S. 746 and Kanavara stone inscription<sup>3</sup> of Śivagaga of V. S. 795. Among noteworthy forms may be mentioned final *i* in *mahā* (line 10) and the conjuncts *ñā* in *krāñā* (line 14), *jā* in *amājā* (line 7), *ry* in *śāchārya* (line 6), etc. Medial *u* is expressed usually by means of a wedge-shaped attachment as in *amukhā* (line 4) and occasionally by the curly form as in *guyā*<sup>4</sup> (line 10). Medial *ā* is generally indicated by a double curl as in *pāpā* (line 15); but two variant forms are noticed in the same line in *pārā* and *pārāṇa*. Medials *i*, *ī* and *ū* have ornamental curly forms in line 1. The letter *ḥ* has been indicated by the sign for *h*. Short wedge-shaped strokes have been frequently used in the place of a *śaṅka* to mark the end of the first half of a stanza. As regards orthography, the consonants joined with a subscript *r* have not been generally doubled, while those in conjunction with a superscript *r* have been occasionally doubled. For cases of wrong sandhi, cf. *garmā*—*ādhā* (line 2); but see *śrāṇā*—*va* in line 9). Final *m* has been wrongly changed to *anuvāra* before a vowel in some cases.

The language is Sanskrit and the major portion of the record is in verse, composed in elegant *āṣṭya* style. The record opens with the symbol for *Om* and an obsequence to Śiva, followed by two invocatory verses in praise of Śiva and Gauf. Verse 4 describes the excellence and war-like exploits of king Nannappa who was the son of Bhāmāna of the Rāshtrakūṭa lineage. In the following four stanzas are praised two teachers of the Pāṇpata sect, viz. Virūṭarāṭh and his disciple Dīnarāṭh. The ninth verse refers to the construction of a stone temple of Śiva by Dīnarāṭh. This is followed by two stanzas charging the city (i.e. the council of the elders of the city) for the maintenance of the temple. The next verse is merely imprecatory. Verses 13 and 14 supply the year and the season when the temple was constructed. Verse 15 which is the last stanza in the record under study mentions Durgāditya who was the son of Śaṅkara and hailed

<sup>1</sup> [The inscription was noticed in *JHQ*, Vol. XXX, pp. 193 ff., Vol. XXXI, pp. 99 ff. It has been published in *JHRS*, Vol. XLII, part iv, pp. 249 ff.—BE.]

<sup>2</sup> *Jnd. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 181 and Plate.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 53 and Plate.



from **Gauḍa-dēśa**.<sup>1</sup> Then follows a section in prose which, after stating that the record was engraved by one Chānuḡḍastana, furnishes details of the endowments made in favour of the temple. This section, written in faulty and ungrammatical Sanskrit, was obviously drafted by a person other than the one who composed the beautiful verses; but the entire record appears to have been engraved by the same hand.

The date of the record is expressed in words (verses 13-14 in lines 13-14). It is stated that the temple was constructed during winter when seven hundred years exceeded by sixty-seven of the [era of the] world-famous Mālava kings had elapsed. Year 767 of the Mālava (Vikrama) era corresponds to 710-11 A.D.

The object is to record the construction of a temple of Śiva by the Pāṣupata ascetic Dīna-śūki. It is obviously represented by the excavated ruins of the temple that yielded the inscription. The inscription also records the endowments made to Guhāśvara,<sup>2</sup> which appears to be the name of the deity enshrined in the temple, by Daulikā, Takshulikā and Bhāgūnikā, daughters of one Kumāra of the Prāgrāṣṭa caste. The endowments included a house situated near the street in the western part of the fort which may be identified with the fort of Indragadh existing in ruins on the hill adjoining the site.<sup>3</sup>

The inscription is interesting in various ways. Firstly, it provides epigraphic evidence of the antiquity of the Indragadh site. Secondly, it furnishes the names of two Pāṣupata teachers, Vinitarāṣi and his disciple Dīnarāṣi who built the Śiva temple at Indragadh. Incidentally it proves the existence of the Pāṣupata sect of Śaivism in Malwa during the early medieval period. Thirdly, by showing that the city was charged with the responsibility of carrying out repairs to the shrine and maintaining worship therein, the inscription throws light on one of the functions of the ancient city administration. Fourthly, this record dated in the year 767, supplies the latest date in 'the Mālava era' to be found in Malwa, which is 178 years later than the Mandasaur inscription of Yaśovīrhan. Viśṇuvardhana of the Mālava year 589.<sup>4</sup> Fifthly, the name Nannappa, ending in the Kannada form *nappa*, affords another proof of the Kannada origin of the Rāshtrakūṭa.<sup>5</sup>

But the importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it supplies the names of two new Rāshtrakūṭa chiefs, viz. Nannappa and his father Bhūmāna. From the way the name of Nannappa is mentioned in the record it is plausible to conclude that he was the reigning prince of Malwa in Mālava year 767=710-11 A. D. Now a Rāshtrakūṭa prince called Nannarāja is mentioned in the Multai plates<sup>6</sup> dated Śaka 631 (709-10 A. D.),<sup>7</sup> Tiwarkhed plates<sup>8</sup> dated Śaka 615 (631-32 A. D.) and Sangalooda plates<sup>9</sup> dated Śaka 615 (693-94 A. D.). In these plates, which all come from Berar, Nannarāja is called son of Śaṃṭakarāja. Prof. Mirashi has shown the Tiwarkhed plates to be spurious.<sup>10</sup> The dates provided for Nannarāja by the Multai plates, viz. Śaka 631 (709-10 A. D.), and by the Sangalooda plates, viz. Śaka 615 (693-94 A. D.), come very close to the Mālava year 767 (710-11 A. D.) furnished by the present record and one is tempted to identify Rāshtrakūṭa Nannarāja of the Berar plates with Rāshtrakūṭa Nannappa of the present record. The

<sup>1</sup> The stanza in question (verse 16) says that the *pāreś*, i.e. the eulogy (cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 123), was composed by Durgadhara. In the epithet *pāreśa-pāreśa* applied to *pāreś*, the word *pāreśa* has been used to indicate the god Śiva.

<sup>2</sup> Guhāśvara as the name of Śiva also occurs in the Ellora plates of Dantidurga (above, Vol. XXV, pp. 338).

<sup>3</sup> [See below, p. 117, note 1.—ED.]

<sup>4</sup> *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 152 ff. and 17.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. E. Alcock, *Rāshtrakūṭas and their Poets*, pp. 24 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 230 ff. and Plate.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XI, pp. 279 ff. and Plate.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 109 ff. and Plate.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 3.



only discrepancy is that the name of the father of Nannarāja of the Berar records is given as Svāmīkarāja, while that of Nannappa is mentioned as Bhāmāha; but this discrepancy can be solved by assuming that Bhāmāha was the *biruda* of Svāmīkarāja and that, in the metrical composition of the present record (verse 4), the *biruda* suited the exigencies of the metre better than the name. Nannarāja would thus become identical with Nannappa, *appa* being the Kannada honorific attached to the name Nappa or Nanna.<sup>1</sup> If this identification be accepted, it will show that Rāshtrakūta Nannarāja or Nannappa reigned from 693 to 712 A. D. and that his rule extended from Berar in the south to Malwa in the north. But from the undated Uḍḍīkuvāṭikā-grant<sup>2</sup> of Rāshtrakūta Abhimanyu we know of another Rāshtrakūta family ruling in *circa* seventh century A. D. over the Hoshangabad-Mhow region which falls between Berar and Malwa.<sup>3</sup> How could two ruling families hold sway over the same region simultaneously? The difficulty is resolved by assuming that either the two Rāshtrakūta families were friendly and had agreed to have concurrent jurisdiction over the Mhow-Hoshangabad region or the two families were mutually at war trying to grab each other's territory. It is, however, more probable that the family of Abhimanyu had already passed out of the stage before the rise, in *circa* 693 A. D., of Nannarāja-Nannappa who could thus hold undisputed sway over the region extending from Berar in the south-east to Malwa in the north-west.

We have one more inscription mentioning Nannarāja from Berar, viz. Nagardhan plates<sup>4</sup> of Svāmīrāja, dated in the year 322 of an unspecified era. These plates were issued from Nāndīvardhana by Nannarāja, brother of the reigning prince Svāmīrāja and differ from the other Berar plates of Nannarāja not only in respect of palaeography, but also in having the era as well as the name of the dynasty unspecified and in calling Nannarāja a brother of Svāmīrāja instead of a son of Svāmīkarāja. As the year 322 of the record has been shown<sup>5</sup> to refer to 573 A. D., this grant antedates the Multai and Sangalooda plates by over a century, thus indicating that Nannarāja of the Nagardhan plates was different from Nannarāja of the other Berar plates. The similarity of the names and the identity of territory, however, may show that Nannarāja and Svāmīrāja of the Nagardhan plates were probably earlier members of the same family. If this view is accepted, we have to conclude that Nāndīvardhana (modern Nagardhan near Ramtek, Nagpur District), the place of issue of the Nagardhan plates, was the earlier capital of the family. Their capital was subsequently shifted to Achalapura (modern Ellichpur) which is prominently mentioned in literature as well as in the spurious Tiwarkhed plates. Padmanagara, the place of issue of the Sangalooda plates, has been identified with Padma near the town of Akola.<sup>6</sup> It appears to have been an important town in the time of Nannarāja-Nannappa, if not the new political seat of the family.

Nanna appears to have been a popular name among the Rāshtrakūtas and Rāshtrakūta chiefs bearing this name are also known from other inscriptions. One Nanna Guṇāvalōka is mentioned as the grandfather of Rāshtrakūta Tuḷga Dharmāvalōka in the latter's Bodhgaya stone inscription,<sup>7</sup> dated in the year 15 of a regnal reckoning. Nanna Guṇāvalōka of this inscription, which is palaeographically assignable to *circa* 9th century A. D., is obviously not the same as Nanna of

<sup>1</sup> [The identification does not appear to be supported by any evidence besides the contemporaneity of the two chiefs bearing similar names.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 160 E. and Plate.

<sup>3</sup> [The Rāshtrakūta home represented by Abhimanyu ruled in the Satara-Kolhapur region of the South Marāṭhā country about the sixth century A. D. It had little to do with Malwa. See *The Classical Age*, ed. by Majumdar, pp. 199-200. Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> *Above*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1 E. and Plate.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Above*, Vol. XXIX, p. 113.

<sup>7</sup> R. I. Mitra, *Buddha Gaya*, p. 105 and Plate.



our record (710-11 A. D.) Similarly, Nanna referred to as the father of Rāshtrakūṭa Śaṅkara-gaṇa who issued the Daulatabad plates<sup>1</sup> dated Śaka year 715 (793 A. D.), too, cannot be identified with Nanna of our record due to the considerable gap of time between the two. A Rāshtrakūṭa Nannarāja is mentioned in a Prakrit inscription engraved in nail-headed characters of the 8th or 9th century A. D. on the back wall of the chapel between caves XXVI and XXVII at Ajanta.<sup>2</sup> On account of closer proximity of time and place, Nannarāja of the Ajanta inscription may more plausibly be identified with Nanna of the Daulatabad plates than with the homonymous chief of our record.

The Bayana memorial stone inscription,<sup>3</sup> palaeographically datable in circa 8th century A. D., also refers (without specifying the family name) to a prince called Nanna during whose reign one Durāditya was killed in the course of a fight at a place called Pimpala-Gaundala. Mere identity of name and similarity of script do not warrant the identification of this prince with Nanna of our record; as the tract of Bayana is not contiguous with the known extent of Nannarāja-Nannappa's kingdom.<sup>4</sup>

The laudatory status of the family of Nannarāja-Nannappa is indicated by the non-assumption of paramount titles by any member of the family. We should also note the fact that Svāmīrāja of the Nagardhan plates bears the significant epithet *brahṃśraka-pāṇḍitakṛtā*. The paramount rulers of Berar in the time of Svāmīrāja (573 A. D.) were the Kalachuris who were ousted early in the 7th century A. D. by the Chālukyas of Badami. The territories of Pulakāṣin II (610-42 A. D.) who is credited with the conquest of the three Mahārāshtrakas included Berar and also probably Malwa which continued to form part of the Chālukya empire in the time of his successors, viz. Vikramāditya I (655-80 A. D.), Vinayāditya (681-96 A. D.), and Vijayāditya (697-733 A. D.). The last two were the Chālukya suzerains of Nannarāja-Nannappa.<sup>5</sup>

#### TEXT\*

[Metres: Verses 1, 4, 6 *Shuṅkharī*; verses 2-3, 8 *Sārdūlanakṛīḍā*; verses 5, 7, 9-15 *Daṇḍakā*.]

1 ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ सूचीपातेन सद्यः प्रचलति वसुधा कम्पते नागराजः  
पादोद्धारेण नीतो द्रुम इव भवलो दुग्धसिन्धुर्विभाति । दोर्दण्डैश्च  
भ्रमद्भिः पुनः-

2 रवि गिरयो ज्ञातपक्षाः\*] प्रयान्ति यस्मिन्नि(न्नि)त्वं प्रनुते भवति जगदिदं  
मोक्षु मृत्यौ भवो वः ॥ [१॥\*] प्राप्तं तस्य फलं मयाद्य तपसो  
यत्तत्कृतं तत्पुरः(रे) यन्मे भूभिः

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IX, pp. 195 ff. and Plate.

<sup>2</sup> G. Vasiani, *Ajanta*, Part IV, Text, pp. 121 ff. and Plate.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Surv., West. Prov., An. Rep.*, 1903-09, p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> [A ruler named Nannappa, who seems to have belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa lineage and ruled about the close of the seventh and beginning of the eighth century, is known from the Salken plates of *Udaya* *Śaṅkara*, dated Śaka 639 (717 A. D.). See above, Vol. XXVII, p. 147 and note 5, pp. 255-56. For an earlier ruler named Nanna who may not have been a Rāshtrakūṭa, see *The Classical Age*, p. 197.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> [This is extremely doubtful. There is as yet no evidence to show that the Indragadh region formed a part of the dominions of the Chālukyas of Badami. It is also not certain that Nannappa was a laudatory ruler.—Ed.]

\* From the original stone and inked impressions.

\* Expressed by symbol.

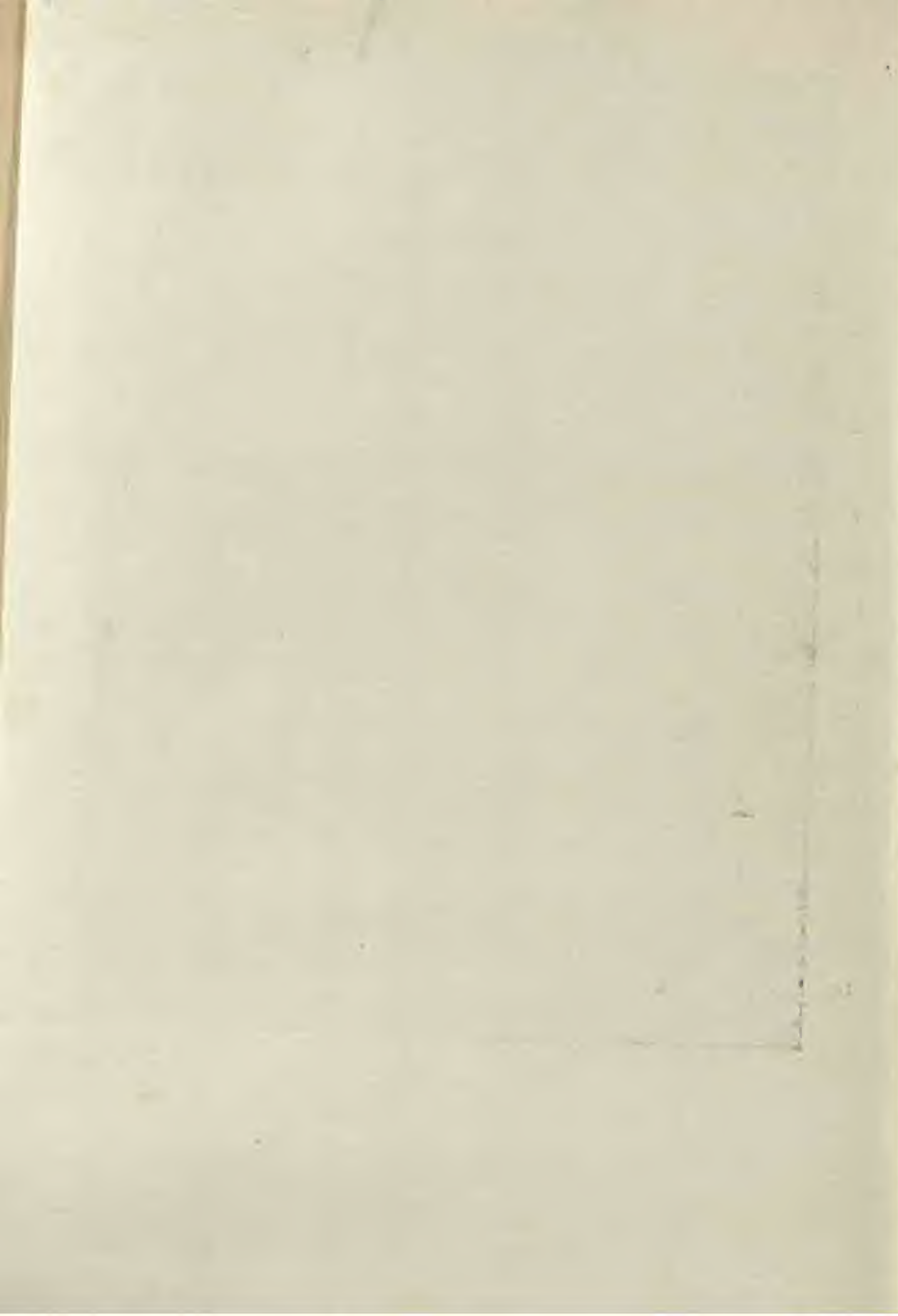


- 3 पदं करोति हर हे त्वल्लालिता जाह्नवी । गेहं यामि पितृगृहाण तनयं  
सोढुं न शक्तास्महं(हम्) एवं मन्युमरालसं गिरिजया प्रोक्तो हरः पातु  
वः ॥ [२॥\*] श्रीमत्कङ्कण-
- 4 पद्मगेन्द्रशिरसि ज्वालावलीभासुरो यस्तिष्ठत्यमलो मणिस्तदुदरे संक्रान्तविम्ब(म्ब)-  
द्युति(तिम्) । रूपं भर्तुरपे(वे)क्ष्य नञ्जितमुखी गौरी मनोहरेण रोमांचं  
दधती
- 5 विवाहसमये नित्यं शिवायास्तु वः ॥ [३॥\*] यस्मिन्दृष्टेरिवृन्दं धटितगजपटापीठ-  
मप्याह्वेषु क्षिप्रं याति प्रणामं कमसमुपचितं स्वं परित्यज्य मा-
- 6 नं(नम्) [१\*] भामानस्य प्रसूतिः प्रकटितयशसो राष्ट्रकूटान्वयस्य श्रीणणाय-  
स राजा जयति निजगुणार्वाज्जिताशेषलोकः ॥ [४॥\*] आसीत्पाशुपताचार्यो व-
- 7 द्रष्टृङ्गलिकाग्रणीः [१\*] विनीतराशिसंज्ञो यः घान्तः प्रसवगोचरी ॥ [५॥\*] यः  
स्यातो भूतलेस्मिन्प्रकटपुष्पयुगाः सत्ययुक्तः सुशान्तो विद्वां(द्वान्) शान्ति
- 8 कृतज्ञः सकलवसुमतीमण्डनो भावितात्मा । नित्यं राज्ञा समूर्हभंतचरणयुगशब्द-  
(ब्द)शास्त्रे स्वशिक्षो निष्पन्नैः शिष्यसर्वैरुत्तरवत्तमभिष्टुय-
- 9 मानः गुरोः ॥ [६॥\*] अमवत्तस्य शिष्यो यः(यस्)तपश्शक्त्या ज्वलन्निव ।  
वानराशिरिति स्यात्तः शशाङ्ककरनिर्मलः ॥ [७॥\*] शास्त्रार्थप्रविचार  
निर्माणमतिर्वा-
- 10 मी गूणैर्भूषितः शान्तात्मा प्रथमः प्रकाशयज्ञसो नित्यं दयालुर्भूष(भम्) ।  
योगाभ्यासवशादतीन्द्रियगतज्ञानेन यो विभूतः शिष्याध्यापनसक्तधी-
- 11 रतितप्तमोक्षस्य कार्यं रतः ॥ [८॥\*] स्वयम्भोलोकनाथस्य शैलं शीलवता स्वयं(यम्) ।  
तेनेदं कारितं दिव्यं मन्दिरं मन्दरोपमं(मम्) ॥ [९॥\*] ख[ण्ड]स्फुटितसंस्कारः
- 12 स्वातन्त्र्यं चात्र कीर्तने । नगरेणैव कर्तव्यं सर्वसनाध्यकारिणा ॥ [१०॥\*]  
अपरापि हि यः कश्चिन्न(त्)गरानुमते स्थितः [१\*] पुनः करोति संस्कारं  
तस्मानुजातमे-
- 13 व हि ॥ [११॥\*] पावद्भूलोकपालाश्च पावच्छाम्यु(म्बु)धमः स्थिराः । तावदास्तां  
स्थिरं शम्भोरिदमायतनं महत् ॥ [१२॥\*] सप्तपटग्रधिकं याने वर्षाणां  
शतसप्तके ।



[illegible]











## No. 14—THREE CHANDELLA CHARTERS

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

About the middle of 1955 I went to Banars in order to examine and copy the inscriptions preserved at the Bhārat Kālā Bhavan, now attached to the Hindu University. On that occasion, Rai Krishnadasji, the founder-curator of the Kālā Bhavan, was kind enough to lend me pencil-rubbings of four copper-plate grants for examination. The rubbings enabled me to decipher the major parts of all the four inscriptions. But, for the publication of the records, an examination of the original plates was necessary. I therefore requested Rai Krishnadasji to secure the inscriptions for the Kālā Bhavan and also to give me an opportunity of examining them when acquired. About the end of the year, I was glad to receive for examination three out of the four inscriptions, which, I was told, had been secured for the Kālā Bhavan through the generosity of Seth G. D. Birla. All the three grants belong to the Chandella dynasty, one to king Madanavarman (known dates between 1129 and 1163 A. D.) and two to his grandson and successor<sup>1</sup> Paramardin (known dates between 1167 and 1202 A. D.). These three inscriptions are edited in the following pages with the permission of Rai Krishnadasji. I was not supplied with any information regarding the findspot of the records and the story of their discovery; but, when I visited Banars again about the close of 1957, I was informed that all the four copper-plate grants had been purchased from Shri Thakur Das Jain alias Jain Master of Tikamgarh (also called Tahri), capital of the former Orchha State which was originally merged in Vindhya Pradesh and now forms a part of Madhya Pradesh. From whom and where the said gentleman secured the plates, however, remains as yet unknown. It may be mentioned in this connection that the last of the four inscriptions, obtained by the Kālā Bhavan from the source referred to above, was received by me sometime later about the end of 1956 and was found on examination to be a charter issued by the Pratihāra king Harisiddha from his camp at Snyādōṭi in Vikrama Samvat 1040 (984 A. D.) on the occasion of a solar eclipse. This inscription has already been published in the pages of this journal.<sup>2</sup> I take this opportunity to offer my sincere thanks to Rai Krishnadasji for his kindness which has enabled me to place the results of my study of the records before the students of Indian history.

The three Chandella charters published below resemble other known copper-plate grants of the family in respect of **palaeography, orthography and style**. Among the three grants, the resemblance in these respects is of course closer between the two records of Paramardin than between those and the charter of Madanavarman. The engraving of the letters is carefully and beautifully done in all the plates, although the preservation of the writing on Paramardin's inscriptions is more satisfactory than in the case of Madanavarman's charter. There is little difference between the forms of the letters *ch* and *e* and this fact renders the reading of personal and geographical names doubtful in some cases. The same difficulty is sometimes also noticed in

<sup>1</sup> Paramardin's father Yādvarman apparently predeceased his father Madanavarman. But the epithet *madhira-śiro-mukhi* (i.e. 'the crest-jewel of great rulers'), applied to Yādvarman in the Banars inscription (above, Vol. I, p. 299, verse 8), has led some scholars to believe that he 'had a very short tenure of power, after which he was succeeded by his son Paramardi' (Ray, *DDSI*, p. 112). The epithet, however, is justified even if Yādvarman was the ruler of a district under his father. If Paramardin really succeeded his father, the latter's name should not have been omitted from the former's charters.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 359 ff.



determining the value of a sign which may be taken to be either as the *ś-citrā* of the preceding consonant or the *ś-citrā* of the following letter. The subscript *ś* often resembles the subscript *ṣ*. The sign for *ś* indicates *ṣ* as well, but the sign for *ṣ* seems to be used in *Ambarishā* in line 20 of Madanavarman's grant. Subscript *ś* in *ṣṣ* looks like *ś*. As regards orthography, it may be noticed that often the class *nasal* is used for *ś-citrā* and *nasal* *ś-citrā*. Some consonants have been redoubled in conjunction with *ś*. The spelling of *ś-citrā* (for *ś-citrā*) and *parama* respectively in lines 7 and 15 of Madanavarman's grant is interesting.

✓ 1. *Plates of Madanavarman, V. S. 1192*  
A. S. 1152

This is a set of two plates which are rather thick and heavy and have writing only on the inner side. Each of the plates measures about 17.5" by 15". For the protection of the writing, copper bands are fixed with copper rivets on the margins of the inscribed sides of the plates. There is a hole in both the plates apparently to hold them together by means of a ring. But the ring seems to be lost. The figure of seated Gaṇaśakuni is engraved in a space measuring 2.1" by 1.7" about the middle of the upper part of the inscription on the first plate, thereby disturbing the continuity of the writing in lines 1-3. This was the royal emblem, by which the Chandēllas used to authenticate their charters in lieu of a regular seal. There are altogether 43 lines of writing, 22 on the first plate and 21 on the second. The two plates together weigh 600 tolas.

✓ The charter was issued by the Chandēlla king Madanavarman on Tuesday, Chaitra-vadi 5, Viśuva-sankrānti, in V. S. 1192. The date corresponds to the 24th March 1136 A.D. if the month is regarded as *Amāsa*.

The record begins with a variant of the symbol for *siddham* followed by the word *vaśa*. Then follows the stanza generally used in Chandēlla grants to introduce the family of the Chandēllāyā (Chandēlla) kings. This is followed by a passage in prose which introduces the reigning monarch, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramāvara Madanavarman* who was a devout worshipper of the god Mahāvara (Śiva) and the lord of Kālāṅjara. The king is described as the successor of *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramāvara Pīthivaraman* who himself succeeded *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramāvara Kīrtivarman* and as belonging to the family rendered famous by the birth of such heroes as Jayasakti and Vijayasakti. The above is followed in lines 4-7 by two stanzas eulogising king Madanavarman. The first of these, already known from the *Saura plates*<sup>1</sup> of Paramardīa, says how the creator endowed the king with a multitude of good qualities. The second verse says how the king's liberality put the mythical wish-fulfilling trees on the golden mountain (*Saṁvāra*) to shame.

The grant portion begins in line 7 and records the king's order addressed to the Brāhmanas and other people including officials, agriculturists, scribes, messengers, physicians, mudatāras (heads of villages), Mādas and Chandēllas, assembled at Valabhaudā-grāma in the *ekāya* or district of Mahisāpētha. The order was in respect of the grant of 2½ *paḍas* out of 8 *paḍas* of cultivated land in the said village, which was made by the king on the date discussed above from his camp at Parēyi-grāma. The donor was the Brāhmana, *Paṇḍita Śaṁbharaman*, who belonged to the *Kaṇṭha gōtra* and the *Āṅgira*ś, *Ambarishā* and *Yauvanvāya parvata*. He was the son of *Pladdhara* i.e. *Śeṭṭhā*, grandson of *Devade* *Sahāraya* and great-grandson of *Aśvathā* (probably meaning 'the teacher of a school') *Dēvaḍḍha*. His family hailed from the *Bhāṭṭāgrahīṇa* of *Pāṭaliputra*. Whether the gift land was made a rent-free holding is not clearly stated in the inscription.

The record of the above grant is followed by that of others made in favour of two other Brāhmanas,<sup>2</sup> the first of whom was *Dīkṣita Nārāyaṇasarma* who belonged to the *Gaṇṭama gōtra*

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> They received the grants in the same village in exchange for other lands in their possession apparently for the sake of convenience.



and the Goutama, *Āngirasa* and *Ayaya* *pratyaya*. He was the son of *Dakṣiṇa* *Pāśāṅga*, grandson of *Dakṣiṇa* *Vanana* *vāṇina* and great-grandson of *Dakṣiṇa* *Kṣaya*, and his family hailed from the *Bhūti-āgrahāra* of *Paṇikavaḍa*. It is stated that originally *Astavāla-grāma* or *Ēraśchhha-pattalā* was granted to *Nīlīyapaṇṇama* in exchange for the lands in his possession at *Pīpalahā* in *Tintiri-pattalā*, *Vasaṇhā* in *Kōlavā-pattalā*, *Gōulā* in *Vāṇḍiuri-pattalā*, *Dāḍari* in *Navaratha-pattalā* and *Dēnavāḍa* in *Mahisipēha-pattalā*. Now the king granted to the same *Brāhmana* four *paḍas* of land (apparently at *Valahauḍā-grāma* in *Mahisipēha-pattalā*) in exchange for *Astavāla-grāma* and the land in his possession at *Pīpalahā-grāma* in *Tintiri-pattalā* as well as his lands at *Valahauḍā-grāma* in *Mahisipēha-pattalā* and *Dāvaha* (or *Davēha*)-*grāma* in *Nandāvapa* (or *Nandavēpa*)-*pattalā* which he had received respectively from *Nāḍōka*, the priest attached to *Rājā* *Lakṣmīdēvi*, and *Sōmōka*, son of *Thakkura* *īri* *Śrīpālā*.<sup>1</sup>

The third donee was the *Brāhmana* *Sahajūsarma* who was a brother of *Sōmāsarma* of *Sōmōka* mentioned above. It is stated that he received from the king 1½ *paḍas* of land (apparently at *Valahauḍā-grāma* in *Mahisipēha-pattalā*) in exchange for his lands at *Pīpalahā-grāma* in *Tintiri-pattalā* and *Mahūālī-grāma* in *Kōlavā-pattalā*. He is stated to have received the lands in the two villages respectively from *Mahārājā* *Vāḷhupāldevi* and *Rājā* *(Chandīśaldevi)* (or *Chandīśaldevi*). It is said that these grants were made by the queen with the king's permission.

The conditions of the grant, which are the same as in other *Chandēla* charters, are quoted in lines 22-33. Some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 34-40. This is followed by a passage conveying the king's consent to the grants and must have been originally endorsed by the king himself on the original document that was later engraved on the plates. Then follow in lines 41-43 two stanzas, the first of which says that the copper-plate charter was written by the *Dharmā* *Ādīśa* *Sūgḍha* who belonged to the *Vāstavya* community. The same person also wrote the *Angul* plate<sup>2</sup> of the same king. The contractions *tha* and *si* before his name in that record stand for *thakkura* and *īri* respectively. The same verse was utilized with slight modification by *Prithvīdhara* and *Śubhōnanda* who wrote respectively the *Śeṁra*<sup>3</sup> and *Pachar*<sup>4</sup> copper-plate grants of *Paramardīa*. The present plates were engraved by the *vijāṇa* *Choga* who belonged to the *Ritāḍa* (i.e. *Kāśhyakāra* or *brazier*) community. The record concludes with a *maṅgala* and a set of three symbols or contractions thrice quoted. The meaning of these cannot be determined.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, *Kāḷaḷjara* is the well-known hill-fort in the *Banda* District of U. P., which was one of the centres of *Chandēla* power. The grant was made when the king was staying at *Parvī-grāma* while the various plots of gift land were situated at *Valahauḍa-grāma* in the *vishaya* or *pattalā* (i.e. district) of *Mahisipēha*. The families of the donees hailed from *Pāṭaliputra*, either inaccurately called a *Bhūti-āgrahāra* (i.e. a rent-free locality in the possession of learned *Brāhmanas*), and *Paṇikavaḍa*-*Bhūti-āgrahāra*. *Pāṭaliputra* is no other than the well-known ancient city of that name, which stood near modern *Patna* in *Bihar*. The other villages mentioned are (1) *Pīpalahā* in *Tintiri-pattalā*, (2) *Vasaṇhā* in *Kōlavā-pattalā*, (3) *Gōulā* in *Vāṇḍiuri-pattalā*, (4) *Dāḍari* in *Navaratha-pattalā*, (5) *Dēnavāḍa* in *Mahisipēha-pattalā*, (6) *Astavāla* in *Ēraśchhha-pattalā*, (7) *Dāvaha* or *Davēha* in *Nandāvapa* (or *Nandavēpa*)-*pattalā* and *Mahūālī* in *Kōlavā-pattalā*. The *pattalā* of *Nandāvapa* or *Nandavēpa* is mentioned in the *Ichchhikar* plate<sup>5</sup> of *Paramardīa* as *Nandāvapa-vishaya* which may be identified

<sup>1</sup> It may also be that lands in *Dāvaha* and *Pīpalahā* were received from these persons.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 202, 207 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Asien.*, Vol. IV, p. 170.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 49.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 206.



with the district round Ichchhawar in the Pallani Tahsil of the Banda District. *Rasobhha-pattalā* may be the same as the *Rasbha vishaya* of the Mahoba plate,<sup>1</sup> the name of which has been preserved in that of modern Erich on the Betwa, about sixty miles from Mahoba. *Navarāṣṭha-pattalā* seems to be the same as the *Nuvurāṣṭra-maṣṭhala vishaya* of the Charkhari plates,<sup>2</sup> while the names of *Vāndinej*, *Thirij-pattalā* and *Pipalabā* remind us respectively of the Banda District, the Tonthar Tahsil of the former Rewa State and the *Pipalām dūga* mentioned in the Allahghat inscription.<sup>3</sup> The district of *Navarāṣṭha* was situated on the river Yamunā.

## TEXT

[Metres : verses 1, 4-9, 13 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 2-3 *Śāradārikāṇḍī* ; verse 10 *Indraujālī* ; verse 11 *Sālinī* ; verse 12 *Mālinī*.]

## First Plate

- 1 Siddhami Svasti | Jayaty-āhlādayan-viśvān Vīśvāram-ārd-dhītaḥ | Chandrātrēya-narā-  
ndrāṇāṁ varāśa-chandra iv-ājyāḥ || [1\*] tatra pravarādhāmānā vi-
- 2 rōdhi-vijaya-bhūjishu-Jayaśakti-Vijayaśakty-ādī-vīr-āvurbhāva-bhāstarā paramabha[[ā-  
nā-mahārājādhīrāja-paramāvara-ārd-Kīrtiva-
- 3 rmmadēva-pād-ānandhyāta-paramabha[[āraka-mahārājādhīrāja-paramāvara-ārd-Prithvi-  
varmmadēva-pād-ānandhyāta-paramabha[[āraka-mahārājādhīrāja-
- 4 ja-paramāvara-paramamābhāvara-ārd-Kālaśjar-ādhipati-ārman-Madanavarmmadāvō  
vijayī || Saundaryam-Mekurādhyāśa jalani-
- 5 dhan-gāmbhīryam-aryā divō-py-ajāvaryam Dhībhōḥ dhīyam cha Tajmah aṣṭyām cha  
vāchan autō | aṣṭity-ābhīyāsa-vasō[[ā]d-gatā parigatā nirmamāṣa-ūlpā dhru-
- 6 vāḥ yatr-āsan niramāyy-ananya-saṁśīḥ Dhīrā guṇānāḥ gaṇāḥ || [2\*] apī cha | Tan-  
nāḥ sarva-samūhit-ārīḥa-ghatānā-kpāḥa(bdha)-pratishṭham janō rājā-ānāḥa manōrath-  
ādhika-
- 7 dhana-tyāgūḥ pramr̥ṣṭāḥ yāśaḥ | yad-dānād-iti bhjitat-iva chitam chāmīkar-ādri-  
sthāli-sankrā(sankrā)nta-pratimā-ādhō-mukhatayā kalpadrumaḥ sthīyatō || [3\*]  
sa śha
- 8 dervishabatarā-pratāpa-āpita-sakala-ripu-kulāḥ kula-vadhūm-iva vasundharāṁ nirā-  
kalāḥ paripāluyāma-avikala-vivēkaṁ(ka)-nirmalākṛta-matib | Ma-
- 9 hīpōḥa-vishay-ānta[[pāti-Valahauḍū-grām-āpagaṭān-Vrāta-Brahmaṇāḥ-anyāśa-cha  
mānyāḥ-ādīkritāḥ-kutumpō(mbi)-kāyāśa-dūta-vādya-mahātārāḥ-Māda-Chapā-
- 10 la-paryantān-sarvāṁ-saṁvō(bō)dhayati samūjāpayati ch-ānta vāḥ anūviditam yath-  
āpari-likhito-anū-grāmō sa-jala-sahāḥ sa-sthāvara-jagamō sva-sim-ā[ra]johhinnō  
s-ā-
- 11 dha-ārūhivā bhūta-bhaviśyad-va(r\*)ttamāna-cibhōśa-ā[[ā(dā)ya-sahitō pratishiddha-chāt-  
[[āji-pravāśa cha kashṭa-pād-āśṭaka-māhīyō<sup>4</sup>-mābhīre-ibha-kalabha-kurpa-tāla-tarālā-  
[[ā] dm-
- 12 vīpa-sampadāḥ pratipadya vidyut-ālōka-jālgamāḥ cha lōk-ādīhī[[ā]ryam matvā matt-  
āḥgaṇ-āpāśa-ābhikrāmā-bhāḥgurudā cha jagaj-jivitam-avadhārya paryanta-paritāpi-
- 13 nīsa-āpāta-mātra-māhīrāḥ cī-āśa-viśaya-paramāparāḥ paribhāvyā sambhā-stambha-  
vad-āśāntā<sup>5</sup> saḥsāram-avalōkya lōk-āntara-mahāharāḥ dharmanam-ākāṁ-ākalaya-  
dīhīḥ

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 8 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 213-14.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 123 ff.

<sup>5</sup> From the original plates and impressions.

<sup>6</sup> Better read 'āśāntāḥ māhīyō' with the preceding adjectives in the sixth case-ending plural.



- 14 Parāyi-grāma-samīcāsē dvi-navaty-adhika-sat-ōpēta-sahasratamē samva(samva)-  
tsarē Chaitrē māsi Kripṇa(śhṇa)-pakshē pañchagyām(mayām) tithāv-añkatō-pi  
Samva(Samva)t 1192 Chaitra-vadi 5
- 15 Bhaumē Vishuvat-samīkrāntau puṇya-tīrth-ōdakēna vidhivat-smtvā, dāva-mamushya-  
pūtrō-samīcarṇya Bhāskara-pūjā-purascaratā char-ābhara-gurōn bhagavantān Bha-  
vān-patim-abhyarchakya hutabhinjī
- 16 hutvā mātā-pitrōr-āmanas-cha puṇya-yātrā-vividdhaya Pātaliputra-bhaddāgrahāra-  
vinirgatāya Kautsa-gōtrāya Āgira-m-Amya(e-Āmīa)ṛisha-Yau-
- 17 vanāśva-tripravatāya Avasthā-Dēvadha-prapaṇtrāya Divēda-Sahāraṇa-pautrāya Thakkura-  
ārī-Śrīpālā-putrāya paṇḍita-Sōmēśarmamagē Vra(Brā)hmaṇā-
- 18 ya kula-latā-pūtēna hut-ōdakēna svasti-vāchana-pūrvva[m] charat-ārka-sama-kālam  
putra-pautr-ādy-anvay-ānugāmītvēna śamadh kṛtvā sa-pādām pada-dvayam datta-
- 19 m | tathā Paṇikavaḍa-bhaddāgrahāra-vinirgatāya Gautama-gōtrāya Gautama-Ā(m-Ā)-  
āgira-m-A(e-Ā)ya(yā)[eva]-tripravatāya Dikshita-Kēśava-prapaṇtrāya Dikshita-Vāma-
- 20 nasrāmī-pautrāya Dikshita-Dēvēndra-putrāya Dikshita-Nārāyaṇasarmamagē Vra(Brā)-  
hmaṇāya Tṛi(m\*)ṛī-pattalāyām Pipalāhā | Kōlavā-pattalāyām Vasuhā |
- 21 Vāndiuri-pattalāyām Gōulā | Navarāṭha-pattalāyām Dādari | Mahisipēha-pattalāyām  
Dōnavāḍa | eṣu grāmābhv-ētadīyām
- 22 bhūmim-ēdāya prāk-parivartitō dattam-Ērachchha-pattalāyām-Astavāla-grāmā |  
Mahisipēha-pattalāyām Valahandā-grāmā ab-ai-

*Second Plate*

- 23 tadīyām bhūmim rājñī-Lakhamādēvi(vī)-satka-purōhita-Nādākān-āya dattatvā-Nandā-  
vapa<sup>a</sup>-pattalāyām Dāvahā<sup>a</sup>-grā-
- 24 mā ab-aitadīyān bhūmim Thakkura-ārī-Śrīpālā-putra-Sōmēśm-āya dattatvāt-Tirōtīrī-  
pattalāyām Pipalāhā-grā-
- 25 mā ab-aitadīyān bhūmim gṛhītvā parivartitō pada-chatuṣṭaya[m] dattam | tathā  
Pātaliputra-bhaddāgrahāra-vinirgatāya Kautsa-gōtrāya Āgī-
- 26 rasa-A(e-Ā)mbarīsha-Yauvanāśva-tripravatāya Avasthā-Dēvadha-prapaṇtrāya Divē-  
vāda-Sahāraṇa-pautrāya Thakkura-ārī-Śrīpālā-putrāya Paṇḍi-
- 27 ta-Sahuṇa(ma)mmagē Vra(Brā)hmaṇāya mahārājñī-ārī-Vāthamādēvy-śamadh-anumatyā  
Tiditīrī-pattalāyām Pipalāhā-grāmā dattatvāt-ētadīyām bhūmim cā-
- 28 jñī-ārī-Chāndaladēvyā<sup>a</sup> ab-śamadh-anumatyā Kōlavā-pattalāyām Mahuāli-grāmā datta-  
tvāt-ētadīyām bhūmim-ēdāya parivartitō pād-ōna-po[da]-dvayam datta-
- 29 m-iti matvā bhavadbhīr-ājñī-ō(r\*)javaga-vidhīyair-bhūtvā bhōga-paśu-hiraṇya-karu-śulka-  
śādi-sarvam-abhyah samupanāśavyam | tat-śamadh(d-ā)bhūmī sa-mand[m]-
- 30 prākaram sa-nirggama-pravēśam sa-sarv-āśan-ēśhu-kṣamam(samīha)-[kā]ppāsa-sa-  
āmra-madhuk-ādi-bhūruham sa-vana-kham-nidhānam sa-lōha-lavaga-trīpa-parṇ-ādy-ā-
- 31 karam sa-taila-tadāga-nadī-parvatam sa-gartta-chatvar-ābharam sa-kūśth-śaktakā-  
pūshāgam sa-gōkulam sa-kūru-karahaka-vanig-vāstavyam sa-paśu-mriga-viha-

<sup>a</sup> The *śamadh* is superfluous.

<sup>b</sup> The reading may also be *Nandavāpa*.

<sup>c</sup> The reading may also be *Devika*.

<sup>d</sup> The reading may also be *Chandika*.











- 32 āgama-jalacharam=aparat=api śm-āntargatair-vvastubhiḥ sahita[ni] sa-vā(bh)hy-ābhya-  
nata-ādhyatā bhūḥjānānāḥ karahatām karahayatām dān-ādihna-vikrayatā vā  
kurvatām
- 33 sa kēnachit-kāchid-vādhā karitavyā | atra rāja-rājapurnak-ājavika-chāy-ādibhiḥ  
svatā svam-ābhāvyatā patihartavyam-idaṁ ch-āsmad-dānam-anāchchhēdyam-anā-  
hāryam
- 34 ch-ēti bhāvibhir-api bhūmi-pālāḥ pālaniyam-iti || uktam cha | Śaṅkham bhadr-āsanam  
chhattraṁ var-āśvā vara-vāraḥ | bhūm[i]-dānasya puṣhpāṇi phalaṁ sva-
- 35 rggah Parandara || [4\*] Sauvarṇṇa yatra prāsādā vāsōr-dbhārā-cha kāmadaḥ | Gan-  
dharv-Āpṣarasō yatra tatra gachchhanti bhūmidāḥ || [5\*] Bhūmim yaḥ prastigrihṇāti
- 36 ya-cha bhūmim prayachchhati | ubhan tau paṇya-karmamāgau niyatam svargga-gāminas ||  
[6\*] Śaśṭim varaha-sahasrāṇi svarggō vasatā bhūmidāḥ | āchchhē-
- 37 itā ch-ānumantā cha tāny-ēva narakō vāsō || [7\*] Śva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta  
vasandharām | sa viśṭhāyām krimir-bhūtvā pittibhiḥ saha majja-
- 38 ti || [8\*] Suvarṇṇam-ēkam gām-ēkām bhūmēr-apy-ēkam-aṅgulam | haras-narakam-āpnoti  
yāvad-ābhūta-samplavam || [9\*] Yān-īha dattāni purā narēndrai-
- 39 r-ddānāni dharm-ārtha-yasaskarāṇi | nirmālya-vānta-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ  
punar-ādadita || [10\*] Sarvān-ētān-bhāvinaḥ pārlhiv-
- 40 nīrān-bhūyō bhūyō yāchatō Rāmabhadraḥ | sāmānyō-yaṁ dharmma-sēturaṇipāṇāḥ  
kālo kālo pālaniyō bhavadbhir-iti(dbbih || 11 || iti | ) sva-hastō-yam īrīma-
- 41 n-Madanavarmanmadēvasya matam-mama || Virachita-śubha-karm-ōnnāma-Vāsavya-  
vanāyāḥ sakala-guṇa-gaṇānām vī[ś]jma' Sūdh-ābhīdhānaḥ | al-
- 42 khaḍ-avani-pālasy-ājjhaya dharmma-lēkhi sphuṭa-lalita-nivēśair-aksharais-tāmra-paṭṭam ||  
[12\*] Ūhēḥ nāma vījānī rītikāra-
- 43 kul-śilbhavaḥ | uchchakāra śubh-ākārām-imām-akshara-saṁhatim || [13\*] śubham-astu  
sarva-jagata iti || 6 thū [u] || 6 thū u || 6 th[ū] u ||

## 2. Plate of Paramardīn, V. S. 1239

This is a single plate measuring about 15.2" in length and 11.7" in height. In order to protect the writing, which is on one side of the plate, four copper bands of a width of about  $\frac{1}{2}$ " are fixed with copper rivets on all the four borders of the inscribed side. There are altogether 20 lines of writing. In the central part of the upper section of the inscription, a space about 2.3" square is occupied by the engraved figure of seated Gajalakṣmī which has disturbed the continuity of the writing of lines 1-4. In the middle of the last line of the inscription a space measuring 1.6" in length is left blank apparently for a hole that would have been required if the inscription had continued on a second plate. The plate together with the rivetted border bands weighs 282 tolas.

The date of the document is quoted in lines 8-9 as Tuesday, Phālguna-vadi 4, V.S. 1239. It corresponds to the 23rd February 1182 A.D. if the year is regarded as current.

The beginning of the record in lines 1-6 is similar to that of Madanavarman's grant edited above. But, instead of Madanavarman, *Paramabhaṭṭārka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēvara Paramardīn*, who was likewise a devout worshipper of Mahēsvara and the lord of Kālāṅjara, is introduced

<sup>1</sup> Originally *sva* was written.



here as the successor of *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśura Madanavarman* who himself succeeded *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśura Prithivvarman* and as belonging to the family of the *Chandīśrīya* rulers. There is no verified eulogy of the reigning monarch in the present record as in *Madanavarman's* grant.

The grant portion beginning in line 6 records the king's order addressed to the *Brahmanas* and others assembled at *Vavaṇḍa-grāma* in the *Duduhī* *vishaya*. The order relates to the grant of the said village, made by the king when he was stationed at *Sallakshapavilāsapura*, on the date discussed above, in favour of *Paṇa Padumadhakasārman* (i.e. *Paṇḍita Padmapadmasārman*) who belonged to the *Kaṁsa-gotra* and *Vajrasūrya-sikha* and was the son of *Ṭha* (i.e. *Ṭhaḥkura*) *Dhātā*, grandson of *Ṭha Śaṭpāla* and great-grandson of *Ṭha Sahārana*. His family hailed from *Pājāliputra-nagara*. It will be seen that the donee of this grant was the son of a brother of *Sāmāśārman* or *Sāmāla* known from *Madanavarman's* charter.

The conditions of the grant (lines 13-17) are similar to those of *Madanavarman's* charter. The imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 17-19. This is followed by the king's endorsement on the original document that was later copied on the plates. Line 20, with which the record ends, mentions the *Dharma-sūtra* *Ṭhaḥkura* *Vishyuka* who wrote the charter and *Pālhaṇa* who engraved it on the plates. The other charters of *Paramardin* were also engraved by *Pālhaṇa* who is called a *patabhāṭa* (letter) in the *Samra* plates<sup>1</sup> of 1163 A. D., *śilpa* and *man-gaṇaśaśi-vaidagdhī-vāṇikarasa* in the *Ichchhavar* plate<sup>2</sup> of 1171 A. D. and the *Pachar* plate<sup>3</sup> of 1176 A. D. and *vajrasūrya* in the *Mahola* plate<sup>4</sup> of 1173 A. D. But *Vishyuka* was not the writer of any of these charters. The writer of the first three grants was *Prithivīdhara* and that of the fourth charter *Śubhānanda*, both belonging to the *Vāstavya-Kāyastha* community.

Of geographical names, the inscription mentions, besides *Kālāṅjara*, *Sallakshapavilāsapura*, whence the grant was made by the king, and the gift village of *Vavaṇḍa* in *Duduhī-vishaya*. *Sallakshapavilāsapura* seems to have been named after *Sallakshapavarman* who was the elder brother of *Prithivvarman*, great-grandfather of *Paramardin*. The locality may be the same as *Vilāsapura* whence *Paramardin* issued his *Ichchhavar* and *Pachar* plates. It has been suggested that *Vilāsapura* is the same as modern *Pachar* about 12 miles to the north-east of *Jhansi* in U. P.<sup>5</sup> *Duduhī-vishaya* seems to have been the district round modern *Dudahi* in the *Lalitpur* subdivision of the *Jhansi* District. The name of the place, whence the donee's family hailed, is quoted here as *Pājāliputra-nagara* (not *Pājāliputra-bhāṭṭāgrahāra* as in *Madanavarman's* grant).

#### TEXT\*

- 1 *Siddham*\* *Srasti* | *Jayaty-śuddhāyana-vibhava* *Vijayavata-śrī-dhṛitah* | *Chandīśrīya-narāṭh*\* *dhṛtān yamaṇa* *śa-chandra* *iv-śṛṇvāḥ* ||\*|| *ātra pravarddhamā-*
- 2 *nā* *vīrādhi-vijaya-bhṛājāḥ* *Jayakṛti-Vijayakṛty-āli-vīr-āvīrbhāva-bhāvatā* *parama-bhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-para-*
- 3 *māśvara-śrī-Prithivīvarmanmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramāśura-śrī-Madanavarmanmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta-po-*

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid. Loc.*, Vol. XXV, p. 208.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. X, p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

\* From the original plate and impressions.

\* Expressed by symbol.



- 4 ra[ma\*]bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramāvara-paramamahāvara-śrī-Kālaṁjar-ādhipati-  
śrīmat-Paramarddidevā(vō) vijay[ī\*]
- 5 sa śaha durvishakata-pratāpa-tāpita-sakala-ripu-kulah kula-vadhūm-iva vasumdhazān-  
nirākulāṁ paripālāyana-avikala-vivēka-nirmuṣāḥkṛita-ma-
- 6 ūh | Duḍuht-vibhaya-āntahpātī-Vavaudā-grām-ōpagatān-Vrā(n-Brā)hmanān-onyānā-cha  
mānyān-adhikṛitān-kujumvi(bi)-kāyastha-dīta-vaidya-mahattārān-Mōla-Chandāla-  
paryantā-
- 7 s-sarvān-sa[m]vō(mhō)dhayati samājñāpayati ch-āstu vaḥ sanivi(sarivi)hitaṁ yath-  
ōpari-līkhitō-yaṁ grāmā sa-pala-sthalah sa-sthāvara-jangamaḥ eva-sīm-āvachohhinaḥ  
s-ōdha-
- 8 ūrūdhō(nihvō) bhūta-bhaviṣyad-varttamāna-niśēsh-ōdāya-sahitah pratihūldha-chāṭ-ādi-  
pravāśah-ch-āsmābhiḥ śrī-Sallakshapavilāsapurē śkōna-chatvārī[ni\*]śad-adhi-
- 9 ka-śata-dvay-ōpēta-sahasratamē samvatsarē Phālgunē māsa kṛishṇa-pakṣhē  
chaturthyaṁ tithāv-aṅkatō-pi Samvat 1239 Phālgunā-vaḍi 4 Śhauma-vārē  
pūya-ti-
- 10 rih-ōlakṣṇa vidhivat-sātvā dāv-ādho-santarpya Bhāskara-pūjā-purahsatam char-āchara-  
guruṁ bhagavadhām Bhavānīpatim-ahlyarchya hutabhuji hutvā mātā-pi-
- 11 trōt-ātmanas-cha pūya-yasō-vivṛdha(bhahyē) Pātaliputra-nagara-vinirgatāya Kautma-  
gōtrāya | Ādvārshī-Āmviśhi-Yōvanāsa-triḥpravarāya Vājasa-
- 12 nāya-śākh-ādhyāyinaḥ [ha] Sahāraṇa-praputrāya [ha] Śrīpāla-pautrāya [ha] Dhānī-  
putrāya paṭh Padumadharmasarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmanāya kusa-katā-pūṭhna
- 13 haṭ-ōlakṣṇa svasti-vāchana-pūrvvān-chaubdr-ārka-samakālāṁ putra-pautr-ādy-antay-  
ānugāmi śāsanāḥ kṛtvā pradatta itī matvā bhavaḥbhīr-ājñā-śravaṇa-vīdhē-
- 14 yate-bhūtvā bhāga-bhōg-ādikaḥ sarvām-asmal samupadētavyaṁ tad-ēnam-asya grāmān  
sa-mahādīra-jrakāram sa-nirggama-pravēśati sa-sarv-āśan-ākṣu-karppā-
- 15 sa-kusuma(mbha)-saṇ-āmra-madhūk-ādi-bhūruhaṁ sa-vana-khaṇi-nidhāna[ra\*] sa-bhā-  
lavaṇa-triṇa-pariṇ-ōdy-ākaram-apatnīr-apī sīm-āntaraggatair-evaṭabhiḥ sahitaḥ  
sa-vā(bā)-
- 16 bya(hy-ā)śar-ōdāyash bhūjānasya na kūr-āpi vādha kōryā | atra cha rājapurush-  
ādibhiḥ evaṁ svam-ābhivyaṁ pūharitavyam-idaṁ-ch-ōsmad-dānam-anāchchbhō-
- 17 dyam-anāhāryaḥcha(n-cha)ḍi bhāviḥir-apī bhūmi-pālāḥ pālānyam-āti || uktaḥ-cha ||  
śamkham bhadr-āśa(sa)maḥ chakha(chha)tra[ni\*] var-āsvā(āva) vana-vāsanāḥ | bhūmi-  
dānasya
- 18 pūshyāṇi phalaṁ svarggaḥ Parandara || Bhūmīn yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yaś-cha bhūmīn praya-  
chchhati | ubhau tau pūya-karmāṇān niyatāṁ svargga-gāmi-
- 19 naḥ || Śaśhṭīḥ varaha-sahasrāṇi svarggē vasati bhūmīdaḥ | āchchbēttā ch-īnamantā cha tāny-  
ēva narakē vasēta(ēt) || sva-hastō-ya[ni\*] n-
- 20 ja-śrīmat-Paramarddidevāya natam-mama | līkhitāḥ-cha dharmmaṭkēhi-ṭhakkura-śrī-  
Viśhṇukēna | utkrāṇa[ni\*] Pālhapāna ||\*

\* Read: Agṛas, Āmbarika, Yasumāna-śrīparamārpa.



## 3. Plate of Paramardīn, V. S. 1247

This is also a single plate which is rather thick and heavy and weighs 108 *toḥas*. The plate contains 18 lines of writing on one side only. In the centre of the last line, there is a hole as if the writing continued on another plate and the two plates were held together by means of a ring passing through the hole in both of them. The diameter of this hole is about 7". In the central part of the upper section of the inscription, a space about 2.4" square is occupied by the engraved figure of seated Lakṣmī instead of the usual Gaṇalakṣmī. For the protection of the writing, copper-bands were fixed on the margins of the inscribed side of the plate by means of copper rivets. These bands are now broken at some places where only the small holes in the plate meant for the rivets can be seen.

The date of the charter is quoted in lines 9-10 as **Saturday, Phālguna-śudi 14, V.S. 1247**. It corresponds regularly to the 9th February 1191 A.D.

The beginning of the document is similar to that of Paramardīn's grant of V. S. 1239 edited above. The grant portion commencing in line 5 refers to the king's order addressed to the Brāhmanas and other people assembled at **Itālā-grāma** in the **Pāṣaṇi viśaya** in respect of the grant of 10 *śūhas* of land in the said village. The king made the grant on the date discussed above when he was at the **Maṇikarpikā-ghaṭṭa** at **śrī-Vārāṇasī** (i.e. modern Banāras in U.P.) apparently in the course of a pilgrimage. In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to believe that the Banāras region formed a part of Paramardīn's dominions about the time of the record. The Gāhaḍavāla kings are known to have had their headquarters at Vārāṇasī and, according to tradition, the contemporary Gāhaḍavāla monarch Jayachandra (c. 1170-93 A. D.) maintained friendly relations with Paramardīn whom he is said to have helped in his wars against the Chāhamāna king Prithvirāja III (c. 1177-92 A. D.).<sup>1</sup> A recent writer has, however, suggested that Chamalāla Paramardīn was really on hostile terms with Gāhaḍavāla Jayachandra.<sup>2</sup> But there is really no proof in favour of this suggestion and the present inscription referring to the Chamalāla king's stay at Vārāṇasī seems to go against it. If Paramardīn succeeded in capturing the Gāhaḍavāla capital even for a short time, that fact is not expected to have been suppressed in his records like the one under review.

The donee of the present charter was Padmadhatasārman already known from the other grant of the king edited above. The conditions of the grant, quoted in lines 12-16, are the same as in the other record. The document ends with the imprecatory and benedictory stanzas quoted in lines 16-18. It seems that the writing was continued on another plate which is now lost. But the inscription on this lost plate would have contained only the passage *eva-hanta-gaṇa ājā-trīṇaḥ Paramardīnēnaya matam mama* together with a reference to the names of the writer and engraver of the document.

Of geographical names, besides Kālānjara, the inscription mentions Maṇikarpikā-ghaṭṭa at Vārāṇasī (i.e. the well-known Maṇikarpikā Ghāṭ at Banāras), where the king was staying at the time of making the grant, and the village of **Itālā** in **Pāṣaṇi-viśaya**, where the gift land was situated. The name of the locality, whence the donee's family hailed, is quoted in the present record as **Pāṭalipura** instead of Pāṭaliputra or Pāṭaliputra as found in the two inscriptions edited above. The locality is mentioned here as a *Bhaṭṭāgrahāra*.

<sup>1</sup> Ray, *DHN*, p. 341.

<sup>2</sup> N. Sen, *History of the Candellas*, pp. 95-97.











TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> Svastē(eti) || Jayaty-āhlādayan=viśvam Viśvēśvara-ārō-dhṛitaḥ | Chandrātṛēya-  
narōndrāpām varuṣāś=chandṛa iv=ā||jvalaḥ || tatra prava-
- 2 rādhimānē virōdhi-vijaya-bhṛājishṇu-Jayaśakti-Vijayaśakty-ādi-vi[r]-śvirbhāva-bhāsvatē  
paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā-
- 3 dhīrāja-paramēśvara-ārī-**Prithvivarmmadēva**-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahā-  
rājādhirāja-paramēśvara-ārī-**Madanata(va)rimmadē-**
- 4 **va**-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramanāhēśvara-  
ārī-**KALaṣ[ar]-āhīpati-śrīmat-Paramarddi-**
- 5 **devā(vō)** vijayī | sa śaha dūrviśahatara-pratāpa-tāpita-sakala-ripu-kulāḥ kula-  
vadhūm-iva vaśa(m)udharān-nirākulām paripālāyana=avikala-vikē(vivēka)-nirmuḥ-
- 6 kṛta-matiḥ | **Pāsupi**-viśay-ānta[ḥ]\*|pāti-**P[ā]lā**-grām-ōpagaṭān-Vrā(n=Brā)hmaṇāte  
anya[ś]\*[=cha mānyān=avi(dhī)kṛitān=koḍu(n)mv[i](mbr)-kāyastha-dāta-vē(vai)dyā-  
mahattarā-
- 7 n-Mēda-Chaṇḍāla-paryantān=sarvān=samvō(nubō)dhayati samāhāpayati dh=śata val  
samvi(samvi)ditatḥ yath=ōpari-lē(ḥ)bhīta(tē)=sūnagatūnō sa-jala-ethall sa-śūhāra-ja-
- 8 āgamā aya-sīm-āyachchinnā s-ādha-ānḍivā bhīta-bhaviśyad-varitamāna-nibhāh-  
ādāya-sahitā prutiśiddha-chāt-ād-pravēśā ch=śama(smā)bhīḥ śrī-Vārāṇasyām Ma-
- 9 **nikarṇikā**-dyaddhē(ghatṭē) **sapta**-chaṭvāri[n]śad-adhika-śata-dvay-ōpēbha(ta)-  
śahasratamē samva(samva)(sārē **Phālgunē** māsi śukla-pakṣē chaturddaiyān-  
tithāv-a-
- 10 **ākatō-pi Samvata(Samvat) 1247 Phālguna-āndi 14 Śanivārē** Pāṭalipura-lhaṭṭāgra  
hāra-vīniggatāya Kanta-gōtrāya Āḅgīśahā-Ānvarīśahā-Jan-
- 11 vauṣa<sup>4</sup>-tripravārāya Va(Ba)hvyāna-ākh-ādhyāyīnō [ha] Sahāraṇa-prapaurāya [ha]  
Śrīpāla-paurāya [ha] Dhāmī<sup>5</sup>-putrāya pām Padmadharasa(śa)rimmaṇē Vrā(Brā)-  
hmaṇā-
- 12 ya kula-latī-pūṭēna hast-ōlakēna avastī-vāchana-pūrvvakūṇā chandr-ārka-sama-  
kāla[n]\*|putra-paute-ādy-anvay-ānugāmi[n]\*|dada-lāva-chchinnā bhūmih śāmant-
- 13 kṛtya pradatā(tā) | [bh](ti) matvā bhavadbhīr-āja(jāś)-āravaṇa-viśbhāyair-bhūtvā bhāga-  
bhōg-ālikam sarvva=samai samapannōvayati tad-ēnām=aya bhūmim sa-madhira-
- 14 prākārām s[ā](sa)-no(ni)rgama-pravēśām sa-sarv-ājan-ōk[ā](ka)-kud(ka)rpāsa-kūṣma(sam-  
bha)-saṇ-ānra-madhūk-ādi-bhūruhām sa-yana-āhant-madhānām sa-lāh-ādy-ākaraṇa-apatā-
- 15 r=apī sīm-ānta[r]\*|ggatā(tai)r-vvastubhī[ḥ]\*| mahitā[ś]\*| sū-vā(hā)hy-ādhya[n](bhya)ntar-  
ādāyām bhūḥjānasyam(sya) na kām=pi vādā kārā [i]\*| utra cha tēja-rājapuruṣ-ā-  
dibhīm[ḥ](bhīḥ) svastī svam-ā-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates and impressions.<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.<sup>3</sup> Read *pāt-īpāt*.<sup>4</sup> Read *Aspinas-Asmarika-Yamvallaṇi*.<sup>5</sup> The name is spelt in the other record as *Dāmā*.



- 16 bhāvyam parimāṣṭavyam-idañ-cha-śamad-dānam-anāchchēdyam-anāhāryaḥ-cha-iti  
bhāvikhīr-āpi bhāmipālāḥ pālaniyam-iti || uktañ-cha || Śaśkham-bhadr-āśa(m)-
- 17 nam chchha(chha)tm[di\*] var-śavā(śvā) varā-vāraṇāḥ | bhūmi-dānasya pūchyāṇi phalaṁ  
svarggaḥ Putrahara || Va(Ba)hukhīr-vvasandhā bhuktā rājābhīḥ Sagar-ādibhīḥ | yasya  
yasya
- 18 yadā bhāmā-tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || Shashīb vapa(rāḥ)-sahasrāṇi svarggā vasatī  
bhāmidaḥ | āchchhētū-cha-ānumantā-cha tāny-ēva narakā vasat || \*
-



## No. 15—JAVAKHEDA PLATES OF AMOGHAVARSHA I, SAKA 742

(3 Plates)

D. R. BHAT, DHULIA

**Javakhēḍa** is a small village in the Shahada Taluk of the West Khandesh District, Bombay. It is situated on the bank of the Gōmī, a tributary of the Tāptī. The Gōmī, also called Gōmatī, has its origin in Madhya Bharat and meets the Tāptī near Prakasha where the Department of Archaeology recently conducted excavations. The copper-plate grant was discovered while digging a pit for the repairs of a public road in February 1953. I came to know of the discovery in May 1954. On making enquiries, I learnt that the plates were with Shri Bhuskute, a P. W. D. contractor of Dhulia. He very graciously handed them over to me. The Rajwade Sanshodhan Mandal, Dhulia, is very thankful to him for his kindness.

The inscription, like most other Rāshtrakūṭa grants, is written on three plates. The outer sides of the first and last plates of the set are blank. The inner sides of these plates and both sides of the middle plate are inscribed. Each plate is nearly 11½" long and 8½" high. The breadth of the plates in the middle is slightly less than at the borders. The middle plate is nearly ½" thick and the outer plates are slightly thinner. The plates were strung on a ring passing through a hole (roughly ½" in diameter) near the left edge of each plate. The ring is nearly 4½" in diameter and is made of a round bar ½" thick in the middle and ¼" near the extremities which are soldered to the seal. The seal bears a representation of the goddess Lakshmi.<sup>1</sup> The goddess is squatting on a lotus and has a swan on each lap under her arms. It appears that the goddess in her right hand behind the bird holds a chowry and in her left a ladle or a *parāṇu*. On the right and left respectively near the head of the goddess are seen the sun and the moon. The image is finely executed in relief in a circle 1½" in diameter. This appears to be the first seal of the Malkhed Rāshtrakūṭas bearing an image other than that of Garuḍa or Śiva.<sup>2</sup>

The characters resemble those of other Rāshtrakūṭa records of the ninth century as the Vāṅi Dindōri plates of Gōvinda III, dated Śaka 730.<sup>3</sup> They are well engraved. The preservation of the writing is satisfactory with the exception of 7 or 8 letters in the first line on the obverse of the second plate. The language is Sanskrit. The text of the record contains some grammatical and orthographical errors.

The twenty stanzas engraved on the inner side of the first plate and the obverse of the second are also found in the Radhanpur plates of Gōvinda III, dated Śaka 731.<sup>4</sup> These are followed by five verses in praise of Amoghavarsha and the details of the grant and the date of issue in a passage in prose on the reverse of the second plate.

The grant was made by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I at the request of one Bhāṭṭārīkā (noble lady) Asavavā<sup>5</sup> on Friday the 8th of the bright half of Āshāḍha of the Śaka year 742 expired (current 743), which corresponds to the 22nd of June, 820 A.D., on the occasion of the Dakṣiṇāyana-saṅkrānti. The king made the grant when he was residing at Śrī-Nivānapuraka to a Brāhmana named Jōgaddi-bhaṭṭa who was the son of Rāradḍi-bhaṭṭa and belonged to the

<sup>1</sup> [The representation on the seal is clearly of Garuḍa as on the seals of other charters of the family. He has a kirtimukha on his head and a serpent in each of his two hands. Above his outspread wings is a flywhisk in the proper right and an aśvīnī in the proper left.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 156 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 229 ff.

<sup>4</sup> [See below, p. 136, note 2.—Ed.]



Kaundinya *gōtra* and Taṭṭirīya *śākhā*. The name of the gift village was Vōyipadraka. The village was bounded by Laghu-Mōyipadraka in the east, Umbarōpika-grāma in the south, the boundary of the same village in the west, and the Vindhya mountain in the north. Vōyipadraka is stated to be in the Ekāśāya division.

Two years after the accession of Amōghavarsha I, i.e. about the year 816 A. D., his feudatories and the enemies of the house were up against him and, as a result of the confusion and anarchy that followed, he was deposed. This state of affairs lasted for about three or four years.<sup>1</sup> The earliest known record issued after Amōghavarsha's restoration is the Surat plates of Karka, dated the 13th May, 821 A.D. The charter under study was issued by Amōghavarsha I himself on the 22nd June, 820, A. D. It is clear that his restoration must have taken place some time before this date.

Amōghavarsha is obviously not the name of the boy king but a *bīruda* like Prabhūtararsha, Akālavarsha, etc. The proper name of the king was Śarva (cf. verse 22). The present record shows for the first time that he also enjoyed the *bīruda* Tribhuvanavallabha.

Lady Anagavvā, at whose request the grant was made, probably belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa house. There is little likelihood of her being Amōghavarsha's wife, as Amōghavarsha I (born about 806 A. D.) was a boy of about twelve only at the time of the grant. Besides her name has been mentioned without any indication of her status as the empress.<sup>2</sup>

Amōghavarsha made this grant while residing at Śrī-Nivapuraka which can be identified with modern Nisarpur near Kuchai in Madhya Bharat. Probably Nivapuraka was his capital<sup>3</sup> which was later transferred to Mākhād.

## TEXT\*

### First Plate

- 1 Ōm<sup>4</sup> [1\*] Śa vō-vyūd-Va(d=Vō)lhasā dhāma yam(yan)-nābhi-kamalaṁ kṛtita(kṛitam)  
[1\*] Harat=cha-yasya kārūt-ōndu-kalayā kam=alamkṛitam(tam) || [1\*] Bhūp<sup>5</sup>-\*
- 2 bhavai=vrj(ḷ)had-masthala-rājamānaḥ(na)-ārī-konstabh-āyata-karair=upagūḍha-kauṭhalā  
[1\*] saty-ānvitō vipula-cha-
- 3 kra-vinirjīit-ārī-chaḥkrā(krō)-py-akṛishṇa-charitō bhuvī Kṛishparājah || [2\*] Paksha-  
chchhūda-bhuy-ārīt-ākṣila-mahābhū-
- 4 bhṛit-kula-dbhṛā(bhṛā)jītā[d\*] durla(rlaṁ)ghyūd-aparair=akū(nō)ka-vimala-dbhṛā(bhṛā)jishpu-  
ratn-ānvitā[1\*] | yā=Chālukya-kulād-anūna-
- 5 vivu(bu)dhah(dha)-vrūt-śarayō avā(vā)ridhōḥ<sup>6</sup> Lakshmi[m\*] Mandaravāt-sa-Mlada(m-a)-  
chirūd-ākṛishjavām(vā)n=Vallabhaḥ || [3\*] Tasy-ābhūt-tana-
- 6 yāḥ pratāpa-visaraṇ(rai)=ākṛānta-dig-maṇḍalā<sup>7</sup> chaṇḍā[1\*]śō[1\*] sadṛiśō-py-anhaṇḍa-  
kurāt-ṛasta(hā)ditā-kolmātalāḥ [1\*]

\* Altner, *The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 74.

<sup>1</sup> [The epithet *Bhūttārītā* applied to Śrīmad-Anagavvā's name and her mention without any further indication of her status suggest that she was a queen of Amōghavarsha I. His tender age can hardly be offered as an argument against this possibility; cf. the cases of Rāma in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Āraṇya, 47) and Vichitravīrya in the *Mahābhārata* (Ādi, 95).—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [The mention of Nivapuraka as a *grāma* seems to suggest that it was not the king's capital but merely a village where he was camping when the grant was issued.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> From the original plates. [Metres: verses 1, 22, 26-27, 29, 31 *dvandvāśā*; verses 23-25 *Arjā*; verse 32 *Paśupitṛā*; verses 3-5, 7-8, 10-20 *Śārdūlamkṛīḍā*; verses 2, 6, 9, 21 *Vasuntīśā*; verses 28, 30 *Upajitā*.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>5</sup> The *śākhā* pā is engraved indifferently.

<sup>6</sup> *śākhā* has not been observed here.



JAVAKHEDA PLATES OF AMOGHAVARSHA I, SAKA 742 — PLATE I





22  
24  
26  
28  
30  
32  
34  
36  
38  
40  
42

22  
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26  
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36  
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40  
42

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a manuscript or a page from a book. The text is arranged in two columns, with lines numbered 22 through 42 on both the left and right margins. The script is dense and appears to be a form of Sanskrit or a related language. There is a large, dark, circular mark or hole in the center of the page, obscuring some of the text.

(from Photographs)



- 7 Dhīrō<sup>1</sup> dhairya-dhanō vipaksha-vanitā-[\*vaktā(ktr-ā)mva(mbu)jāḥ(ja)-śrī-harō ]<sup>2</sup> hāri-krītya yaśō yadīyaṁ-anisā(śan) dig-nā-
- 8 yikābhivṛti(t-dhri)ta[m\*] || [4\*] Jyēṣṭh-ḥ[ī\*]aughana-jātajā(y-ā)py-amalayā lakshmyā samētō-pi aśiḥ[(śan) yō-bhū[n\*]=nirmala-maṇḍa-
- 9 la-sthiti-yutō dōshāna(ka)rō na kvachit [(|)] Karṇ-ādha-sthita-dāna-saditati-bhṛitō yasy=ānya-dān-ādhiḥkaṁ ||<sup>3</sup>
- 10 dāna[ḥi\*] vikahya su-lla(lai)jjitā iva diś-prāntē sthitā dig-gajā[ḥi\*] || [5\*] Anyair-na jātu vijituh(taṁ) guru-śakti-
- 11 sārām-ākṛā[n\*]ta-bhūtalām-ananya-samāna-māna[m\*] | yēn-ēha va(ba)ddham=avalōkya chirāya Gaṇigaṁ dū-
- 12 rath eva-nigraha-bhīy=eva Kalīḥ prayātaḥ || [6\*] Rē(Ē)katr-ātma-va(ba)lēna vārīti(ni)dlin=āpy=anyatra ruddhā(ddhvā)
- 13 ghaṇatī tih(ni)śhkrishṭ-āś(ri)-bhaṭ-ōddhatōna viharad-grāh-ātībhūmēna cha. [[\*] mātāmgān=mada-vāri-nirjjhara-mucha[ḥ]
- 14 prāpy-ānatāt-Pallavā[ī\*]<sup>4</sup> tachi<sup>5</sup> mada-lāṣam=apy=anudinam yah shpri(spri)shṭavāḥ(vān) na kvachit || [7\*] Hōlā-svkrīta-Gauḍa-
- 15 rājya-kamalā-mataḥ(ttaṁ) pravēśy=āchirāt(rād) durmmārga[n\*] maru-madhyaṁā(m-a)-pratiṣa(ba)lai[r\*]=yū Vatsarāja[m\*] va(ba)lām(faiḥ) [[\*] Gauḍīya[m\*]
- 16 śarad-indu-pāda-dhavalāṁ chehha(ohha)tra-dvaya[m\*] kēvalatī [\* tasmātvā(n-n-ā)hṛita tad-yaśō-pi kakubhāṁ prā[n\*]tē sthitāḥ(taṁ) ta[ī\*]-khaṇāt [ || 8\*]
- 17 Lavdha(bdha)-pratishṭham=achirāya Kalīm audūram=ū[t\*]sārya-śuddha-charitair=ādha-raṇṭalasya | krīnvā(tvā) punaḥ Krīta-
- 18 yugāḥ(ga)-śrīyā(ya)m=apy=asāhaṁ chitrām kathach Nirupamaḥ Kalivallabhō-bhū[ī\*] || [9\*] Prō(Prā)bhū[d\*]=dhairya-vatas=tatō Nirupamā-
- 19 dri(d-i)ndur-yatīlā vāridbhāḥ śuddh-ātmā paramōvar-ōnata-śrī(śi)raḥ-samsakta-pādaḥ sutāḥ [[\*] padm-ānanda-karaḥ]
- 20 pratāpa-sahitō nity-ōdayaḥ a-ōnataḥ]<sup>6</sup> pūrvv-ādrōr=iva bhānumāna(n-a)bhīmatō Gōvindarājāḥ sata(tām) [ || 10\*]
- 21 Yaśmī[n\*] sarvva-guṇ-āśrayē kshītipataś śrī-Rāak(trakū)-ānvayō jātō Yādava-vaśāa=van=Madhurīpāv-āśā-ala[ī\*]-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 22 ghyāḥ(ghyaḥ) paraiḥ [(|) dīśhṭ-āś-ā[va\*]<sup>7</sup>dhayaḥ krītā[ḥi\*] aś(au)-śa(sa)dīśā dānēna yēn-ōddhatā muktā-hāva(ra)-vibhūshitā sphuṭam=iti pratyarthi-
- 23 tō(nō)=py=arthināḥ(nām) || [11\*] Yasy=ākāram-aśā(mā)tu(nu)śha[m\*] tṛi(tri)bhuvana-vyāpatti-raksh-ōchitam ||<sup>8</sup> Kṛishṇasy=eva nirākhyā yachchhatī pīt-ācy-aikā-

<sup>1</sup> The Vāci Digdori and Rādhapur plates have Dhīrō which stands for Dharmā.

<sup>2</sup> The dāśa is superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> The dāśa are superfluous.

<sup>4</sup> Read tachi-chitrah.

<sup>5</sup> There is an unnecessary punctuation mark here.

<sup>6</sup> There is space for one aksara between āś and āna, and the engraver started carving an aksara, but possibly left the space to be filled in later.



- 24 dhipatya[m\*] bhuvah [( )] śaśā[m\*] tāta tavā(v=ai) tad=aprata(t) hatā dattā trayā  
kayāhikā kitvāb(n=tr=ā)jśā(jā=ai)va mayā dhṛit=āti pitarah yuktah vacahā(chō)
- 25 yō=ibhyadhātta(dhāt) [( )] 12\* Yasmin(mīn) svarga-vibhūṣaṇāya janakē yātē sa(ya)-  
śaṭ=śakṣatām=śkṣbhūya samudyatā[n\*] vasmati=śaribhāra-
- 26 m=ādhiśchēha(ta) yā [( )] viechhāyām(yān) sahasā vyadhata(tta) tri(tri)parta(t) n=  
ēkō=pi yō dvādaśa(śa) khyātān=ap=adhiśah pratāpa=visarāh sa(m\*) va-
- 27 rākō=[r\*]kām=ivah(va) [( )] 13\* Yān=ātra(m\*) ta=dayālm=ātha nigadāh(ḍa)-klāśāp=āsy=  
kyatā(tāt) sva(m\*) dśāśah gamōtō=pi darpa=visarā-
- 28 d=śaḥ yā(mā)tikūlyā aṭhitah [( )] yāvan=na bhṛikuṭi lālāta-phalakē yasy=ōnnatē lakshyatē  
vikshēpōṇa vijitya tāvad=s-
- 29 chirādva(d=ba)ddhah sva(sa) Gangah punah [( )] 14\* Saṁdīdy=āhu ātmukhāh(khān) sva=  
samayādva(d=ba)dhān(n=ā)śa(sa)raṇa=cy=ōparāh(rī) prāptah varddhita=vakṣi(bandhu)-
- 30 [( )] va=di(vi)bhavaṁ padma=śbhidh(vijidh=ānvitam(tam) [( )] san=nakshatram=udikahya  
yati śarāś=jitum parijanyavāḍ=Ġūrjārō [( )] śaśah kv=āpi bhayā[(\*)] ta-
- 31 thā na hha(sa)ṁnata(rar) [ava\*]pō=pi paśyēd=yathā [( )] 15\* Tat=pād=ānati=pā(mā)trak=  
aika=śaraṇām=āḷōkyā lakshmi[m\*] nijām dūrā[n\*]-Māhava-nā-
- 32 yakō naya=papā(rō) yam prōṇamat=prāñjalih [(\*)] kō vidvā[n\*] va(ba)lluh sāha(h=ā)lpa=  
va(ba)llakah sparddhām vidhattē pa-
- 33 [rām\*] nttē= tad=dhi bha(pha)ṣah yad=ātma=parayāh(yō)r=ādhiśya=śadivēdanah(nām) [( )] 16\*  
Vindhy=ādri(dri)h kajakā nividhā=kajaka(kah)
- 34 [śru\*]tvā cheraih(mir) yam nijāh [( )] sva(m) dśā(m\*) samupāgatāh dhruvam=iva jātā  
da(bhi)yā prēritah [( )] Mārāśa-
- 35 reva=maḥipatī[(\*)] śrutam=agād=apṛāpta=pūrva=ōparāh ya(śar=ya)cy=ōchēkhām=anukūla=  
yam(yan) kula=dhātāh(nai)h śhpā(pā)dan prapāmē(mai)r=a-
- 36 pi [( )] 17\* Ga\* nttvā ścibhavanō ghanāgimna=ghanah(na) vyāpt=āmbaram(rāśi) prā=  
vṛśah [( )] tasmād=āgatavāh(vān) samah nija=va(ba)lāc=ā Truh(Tuh)-
- 37 gabbadrā=taṭa(m\*) [( )] tātra=sthah sva=kara=sthātām=apī punah(nar)=nibhāham=ōkrishṭavān  
[( )] vikshēpāc=apī chitram=ānata-
- 38 ripūh yat=Pallavānam\* śriyadh(yam) [( )] 18\* Lōkbāhāra=an(mu)kh=ōdit=ārddha=vachasā  
yatrō(tr=ai)tya Vōṅg=āvarō nityam=kiṁkarava-
- 39 ā=vyadhāpa(d=a)viratam ka[r\*]mna sva=ka(śa)mm=ōchēkhayā | vā(bā)hy=āh=vṛtīc=asya yānā  
rachitā tyōm=āgra=lagna(guā) ruohā rātrau mah-
- 40 ktika=malikām=iva vṛitā mārddhna(riddha) stha=śārā=gapā(qaīh) [( )] 19\* Samtrāsāt=  
para=chakra=śakabhaśaśāś tat=pūrva=śārā=vidhih(dhi) vyā-

\* The *daśa* are in superscript.

\* There is space for this *śakara*.

\* The letter is superscript.

\* Read *ripuragah Pallavānam*.

\* Rādhanpur plates read *pura-chakra-śakabhaśaśaś*.



JAVAKHEDA PLATES OF AMOGHAVARSHA I, SAKA 742 — PLATE II

Il. B



44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62

44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62



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(from Photographs)



- 41 va(ha)dḍh-āṇḍa-sōbhittēna āraṇaṁ mūrddhā yad-āṇḍi(hri)-dvaṇṣ(yam) [1\*] yad-  
yada(d-ā)tta-parārdha-bhūṣaya-gaṇā(naiṣ)=n-āṇḍikṛita(h\*) tat-ta-  
42 [th\*) mā bhaishir-āṭi satya-pāl[ta\*)-yasaḥ-sthityā yathā tad-girāt(rā) || [30\*] Taṣy-āṭa-  
(na)t-ākṣila-narēndra-kirita-kōṭi-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 43 saṁghaṣṭa-pāda-nakha-darpaṇa-dṛiṣṭa-dōḥa[h] [1\*] dūrvara-vairi-vara-vāraṇa-lāraṇaṇya  
putrō-bhavad-Guha iv-āpratiha-  
44 pa(vārya)-akṣiḥ || [21\*] Yō mahārāja-Śarva-ākhyah 1 khyāt(tim)-yātō mahitalō [1\*]  
bālō-pi dū-mukh-ādrṇa-bhūri-dhām-āmā-  
45 mām-iva || [22\*] Tṛi(Tri)bhuvaṇavallabha ity=api yātō(n=ō)tyā(ktyā) nija-guṇair-a-  
sāmānyaiḥ[1\*] nītō nīti-vidō-pi yaṇya-  
46 gurah prakramō jātaḥ || [23\*] Varshaty-Amoghavarshahō dhiraḥ dhārābhīr-asaraṇā[th\*)  
payasaḥ [1] lōkaḥ kapiṇ(ka)-vīh-  
47 tō(nō) n-ābhūd-upamā cha bhūpālaiḥ || [24\*] Tē(n=ō)dam-ānila-vidyānūchah(ch-chaṇ)  
chalasa(m-a)valōkya jīvitam-a-sāraṇ(ram) | ) kṣhīti-dānā-  
48 parama-puṇya(h\*) pravartitō vra(bra)hma-dāyā(yō)-ya(m\*) || [25\*] Sa cha paramabhaṭṭā-  
raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēvara-  
49 śrīmat-Prabhōtavarahadēva-pādānuḍhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-para-mē-  
vara-śrī-Tṛi(Tri)bhu-  
50 vaṇavallabha-śrīmad-Amoghavarahadēva-Śrīvallabha-narēndradēvaḥ kṣāḥ || 1  
sarvātō(n=ō)va yathā-sathvadhyasa(badhyaṁ)-  
51 apūrvakām(nakām) rāshirapati-vishayapati-grāmakōḥ-āyuktaka-niyaktak-ādhikārika-maha-  
tar-ād[1n\*)] sayāta(māṇa)-  
52 ty=astu va[h\*)] sathvīdihah yathā śrī-Nivapuraka-grāma-vāsita(tō)na mayā mātā-putrō-  
śaḥa(tma)na-  
53 ś=ch-āhik-āṇ(mu)(ah)mika-puṇya-yātō-bhividdhayaḥ 2 Kā(h\*)chī-nagara-vinirgata-Kau-  
[hōḥ]aya-sagōtra-Taiti(tti)ś-  
54 ya-savra(bra)ha(hma)chārī(ri)-Jōgād[1]-bhaṭṭa-Rēvad[1]-bhaṭṭa-sūnavōḥ\* || Ekasāy-ānta-  
rggata-Vō<sup>2</sup>yipadra-  
55 ka-nāmā grāmah || yaṇya ch-āghāṇāni pūrvatō Laghu-Mōyipadrakadi(kaḥ) || dakṣi-  
ṇataḥ Um[b]ārō-  
56 pīkō grāmah || aparata=cha tad=ōva\* grāma-sīmā | uttarattah(tah) Vindhy-ādriḥ [1\*] āvam-  
ayaṁ chatur-āghāṇatō(n=ō)-  
57 palakṣitō pā(grā)maḥ a-śāraṇaḥ sa(a=ō)parikaraḥ sa-dagḍa-das-āparādhaḥ sa-bhu(bhū)-  
t-ōpāttah(tta)-pratyāya- [a=ō\*)-  
58 tṛidyamāna-viṣṭikah sa-dhānya-hiraṇy-ādēyō-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvṣya[h\*)] sarva-rājaktyānāḥ-  
(nā)m-ahasta-pa(pṛa)-

\* The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

\* Read *bhaṭṭa*... *śāraṇā*. This unnecessary double *daṇḍ* is preceded by a *cīrṇya*-like mark.

\* [The reading of the *śāraṇā* seems to be *śā*.—Ed.]

\* Read *śāraṇā*.







JAVAKHEDA PLATES OF AMOGHAVARSHA I, SAKA 742 — PLATE III

SEAL



SEAL ENLARGED

D. C. SIKAR  
REG. NO. 3977 E' 36-479'58

(from a Photograph)

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was born king Utpalarāja who had king Aragyarāja as his son. After the latter, came the victorious king Krishnarāja who was the very image of his father (Aragyarāja).

Krishnarāja's son Dharaṣṭavarsha succeeded to the throne after him. The latter was succeeded by his two sons Dhūrbhata and Mahipāla<sup>1</sup> who perhaps divided the kingdom and ruled in their respective territories (verse 3). Thereafter Dhanulūka, the son of Mahipāla, ruled over his own territory after driving away all his enemies (verse 4). Dhanulūka had three sons, viz. Pūrṇapāla, Dantivarman and Krishnādēva, who ruled one after the other (verse 5).<sup>2</sup> Dantivarman's son was Yōgarāja, the conqueror of the earth, and Krishnādēva's son was Kākaladēva (verse 6). The son of Yōgarāja was Rāmadēva who was a terror in the battle-field while that of Kākaladēva was king Vikramasinha (verse 7). The son of Rāmadēva was king Yaśōdhavala who crushed in battle Ballala, the king of Mālava (verse 8).<sup>3</sup> His son Dhāravarsha, the lord of Arbuda (Ābu), was an ornament of the Parmāra family and was the foremost among kings. He was well-versed in the Śāstras and clever in the use of weapons. He was a man of dominating personality and the influence of his virtuous life on his subjects, whom he had won over by love, was considerable (verse 9). He put to rout the brave soldiers of Mālava with a volley of his arrows on the bank of river Parnā; but, in the meantime, Vikramasinha's son Rājasinha captured the territory of his father (verse 10).<sup>4</sup> Then Dhāravarsha, having pleased his master by means of his wisdom, devotion and valour, got back his own kingdom through his (i.e. his master's) favour (verse 11).<sup>5</sup> He had a wife named Rājyasri (1)\* of the Chahamanā (Chauhān) family, who was the daughter of the illustrious Kāḥṇadēva.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ojha wrongly considers Dhūrbhata to be a second name of Mahipāla (op. cit., pp. 193, 203).

<sup>2</sup> Pūrṇapāla and Dantivarman ruled for a short time one after the other. It appears that the former had no son. But, although Dantivarman had a son, the throne was occupied by his younger brother Krishnādēva. Thus Yōgarāja and Rāmadēva, respectively the son and grandson of Dantivarman, were deprived of their right of succession, and the kingdom passed on to Kākaladēva, the son of Krishnādēva.

<sup>3</sup> From Kākaladēva, his son Vikramasinha inherited the throne. But Vikramasinha was taken captive, in a battle, by the Sīlāṅki king Kumārapāla of Surāṣṭra (Gujarat) who installed Yaśōdhavala, the son of Rāmadēva and nephew of Vikramasinha, on the throne of Ābu.

<sup>4</sup> It appears that, when Dhāravarsha was engaged in a battle with the Mālavas, Rājasinha captured the territory of his father Vikramasinha, which had been given to Yaśōdhavala, the father of Dhāravarsha, by Kumārapāla.

<sup>5</sup> Dhāravarsha's master was the king of Gujarat.

<sup>6</sup> [The name of the queen is uncertain. See below, p. 138, note 1. The present charter seems to have been issued by Dhāravarsha.—Ed.]

\* After this, the record is lost in the missing plate or plates. For a brief history of the Parmāras, see Ojha, op. cit., pp. 190 ff. Ojha (op. cit., p. 198) states that Dhāravarsha married Śringarādēvi and Gūḍādevī, the daughters of the Chauhān king Kāḥṇa of Nāḍola.

The inscription affords the following genealogy of the Parmāras of Ābu:—









FRAGMENTARY GRANT OF PARAMARAS OF ABU

2 श्रीमान् च गोरीगौराजीविद्वः  
 4 श्रीमान् च गोरीगौराजीविद्वः  
 6 श्रीमान् च गोरीगौराजीविद्वः  
 8 श्रीमान् च गोरीगौराजीविद्वः  
 10 श्रीमान् च गोरीगौराजीविद्वः  
 12 श्रीमान् च गोरीगौराजीविद्वः  
 14 श्रीमान् च गोरीगौराजीविद्वः  
 16 श्रीमान् च गोरीगौराजीविद्वः  
 18 श्रीमान् च गोरीगौराजीविद्वः



## TEXT

[Metres : verses 1, 3-8 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 2, 9 *Sārdūlavikṛīṭa* ; verse 10 *Indraṇajā*.]

- 1 ॐ ॥ देवः पायात् स वः श्रीमान् शुंगारी गिरिजाप्रियः । व-
- 2 स्य गंगा जटाजूटे मालतीमालिकायते ॥ १ [॥\*] श्रीमच्छ्रेष्ठ(ष्ठ)वर्माष्ट्रकृ-
- 3 ङ्कृतमुक्(गु)त्तमार्तु(बु)दे घोभवत्(दु) मपालः परमान् इत्यभिधया गादे(घे)य-
- 4 दर्पापहः । तद्विशोत्पन्नराजभूपतिसुतो मोरप्यराजो नृपस्तन्मूर्तेरव-
- 5 तीर्णवान् क्षितिपतिः श्रीकृष्णराजो जयी ॥ २ [॥\*] श्रीधरणीवराहीभूत्प्रभू-
- 6 भूमेस्तदंगवः । श्रीधर्मदमहोपालो तत्सुनौ(तो) दधनुर्मही(हीम्) ॥ ३ [॥\*]  
श्रीध(ध)धुका(को)
- 7 धराधीशो महीपालतनूद्भवः(वः) । निःसार्यं वैरिवर्गं यश्चक्रे राज्यं  
[स्वमं]डले ॥ [१\*] ४ [॥\*]
- 8 तत्सुतः पूर्णपालोभूद्विजयमां द्वितीयकः । तृतीयः कृष्णदेवोभूद्राज्यं चक्रे क-
- 9 मेण ते ॥ [१\*] ५ [॥\*] दन्तिवर्मात्मजः श्रीमान् योगराजो जगज्जयी । राजा  
काकलदे(वो\*) येत्(यः)
- 10 कृष्णदेवतनूद्भवः ॥ [१\*] ६ [॥\*] योगराजगिरिभूतो रामदेवो रणोत्कटः । जातः  
काकलदे-
- 11 वांगदिकमसिंहः क्माधिपः ॥ [१\*] ७ [॥\*] रामदेवतनोर्जातः श्रीयशोष्(व)तो नृपः ।  
येन मा-
- 12 जवभूपालो व(व)ल्लालो दक्षितो रणे ॥ [१\*] ८ [॥\*] तत्सुतः परमारवंशतिलकः  
क्षोणीभू-
- 13 जामग्रभीः शास्त्रान्त्रादिकलाकलापकुशलो लब्धा(ब्धा)नुरागो जने । श्रीमान्बु(बु)दभूमि-
- 14 मंडलपतिः प्रौढप्रतापान्ति(न्वि)तो धारावर्धनरेश्वरोभवदसौ पुष्पप्रभावोत्कटः  
॥ [१\*] ९ [॥\*]
- 15 पणतटे मालविकप्रवीरान् परान्बु(इम्)बान् यः कृतवान् धारी(धेः(वैः)) । क्षोणी  
पित(तु)-



- 16 विक्रमभि(सि)हभू(सु)नूले(ले)ले(मे)न्तरा श्रीरणसिंहदेवः । [1\*] १० [11\*] प्रसाद्य स  
 प्व(प्र)भोः पारा(दा)न्
- 17 बु(बु)द्धिभक्तिपराक्रमैः । तत्प्रसादात्पुनः प्राप धारावर्षो] तिजां मही(हीम्)  
 ॥ ११ [ 11\* ]
- 18 तस्य भार्या चाहमानकुलवंशजा श्रीकेल्हणदेवद्विहिता राज्यश्री(?)<sup>1</sup>
- 19 .....

<sup>1</sup> [The last four letters of the line look like *rajāśrī*. The intended reading may have been *rajāśrī*.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> This line is a later addition having little to do with the inscription in lines 1-18.



No. 17—MANDHATA PLATES OF PARAMARA JAYASIMHA-JAYAVARMAN,  
V. S. 1331

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In November 1939, Mr. R. H. Deshpande of Dhār, formerly Assistant Engineer of the old Dhār State in Central India and in charge of the archaeological monuments at Māndhātā, learnt from a Brāhmin named Subrahmanya Shastri about the existence of a new copper-plate inscription in the possession of Rao Sahab Sobhag Singhji, the then Rao of Māndhātā. The inscription is said to have been discovered in 1927 at Māndhātā on the southern bank of the Narmadā, when some people were clearing the ground near the Kāl-Vivēkara temple for the Kārtiki Mela. Mr. Deshpande visited Māndhātā in the company of Shastri and succeeded in examining the inscription through the kindness and courtesy of the Rao Sahab. The plates, which were thoroughly covered with verdigris at the time of their discovery, were cleaned and Mr. Deshpande took a few sets of impressions of the writing. The inscription was then studied by Pandit Babu Shastri of Dhār and his transcript with a Hindi translation was published in the monthly journal called *Ushā*, published by the Bhāj Prakashan, Dhār, in its issues for January-February 1953, p. 46; March 1953, p. 14; November 1953, p. 44; December 1953, p. 11; February 1954, p. 28; March 1954, p. 9; August 1954, pp. 27-28; and October-November 1954, pp. 41-42. Mr. Deshpande also published an introductory note in English on the importance of the inscription in the same journal in its issues for November 1953, p. 43, and December 1953, pp. 29-31.

About the beginning of 1955 I received information about the existence of the inscription and tried to secure it on loan for examination from the Rao Sahab of Māndhātā. But I was informed that the record was then being examined by Dr. H. V. Trivedi, Curator of the Indore Museum. Failing to secure the original plates, I then tried to secure a set of its impressions from Mr. R. B. Deshpande. This attempt was luckily successful and about the middle of the year I received one set of inked impressions of the record from Mr. Deshpande and copies of the issues of the *Ushā*, containing the articles of Pandit Babu Shastri and Mr. Deshpande, from Mr. Y. W. Wankar of Dhār, formerly Lecturer in Geography in the Government College, Dhār. The impressions were photographed in my office and returned to Mr. Deshpande. In this connection I received very considerable help from Mr. N. S. Parashar of Dhār, formerly Principal of the Government College, Mandasaur.

Since, however, the impressions received from Mr. Deshpande were not quite satisfactory, I requested Dr. Trivedi to send me either the original plates on loan or a set of good impressions of the inscription. I also requested him to publish the record in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Unfortunately nothing was received from Dr. Trivedi till the beginning of the year 1957 and I took up the photographs of Mr. Deshpande's impressions for study in April 1957. On examination it was found that the inscription throws welcome light on the history of the Paramāras of Malwa, although Pandit Babu Shastri's transcript is not free from inaccuracies and his translation is full of errors while Mr. Deshpande's views on the importance and interpretation of the record are all misconceived. The inscription is edited here from the photographs referred to above.

The set consists of four plates, each measuring about 17 inches in length, 13 inches in height and between  $\frac{1}{8}$  and  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch in thickness. Their weight has not been recorded. The edges of the plates were raised to the thickness of about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch for the protection of the writing. The



four plates are held together by two copper rings passing through holes made in them. While the first plate has writing only on the inner side, the other three plates bear inscription on both obverse and reverse. In the left side of the empty space beneath the writing on the reverse of the last plate, the figure of **Garuda**, the royal emblem of the Paramāras, is engraved as in so many other Paramāra charters.<sup>1</sup> There are altogether 140 lines of writing in the inscription and they are distributed on the inscribed faces of the plates in the following order: I—24 lines: IIA—22 lines: IIB—23 lines: IIIA—23 lines: IIIB—23 lines: IVA—23 lines: IVB—5 lines.

The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī. Its language is Sanskrit. The record is written in a mixture of prose and verse. Its palaeography and orthography do not call for any special remark. The letter *ḥ* is indicated by the sign for *v*. There is a general tendency to represent class nasals by *anuvāra*. Final *m* is often wrongly changed to *anuvāra* at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses, although it is generally used correctly at the end of sentences in the prose part of the document. The date of the charter is quoted in words in lines 91-92 as Friday, Maitra(Amṛābhā)-nakṣatra, Bhādrapada-sukl 7 in the year (Vikrama Samvat) 1331 called Pramāthini (according to the Northern Cycle of Jupiter). The details of the date correspond regularly to those of the 10th of August in the year 1274 A. D.

The object of the document is to record a grant of land made by Śūkanda Anayasinhadēva while he was staying at Maṇḍapa-durga, with the permission of the Paramāra king Jayavarman alias Jayasinha, described as the lord of Dhārā, after having worshipped the husband of Pārvatī, i.e. the god Śiva. Anayasinha's order in this respect was addressed to the officials as well as the villagers including Brāhmanas and Paṭṭakilas (i.e. Patels) who were associated with the following localities: (1) Kumbhādānda-grāma in Yarchanāpura-pratijāgarāṇaka, (2) Vālanda-grāma in the same Pratijāgarāṇaka (i.e. Pargana), (3) Vaghād-grāma in Sapṭāstī-pratijāgarāṇaka and (4) Nāṭiyā-grāma in Nāgadhā-pratijāgarāṇaka. It is stated that Anayasinha, together with his four sons named Kamalasinha, Dhārasinha, Jaitrasinha and Padmasinha, granted the said four villages in favour of a number of Brāhmanas residing in the Brāhmapur (i.e. Brāhmana settlement) at Māndhātī and belonging to various *gōtra*s and *śikhā*s, whose families hailed from several localities. It is interesting to note that the four villages were divided into 14 parts, each called a *paṇḍa* and that, while 14 of these *paṇḍa*s were granted to the 14 Brāhmana donors, 2 *paṇḍa*s were made over by Anayasinha to his own self. It may be that Anayasinha purchased the four villages from the Paramāra king for the purpose of creating a rent-free holding to be granted in favour of Brāhmanas, although he was allowed to retain a small part of the land for himself. There are other instances of this kind in inscriptions.<sup>2</sup>

The donors mentioned in the list are the following: (1) Dṛḍhākṣita) Padmanābhaśarmaṇ, son of Avasthita Viśvādharaśarmaṇ and grandson of Cha(Chaturvedin) Kamaladharaśarmaṇ of the Gautama *gōtra*, the Āṅgīraṇa, Auvantya and Gautama *pravara*s and the Rīgvēda śikhā and hailing from Takāṛī; (2) Cha(Chaturvedin) Mādharāśarmaṇ, brother of No. 1; (3) Paṇ(Paṇḍita) Śekaghaśarmaṇ, son of Pañchapi(pāṭhīn) Mīra Udharaśarmaṇ and grandson of Mīra Dharmadharaśarmaṇ of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, the Āṅgīraṇa, Bāhmaspatya and Bhāradvāja *pravara*s and the Rīgvēda śikhā and hailing from Takāṛī; (4) De(Devēdin) Gōvardhanaśarmaṇ, son of Paṇ(Paṇḍita) Vidyānāthaśarmaṇ and grandson of Cha(Chaturvedin) Bhāpatiśarmaṇ of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, the Kāśyapa, Āvataṛa and Naidhruva *pravara*s and the Rīgvēda śikhā and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. IX, Plate facing p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> See *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 236. The Bani plates of Pāthanaśāḍḍel appear to offer another instance (cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 211 and note 1), but the expression *deva-pati* (i.e. the person creating a rent-free holding with the approval of the royal authority) has been misunderstood by the editor of the inscriptions.



hailing from Lakṣmapura : (5) Dī(Dikṣita) Vāmasaśarma, son of Dī<sup>2</sup> Dīvasaśarma and grandson of Dī<sup>2</sup> Śrīvatsaśarma of the Chandrātreya gōtra, the Ātreya, Gāriṣṭhira and Pūrvaśiṭha pravara and the Mādhyandina śikhā and hailing from Tōḷāpura : (6) Avasth(Avasathin) Anantaśarma, son of Śāhāstraśarma and grandson of Balabhadraśarma of the Vāśiṣṭha gōtra, the Vāśiṣṭha, Śāktya and Pārāśarya pravara and the Mādhyandina śikhā and hailing from Takāri : (7) Dvī(Dvivēdin) Harisaśarma, son of Dvī<sup>2</sup> Sūhāśarma and grandson of Śukla Pradyumnaśarma of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, the Āgirasa, Bāhaspatya and Bhāradvāja pravara and the Mādhyandina śikhā and hailing from Takāri : (8) Dvī(Dvivēdin) Mahādēvaśarma, son of Upā(Uphādya) Vaijūśarma and grandson of Upā<sup>2</sup> Dēvaśarma of the Kātyāya gōtra, the Kātyāya, Āvatsāra and Naulharya pravara and the Mādhyandina śikhā and hailing from Tūl : (9) Dvī(Dvivēdin) Haridēvaśarma, son of Ava(Avasathin) Āśāśarma and grandson of Pā(Pāthin) Kōṭhagaśarma of the Kātyāyana gōtra, the Viśvāmura, Kātya and Kila(Ālila) pravara and the Mādhyandina śikhā and hailing from Takāri : (10) Dvī(Dvivēdin) Anantaśarma, son of Ava(Avasathin) Vāṇkūḍēvaśarma and grandson of Dvī<sup>2</sup> Gaṇādharaśarma of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, the Āgirasa, Bāhaspatya and Bhāradvāja pravara and the Mādhyandina śikhā and hailing from Takāri : (11) Pā(Pāthin) Yōgēvaśarma, son of Pā<sup>2</sup> Atirikaśarma and grandson of Pā<sup>2</sup> Kṛṣṇaśarma of the Ātreya gōtra, the Ātreya, Gāriṣṭhira and Pūrvaśiṭha pravara and the Mādhyandina śikhā and hailing from Takāri : (12) Tri(Trivēdin) Nārāyaṇaśarma, son of Tri<sup>2</sup> Dāmodaraśarma and grandson of Tri<sup>2</sup> Samudharaśarma of the Vāśiṣṭha gōtra, the Vāśiṣṭha, Abharaḍvaṇa and Imrapramada pravara and the Kaṭhuma śikhā and hailing from Takāri : (13) Tri(Trivēdin) Puruṣūśarma, son of Cha(Chaturvēdin) Lakṣmīdharaśarma and grandson of Cha<sup>2</sup> Vāṇkūḍēvaśarma of the Sēvārī gōtra, the Bhārgava, Ūnyavara, Āpavadi, Aurva and Jāmadagnya pravara and the Kaṭhuma śikhā and hailing from Takāri : (14) Tri(Trivēdin) Vāṇūśarma, son of Tri<sup>2</sup> Mahādēvaśarma and grandson of Tri<sup>2</sup> Viśvāvaraśarma of the Śāpḍilya gōtra, the Śāpḍilya, Āsita and Daivala pravara and the Kaṭhuma śikhā and hailing from Takāri : and (15) Śādhūka Anayasimhavarman of the Chāhamāna family and Kṣatriya community, son of Śā<sup>2</sup> Salakhaśasimhavarman and grandson of Śā<sup>2</sup> Pallagaśasimhavarman of the Yatsa gōtra and the Bhārgava, Ūnyavara, Āpavadi, Aurva and Jāmadagnya pravara.

An interesting feature of the list of the donees quoted above is that, in several of the cases, the family names were not still stereotyped in the families since the donee and his father and grandfather have not the same distinctive designation. In our case, Avasathin Vidyādharaśarma is stated to have been the son of Chaturvēdin Kamalādharaśarma and the father of Dikṣita Padmanābhaśarma and Chaturvēdin Mādhevaśarma. The mention of the gōtra of the Kṣatriya family of the Chāhamāna is also worth noting. But more interesting seems to be the fact that, while the list enumerates only 11 Brāhmanas getting one *paṭa* or share each, along with the Chāhamāna Kṣatriya Anayasimha receiving two *paṭas*, line 127 specifically gives the number of donees as '16 Brāhmanas'. It is therefore not impossible that the 16 shares in which the 4 gift-villages were divided had been originally planned to be allotted to 16 Brāhmanas but that the plan was later modified to the advantage of Anayasimha. Whether this was done with the king's consent or by Anayasimha on his own initiative without his master's knowledge cannot be determined, although the mention of the 15 donees including himself as '16 Brāhmanas' looks rather suspicious. Line 128 also refers to the donees of the grant as 'these Brāhmanas'.

The fact that Anayasimha is stated to have granted the charter, albeit with the king's permission, points to his power and prestige in the court of the Paramara king. He is stated to have been staying at Maṇḍapa-durga and is called a *Sāhārika*. His immediate ancestors also appear to have enjoyed the same designation. The expression *Sāhārika* is the same as Prakrit *Sāhāga*



meaning 'the commander of an army'.<sup>1</sup> An inscription (V. S. 1237)<sup>2</sup> of a Paramāra chief named Jaḍava, from Nāga in the old Jodhpur State, uses the same word as *Sāhaga* (cf. the family name *Sāhā*) which has been supposed to indicate 'the master of the royal stables'. In *Mṛutadhga's* *Prabandhaśaṅkṣa* the expression *Mahāsāhaga* is used in the sense of a chieftain or military governor.<sup>3</sup>

We have seen that the list of donors discussed above mentions 83<sup>rd</sup> *Salakhagapāṇḍhavarman* and 84<sup>th</sup> *Palhagadēvarman* respectively as the father and grandfather of Chāhamāna Anayāśikhā. Verses 57-66 (lines 75-83) of the introductory part of the inscription offer further information about this Chāhamāna family owing allegiance to the Paramāras. Verses 75-76 speak of *Rāṣṭra* (i.e. *Rāṣṭra* from Sanskrit *Rāja-putra*) Rāṣṭra and his son Palhagadēva (respectively the great-grandfather and grandfather of Anayāśikhā) and of the power of their arms. The master of Palhagadēva is vaguely referred to without disclosing his name, although he must have been the contemporary Paramāra king. Verse 59 mentions Palhagadēva's son Salakhagapāṇḍha who is stated to have assisted Arjunadēva in his battles. This Arjunadēva is no doubt the Paramāra king Arjunavarman whose known dates are V. S. 1267 (1211 A. D.), 1270 (1213 A. D.) and 1272 (1215 A. D.).<sup>4</sup> It is not impossible that the said Chāhamāna chief is identical with *Rāṣṭra* Salakhaga mentioned as the *Mahāsāhaga* (i.e. *Mahāsāhagapāṇḍha*) in Arjunavarman's Bhupal plates (Set 21).<sup>5</sup> A very interesting instance of military assistance rendered by Salakhagapāṇḍha to the Paramāra king is offered by verse 81. It is stated that the Chāhamāna leader of Paramāra forces defeated the army of *Sirihapadēva*, no doubt the Yādava king of that name who ruled in c. 1236-47 A. D., and captured seven plates (*śāhagāṇḍha* which appear to have been fitted with the turban) from the general *Sāgaya-rāṣṭra*, apparently a leader of *Sirihapadēva's* forces, after having pulled the general down from his horse which was in the middle of a contingent. This feat of valour pleased both *Sirihā* and Arjuna (i.e. Paramāra Arjunavarman) who shook their heads in appreciation.

The *Bahal* inscription<sup>6</sup> of Yādava *Sirihaga* and the *Palthan* plates<sup>7</sup> of his great-grandson *Vimachandra* (c. 1271-1310 A. D.) refer to *Sirihaga's* victory over Arjuna who is none other than the Paramāra king Arjunavarman of Malwa. The *Hammīrāmānandapurāṇa* relates how Chāhamāna *Sindhurāja*, brother of Arjunavarman's feudatory *Sirihā* of *Lāṭa*, was killed by Yādava *Sirihaga*.<sup>8</sup> This *Sirihā* of *Lāṭa* seems to be mentioned as appreciating the valour of Chāhamāna *Salakhaga* in verse 60 of our inscription, referred to above. The stanzas, therefore, probably refer to the Yādava invasion of *Lāṭa* which formed a part of the dominions of Arjunavarman. *Sāgaya-rāṣṭra*, who was a leader of the Yādava army and was defeated by the Chāhamāna general of the Paramāra king, may be the same as the cavalry officer *Sāga* mentioned in a Yādava inscription<sup>9</sup> of *Saka* 1119 (1197 A. D.).

<sup>1</sup> H. T. Roth, *Pāṇḍurājanāśaṅkṣa*, s.v.

<sup>2</sup> Bhandarkar's *Lat*, No. 295.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāras of Malwa*, p. 212. *Mahāsāhaga* seems to be the same as *Paṇḍhagapāṇḍha* of some records (cf. *A.R. Ep.*, 1923-24, p. 9). For *Sāhaga* or *Sāhā* in other inscriptions, see also loc. cit.; Kumbhar, *Inscriptions of Northern Karnataka and Kollegal*, p. 129, No. 16, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Bhandarkar's *Lat*, Nos. 457, 459 and 460.

<sup>5</sup> *J.A.O.S.*, Vol. VII, pp. 25 ff. *Sirihaga* mentioned in the Bhupal plates is generally identified with the homonymous father of the Jain poet *Śāhaga* author of the *Trikṣaṇḍī* and various other works and a protégé of Arjunavarman and his successors (cf. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 809; Ganguly, op. cit., p. 202).

<sup>6</sup> *Abars*, Vol. III, pp. 115 ff. Cf. Bhandarkar's *Triratna* (*Rash. Gov.*, Vol. I, part B, p. 272, verse 43).

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 316, text line 27.

<sup>8</sup> Ganguly, op. cit., pp. 208, 212-13. Cf. *Hammīrāmānandapurāṇa*, Aika I.

<sup>9</sup> See Kumbhar, op. cit., p. 146, No. 17.



The following six stanzas (verses 61-66) describe the activities of Anayasimha, the son of Salakhana and the donor of the grant. He is stated to have built a temple for the god Śiva and excavated a tank at Dēvapālapura. This locality seems to have been named after the Paramāra king Dēvapāla who succeeded Arjunavarman. Another temple was built by him at Śākapura for the goddess Ambikā. This locality may have been the headquarters of the Pargana called Śākapura-pratijāgarauka which is mentioned in the Piphanagar plates of Arjunavarman. Anayasimha also built a temple for the god Jambukāsvara Śiva in the vicinity of the Ōḍkara (i.e. Ōḍkārāsvara) temple and excavated a tank near the former. In the fort of Maṇḍapa, he excavated a tank and granted in favour of Brāhmaṇas, with the king's permission, a *puri* or township having a surrounding wall, a gate, a big shrine and a pond and containing 16 temples endowed with golden jars (forming their pinnacles). This *puri* is apparently the Brahmapuri at Muṇḍapa-durga, mentioned as the habitation of the Brāhmaṇa donors of the grant under discussion and already referred to above. Similar pious works were also done by Anayasimha at Mādhāt-p-durga.

The earlier part of the inscription before the introduction of the founders family of the Chāhamānas, to which the donor Anayasimha belonged, may be divided into two sections, the first containing invocation to various deities and the second the genealogy of the Imperial Paramāras of Malwa. The first section begins with the *Prasanga* and a passage in prose in adoration to Dharma described as *purnak-ṛta-bhāṣṇam*. The same invocation is found in several other grants of the Paramāra kings.<sup>1</sup> The above is followed by eleven stanzas (verses 1-11) in adoration of the following deities: 'the lord of sacrifices', i.e. the Moon-god (verse 1) who is similarly invoked at the beginning of some other Paramāra charters; Rāma, i.e. Paratūrka (verse 2); Rāma, i.e. Rāma Dīśarathi (verse 3); Paradrūh, i.e. Śiva (verse 4); Śarva, having eight forms, i.e. Śiva (verse 5); Ōḍkara (verse 6), identical with Paśupati or Śiva, and having his temple on the bank of the Rōvā or Narmadā (verse 7), the description of the shrine near the junction of the Rōvā and the Kāvērī being continued in the following stanza (verse 8); Kaṭabhajit or Viśva in his Boar incarnation (verse 9); and Pitāmaha, i.e. Brahman (verse 11).

The said section is followed by the mythical account of the origin of the Paramāra dynasty. Verse 12 relates how the god Brahman created out of his own mind the Seven Sages, one of whom was Vasishtha. The next stanza (verse 13) refers to the quarrel between Vasishtha and Kaśhika, i.e. Viśvāmitra, wellknown from the epics and Purāṇas, while verse 14 states how Vasishtha created out of his sacrificial fire-pit a hero named Patamāra for punishing his foes (i.e. Viśvāmitra's forces) who were the enemies of Dharma. Verse 15 says that this Paramāra was the progenitor of a royal family [bearing his name]. This mythical account of the origin of the Paramāras is first noticed in records of the eleventh century<sup>2</sup> when it seems to have been fabricated. The myth has been interpreted to mean that the Paramāras were Hinduised foreigners of the Hūṇa-Gurjara stock.<sup>3</sup> The theory is of course not disproved by the evidence of the Harola plates,<sup>4</sup> according to which Bappatrāja (Vāḍapatrāja-1) was descended from the family of the Bhāṭṭatrāja king Akalavaraha Kṛishṇa III (839-66 A.D.), since this apparently refers to Bappatrāja's relations with the Bhāṭṭatrāja house on his mother's side as otherwise, if the Paramāras were direct des-

<sup>1</sup> JASB, Vol. V, 1836, pp. 577-82.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. IX, pp. 108 (text line 1), 120 (text line 1).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 108 (text lines 1-2, verse 1), 120 (text lines 1-2, verse 1).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XIV, pp. 298 ff.; *Narmadapatalacharya*, XI, 64 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ed. Crooke, Vol. I, pp. 112 ff.; Cunningham, *ASB*, Vol. II, pp. 234 ff., etc.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 229-40; cf. Ray, op. cit., pp. 841-42.



endants of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperors, the Paramāra rulers would have continued to mention the fact even in their later records.

The above account of the mythical origin of the Paramāra family is followed by a long list of Paramāra kings ending with the ruler, during whose reign the charter under study was issued. There are altogether 24 names in this section, the first 9 of which are unhistorical. These imaginary names are: Kamapāladhara, king of Dhārā (verse 16); his son Dhūmarāja whose name was justified by the smoke arising from the cities of his enemies that were burnt by him (verses 17-18); his son Nivrasamhapāla (verse 19); his son Kankasamīha (verse 20); his son Śrīharsha (verse 20a); Jagaddēva king of Mālava (verses 21-22); Śchirakāya (verse 23); Vāṭari, lord of Dhārā (verse 24); and his son Vīrasamīha (verse 25). These names forming a group are introduced in the genealogy of the Imperial Paramāras for the first time in the present record. Of the nine names, Dhūmarāja seems to have been adopted from the genealogy of the Paramāras of Arjunda<sup>1</sup> while Vīrasamīha, although he is called the son of an imaginary Vāṭari, may be a modification of the name of Vairisamīha who was the father of Vākpatī I mentioned in our inscription in the following stanza (verse 26). A king named Jagaddēva no doubt flourished in the family, but at a much later date than the period indicated by our inscription.<sup>2</sup> There was no Śrīharsha in the family, who was the son and successor of a king named Kankasamīha.<sup>3</sup> It will be seen that imagination and confusion have both played a part in the genealogy of the Imperial Paramāras quoted above from the inscription under study.

Verses 26-36 give the names of 15 Paramāra rulers of the Imperial house, although some of the kings have been omitted. Vākpatirāja is mentioned in verse 26 as famous for his *vīrya* in the Prākṛit language; but the well known literary merits of his great-grandson Muḍja (Vākpati II) who is separately mentioned in verses 28-29 of our record, appear to be reflected in this statement. Verse 27 mentions Śiyā (i.e. Śiyaka alias Śrī-Harsha, c. 948-74 A.D.) who was the grandson of Vākpatī, and omits Vākpatī's son Vairisamīha alias Vajraja. The next two stanzas (verses 28-29) describe Muḍja (who was the son and successor of Śiyaka and ruled in c. 974-95 A.D.) without specifically mentioning his relations with Śiyā, while verses 30-31 mention Sindhurāja (who was the brother and successor of Muḍja and ruled in c. 995-1010 A.D.) similarly without stating his relations with Muḍja. The following four stanzas (verses 32-35) describe the achievements of Bhūja (c. 1010-55 A.D.), son of Sindhurāja, in vague terms. Verse 36 passes over Bhūja's son and successor Jayasiddha (c. 1055-60 A.D.) and mentions Udayāditya (c. 1060-90 A.D.) who appears to have been a distant cousin of Bhūja. Udayāditya is stated to have recovered the kingdom from the Gūjara king. This reference to the Gūjara occupation of Malwa no doubt alludes to the Paramāra king's struggle with the Chaulukyas of Gujaraṭ. According to the *Ras Māla*, supported by the *Pratāpachandāvatāri*, Kalachuri Karna (c. 1041-72 A.D.) of Pāṭāla and Chaulukya Bhūma (c. 1023-64 A.D.) of Gujaraṭ jointly attacked king Bhūja of Ujjayīni, defeated and killed him and destroyed the city of Dhārā.<sup>4</sup> The reference may also be to Udayāditya's struggle with Chaulukya Karna I (c. 1094-91 A.D.), son of Bhoja I. While a Chittorgarh inscription<sup>5</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 130 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Jagaddēva alias Lakshmidēva was a son of Udayāditya (known dates between V.S. 1116=1060 A.D. and V.S. 1143=1087 A.D.) and his known date is V.S. 1151 (1097 A.D.) when, according to a local tradition, he offered his head to the golden Kūṭi (cf. Bhandarkar's *List*, p. 397).

<sup>3</sup> The Paramāra king Śiyaka alias Śrī-Harsha (known dates between V.S. 1008=949 A.D. and V.S. 1025=972 A.D.) succeeded his father Vairisamīha alias Vajraja (loc. cit.) and he is apparently mentioned as Śiyā in verse 27 of our inscription.

<sup>4</sup> See Ray, op. cit., pp. 577-78.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XX, p. 309, Nos. 15-23.



Kumharpāla's time merely credits Karga I with a victory over the Mālavas at the Śūlakūpa pass, the *Prithvīgarjaya*, *Subhāsimūrtana* and *Saṁsthārasa* refer to his conquest of the Mālava country.<sup>1</sup> An inscription<sup>2</sup> in the Nagpur Museum refers to Udayāditya's conquest of the earth (i.e. the Paramāra kingdom) which had been occupied, jointly with the Kargāsas, by Karga who is identified by some scholars with Chandukya Karga I but by others with the Kalachuri king of Dhāla bearing the same name.<sup>3</sup>

Verses 36-37 speak of Naravarman (c. 1101-1135 A.D.), son of Udayāditya, but pass over his elder brother Lakshmidāra or Jagaddēva (c. 1080-1101 A.D.) in silence. The next stanza (verse 39) mentions Yadvārman (c. 1135-45 A.D.) without specifying the fact that he was the son and successor of Naravarman. Verses 40-41 speak of Ajayavarman, son of Yadvārman,<sup>4</sup> while the next two stanzas describe Ajayavarman's son Vindhavarman (verse 42) and grandson Subhavarman (verse 43) without stating the fact that Subhavarman was the son and successor of Vindhavarman. Arjunadēva (i.e. Arjunavarman, known dates between V.S. 1267 and 1270, i.e. 1211-15 A.D.), son of Subhavarman, is mentioned in verses 44-45, in the first of which he is described as devoted to Kṛishna.

There is a valuable reference to a historical event in verses 46-48 in the description of the next king **Dēvapāla** (known dates between V.S. 1275 and 1289, i.e. 1218-32 A.D.) who is mentioned without specifying his relationship with Arjunavarman. Dēvapāla belonged to a branch of the Paramāra family, being the grandson of Mahākumāra Lakshmi-varman (known date V.S. 1200, i.e. 1144 A.D.) who was a brother of king Ajayavarman of the main line. In the branch line, ruling independently over the region about Bhopal, Indore, Hoshangabad, Khairatābād and Nimar, Lakshmi-varman was succeeded as Mahākumāra by his son Haritchandra (known dates V.S. 1235-36, i.e. 1179-81 A.D.) whose successor was his son Mahākumāra Udayavarman (known date V.S. 1256, i.e. 1200 A.D.). Dēvapāla was the younger brother and successor of Udayavarman. With Dēvapāla's accession to the throne of Arjunavarman of the main branch of the Paramāra family, the two parts of the Paramāra kingdom became reunited.

Verse 46 states that Dēvapāla killed an *adāyaka* (i.e. a king or chief) of the **Mīśchahha** (i.e. battle fought near the city of **Bhāṣṭavāmana**). This no doubt refers to the invasion of the city of Bhāṣṭavāmana (modern Bhilsā) by Iltutmish (1212-36 A.D.), the Turkish Sultan of Delhi. According to Muslim historians, in 632 A.H. or 1233-34 A.D., Iltutmish reduced Gwalior to subjection and turned his arms against Malwa; he captured the fort of Bhilsā where the temple of Bhāṣṭavāmana was demolished and marched into Ujjayini where he destroyed the great temple of the god Mahākālā.<sup>5</sup> The claim of Dēvapāla in the stanza of our inscription, referred to above, seems to suggest that the Paramāra king succeeded in recovering the city of Bhilsā shortly after its conquest by Iltutmish. The Mīśchahhadhipa mentioned in the verse was probably the Muslim governor in whose charge the city was placed by the Sultan. That the Paramāras reconquered Bhilsā is also suggested by the fact that, after half a century, the Khaljī Sultan of Delhi had to reconquer the city from the Hindus.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ganguly, op. cit., pp. 130-31.

<sup>2</sup> *Ahimsa*, Vol. II, pp. 163, 162 (verse 32); cf. *Bula*, Vol. I, pp. 223, 226 (verse 21-22).

<sup>3</sup> See Ganguly, op. cit., p. 130.

<sup>4</sup> Some scholars believe that Yadvārman's elder son named Jayavarman was overthrown by his younger son named Ajayavarman, while others believe that Jayavarman and Ajayavarman were two different names of one and the same king. See Ray, op. cit., pp. 868 ff.; Ganguly, op. cit., pp. 134 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. II, 228; *Tarikh-i-Firūzi*, Briggs' trans., Vol. I, p. 211; *Tabakat-i-Sikri*, Roostky's trans., Vol. I, p. 622.

<sup>6</sup> *Tarikh-i-Firūzi*, op. cit., pp. 303-04.



Dēvapāla's son and successor was Jaitugi (known dates V.S. 1293-1300, i.e. 1236-44 A.D.) mentioned in verse 49. Verses 50-58 describe the Paramāra king during whose rule the charter under discussion was issued. He was the younger brother of Jaitugi; but the relationship between the two is not indicated in our record. It is interesting to note that he is called **Jayavarman** in verses 50 and 51 (as well as in line 87 and verse 72 below) but **Jayasimha** in verses 51-52. This king was so far known under the name Jayavarman (it is doubtful whether the name is Jayasimha in one of the cases) from the following inscriptions of his time: (1) Rahatgarh stone inscription<sup>1</sup> of V.S. 1312 (1255 A.D.); (2) Modi stone inscription<sup>2</sup> of V.S. 1314 (1258 A.D.), and (3) Māndhātā plates<sup>3</sup> of V.S. 1317 (1261 A.D.). The Pathari inscription<sup>4</sup> of V.S. 1326 (1269 A.D.) belongs to the reign of a Paramāra king named Jayasimha and there is a controversy amongst scholars whether Jayavarman mentioned in the Rahatgarh, Modi and Māndhātā records is identical with Jayasimha of the Pathari inscription.<sup>5</sup> That a Paramāra king named Jayasimha ruled from Mandapa some time before V.S. 1345 (1289 A.D.) is also suggested by the Balvan inscription<sup>6</sup> of Chāhamāna Hemmra of Kapastambhimpura as his father Jaitrasimha who died in V.S. 1339 (1283 A.D.) is stated to have defeated the said king. The present inscription, dated V. S. 1531 (1274 A.D.) and mentioning the Paramāra king by both the names Jayavarman and Jayasimha, shows clearly that scholars like Ganguly who regard Jayasimha of the Pathari inscription as different from Jayavarman of the Rahatgarh, Modi and Māndhātā (V.S. 1317) inscriptions are wrong. Ray's suggestion<sup>7</sup> that Jaitugi may have also been known by the name Jayasimha is equally wrong since the two brothers, Jaitugi and Jayavarman, could not both of them have enjoyed the common name Jayasimha. The rule of Paramāra Jayasimha-Jayavarman may be assigned to the period (1255-75) A.D.

Verse 52 of our inscription seems to suggest that Jayasimha-Jayavarman was regarded as both a *dasheta* (daughter's son) and a *pautra* (son's son) with reference to his accession to the Paramāra throne. This statement seems to throw some light on the controversy whether Dēvapāla of a branch line of the family succeeded Arjunavarman of the main line by overthrowing the latter by violence or because Arjunavarman died without leaving any male heir.<sup>8</sup> If the stanza in question means to say that Jayasimha-Jayavarman claimed to be a *dasheta* of Arjunavarman, Dēvapāla may be regarded as having succeeded Arjunavarman as the latter's son-in-law and heir.

Verse 54 speaks of Jayasimha-Jayavarman's success against the king of Dekshipātya lying to the south of the Vindhya. This may refer to his struggle with the Yādava king Rāmachandra who, according to his Thana plates<sup>9</sup> of Śaka 1191 (1272 A.D.), defeated the Malava. The Ufari stone inscription<sup>10</sup> of the same king, dated Śaka 1198 (1279 A.D.), speaks of his victory over king Arjuna of Malava, who was apparently the immediate successor of Jayasimha-Jayavarman and may be regarded as Arjunavarman II. The same Paramāra king is also mentioned in the Balvan

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. X, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> *ASR*, 1905, p. 12; *ibid.*, 1913, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> *Above*, Vol. IX, pp. 117-23.

<sup>4</sup> Bhambhakar's List, No. 575.

<sup>5</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 397, and Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 865, for one view, and Ganguly, *op. cit.*, p. 227, for another.

<sup>6</sup> Bhambhakar's List, No. 623.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 828.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 902.

<sup>9</sup> *Above*, Vol. XIII, pp. 202-03.

<sup>10</sup> *An. Imp. Arch. Surv. Mps.* 1929, p. 143.



inscription<sup>1</sup> (V.S. 1347-1288 A.D.) of Chāhamāna Hammira (c. 1283-1301 A.D.) of Rajasthan-bhagura. Hammira is stated to have defeated Arjuna in battle and wrested the glory of Mālava by force.<sup>2</sup>

According to lines 123 ff., the four villages, having well-defined boundaries, were granted as a permanent endowment together with trees, houses, house-sites, granaries and threshing floors, *taka-bhēdhya* (pits) and cow-sheds. The donees' rights included certain taxes payable by the tenants in kind and described as handfuls of vegetables, small measures of oil and ramsfuls of liquids or grains. They were granted the right over objects grown in the space above the earth and treasures and deposits under the ground as well as over temples, gardens, tanks, step-wells, wells, etc. They were further allowed to enjoy taxes in cash, periodical offerings and the customary share of grains, and also the tax on temporary tenants as well as other incomes including fines. But the donees were not allowed to have any right over any part of the land already in the possession of gods and Brāhmanas. The *Patikālas* and villagers were ordered to pay to the donees the usual share of the produce, periodical offerings and taxes in cash as well as to obey their orders. Some of the ordinary imperatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 134-38. According to verse 72 in line 139, the writer of the charter was Śrīkṛṣṇa who was a courtier of king Jayavarman. The document was engraved by *Rājāśka* (artisan) Kāṇhaka who may be the same as Kāṇhāḍa, the engraver of the Māndhātā plates of V.S. 1317 (1261 A.D.), issued by the same king.

The following geographical names are mentioned in the inscription: (1) *Rerā*, i.e. the river Narmadā; (2) *Kāvērī*, a branch of the Narmadā; (3) *Māndhātī* or *Māndhātī-durga*, i.e. modern Māndhātā; (4) *Dhārā*, i.e. modern Dhār; (5) *Bhadrasvāmapura*, i.e. modern Bhilsā; (6) the Vindhya mountain range; (7) *Dākṣiṇātya*, apparently meaning the dominions of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri; (8) *Dēvapālapura*, probably modern Dīpalpur, 27 miles to the north-west of Mhow; (9) *Śākapura* probably the headquarters of a *Pratijāgarāṇaka* or Pargana of the same name identified by some with the present Shujalpur Pargana;<sup>3</sup> (10) *Maṇḍapa-durga*, i.e. modern Māṇḍā; (11) *Vardhamā-pura-pratijāgarāṇaka*; (12) *Kumbhādāula-grāma*; (13) *Vālaula-grāma*; (14) *Saptāśrī-pratijāgarāṇaka*, literally 'a Pargana consisting of 87 villages'; (15) *Vaghādī-grāma*; (16) *Nāgadaha-pratijāgarāṇaka*, a Pargana probably having its headquarters at Nagdah near Ujjain; (17) *Nāṭiyā-*

<sup>1</sup> Bhattacharya's List, No. 623.

<sup>2</sup> The account of Arjunavarman II on the Paramāra throne seems to have been Bhōja II. According to the *Hamiravamsāvalī* of Nayaachandra, Chāhamāna Hammira of Rajasthan-bhagura also defeated king Bhōja of Dhārī, occupied at Uppayini and worshipped Mahākālā (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 44-45). The Muslim writers speak of one Kōkī (sometimes called Horasmi), the Rājā of Mālva, who was defeated by 'Alauddin Khilji' in 1302, A.D. (*Tarikh-i-Firākha*, Briggs' trans., Vol. I, pp. 261-62; Bay, op. cit., pp. 907-08). In an inscription of V.S. 1496 (Bhattacharya's List, No. 784) the same ruler is called Gōgādeva, king of Mālva, who was defeated by Gahāda Lakṣmasinha, a contemporary of the Khilji Sultan. Kōkī thus appears to have been either identical with or a contemporary of Bhōja II. Waddell, who wrote his *Tudghul's Asaka* in 1300 A.D., says: "It may be about thirty years previous to my laying the foundation of this book that the king of Malwa died and dissection arose between his son and minister. After long hostilities and much slaughter, each of them acquired possession of part of that country" (Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 51). It is not impossible that the king of Malwa and his son referred to here are Arjunavarman II and Bhōja II. In such a case, Kōkī may be the minister who became the king of a part of Malwa at the time of Bhōja II during whose reign Waddell seems to have written his book. Muslim authors sometimes call Kōkī a *Pradhāna* of king Mahlak Dev of Malwa (Elliot and Dowson op. cit., p. 76). This Mahlak Dev may have been the successor of Bhōja II. He was probably succeeded by Jayasinha whose Udaypur inscription (Bhattacharya's List, No. 661) is dated in V.S. 1396 (1340 A.D.). But Jayasinha must have been ruling over a part of the country, its other parts then being in the hands of the Muslim conquerors.

<sup>3</sup> Ganguly, op. cit., p. 261.











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- 15 sariprāptō Rōvayā Kārōyā<sup>1</sup> cha Pittamahēna samahān Mānēhārī (dhātē)harah<sup>2</sup> 19 Moktan  
(khalpē-yāyati) kuttachid-vasumatī danah(r-āgrā-  
16 sarisā(sa)raggīni kokshan kshlāham arāpayati tri-bhavanān ruddhair-ambhīr-ahyikam(ham)  
| ity-a-vāha-vikalpa-nīlita-matēh kashthē jathasat[5]  
17 maluh kōlākūra-dharasya Ma[Kar]tabhajitah svā-grunrayah pīnto vah 10 Nigama-  
vadanām Vēdānag-ānūgū Purāṇama(y-ā)hara-splura-  
18 d-arayavān vātrātē-āktin kavitva tātē rullān(hān) | padā-padevatlin vāky-ānūnām  
pramāṇamāy-āyātān tamm-iti narām vi(h)lhrad-bhāntin  
19 bhīnatu Pittamalah 111 Sa nābhēh amūlīhāya arayam-cha Murātr-ijjagat bhām samarjā  
pūlīhāyātē kīvad-āpi tātah amahjā-  
18 m-ajaram(ram) | munin-mānyān-āpta vyatracayad-ayam svīya-munān Vārah(ā)sh(hō)-  
bhōt-āhām tapasī kṛta-nākanūnāhkanjpa-niyamah 12 Sa yadā [n-ā]-  
19 karōt-kōpam-āpi putra-tātē hatē | tad-āhhyashēpayad-āra(ah)urā tapō-apa kōlā Kanīkah  
13 Tēn-ātha māraya parān-ā-  
20 ti jalpātā yat-arishās-tātē muni-vardhā kṛtān-kunēdāt | dharmāt(rūma)-dra(hān)  
vāmunāt-āha yōga-  
21 tē-pi khyātas-tātah sa[ms]bha<sup>3</sup>vat-Paramāra-nāmā 14 Samajāt [k]i(ha) tāmāl-ānā  
tā]anya-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 22 vādah sakah-dharagī-dh(rā)-prānēn(hā) vāhā-āratam(hā)(ah) | avatāratī ya yasmin-  
jātā Viśhṇōr-annāhah para-dha-  
23 ragī-bhājān tā mānā yō nā ha[m]ah(ah) 15 Kamahajalharō Dhār-āh(hā)-tātā  
kramāt-ā(hū)h<sup>4</sup> 16 Yāh(hā)h āh(hā)-  
24 tē yasya evasthō-bhōd-bhātāh vidh(hā) 16 Tātē tātā prapant-āha nīlī-nāyaka-va-  
bhavāt(vam) | Dhūmarāj-ābhavad-rājā prātāpāh-tapana-  
25 prahhah 17 Dabātī pūstyaham-uchah(hā) prātīp-āpīpā-pura-parahpā(rā)h-iti yāh 16  
dhūma-dhyānāt-āh(hā) gānā-charāt Dhūmarājā (hā)-  
26 nāmā 18 Atha D[ī]vāh(hā)hāpālas-tamāt-ānām-āh(hā)h-āpīpā bhavāt 16 yasya prātāp-  
tapanah prātī-āpīpātī-tamāh kahayam kahapād-ana-  
27 yat 19 Svayādhivānā Dhār-āh(hā)h-āpīpā svā-tāt[ē] jayati Kamkasirahā-tātā rājyā  
kramānā | bhavati kīh rāh-āya svā(hā) pītā  
28 nō pramāṇāt itī khalu vītatam-yō-dhō-vyāh(hā)h-Kalpa-vikram(hā)h(hā) 20 Śit-Hara-  
nāh(hā)h-āpīpā-tamāt-āha prāthitā-jō(pān)rah(hā)h 16 dān-ān āh(hā)h-ā-  
29 rvyān-sukhān Vāishṇōpā vah 1 20 16 Svā-pāla-viśhṇavāyān svā-sam-āh(hā)h rājyā kshī-  
tāh-viśhṇōh-kautukān-āh(hā)h(hā)h | ā(hā)-  
30 vad-ā(hā) Jagah(hā)h<sup>5</sup> ity-āh(hā)h-āpīpā kṛta-kārah(hā)h Māhāva-kahōyī-kah(hā)h 21  
Karjūh karjūh-katuh Śvītpāh(r-āna) ā(hā)h-āpīpā Val-

<sup>1</sup> This is the name of a northern branch of the Narmadā (Rōvā) near Māndhātā (compared with the epic hero bearing the same name) where the Śūkārōvāra temple stands.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Harah*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Pañchavāṇī* pad. The number of this stanza is omitted in the original.

<sup>4</sup> The passage is materially defective.







[illegible]

Scale: Two-fifths







- 49 tō rāja-rutnam rāta-ākārān-ap[pa]h | jātā | sva-tōjas-ākārānta-sarvā-ōrvet-bharip-bhū-  
shap[pa]h || 37 Utkhātā para-bhūmayah punar-amūr-ātāśa-ātā-
- 50 bhya[ḍa\*] bhūtā drāgnibhān[akirā]¹ karitā parichitāśa-chakrē nija rōgtāh | pātr-āstharā  
ghatitāh sva-sūtra-kālitāh sugdhitā yatatō
- 51 yōn-ōti prakātam kulāśa-charita-kṛtān na rōgtān(tam) || 38 Tatō Yaśovarmāśa(rma)-  
apipō va[ba]bhūva prachanda-dūr-īdanāśa-asa-jaya-ātā | m-
- 52 ty-ardham-ātyam na kūt[ā]la trilōkyān dvitīyam-ang² yudhi yasya nāmāh || 39  
Tasmād-Ajayavarman-ābhūt-bhū[ta]³ bhūmi-vallabha[h] | prāt-
- 53 pa-tapanō yasya kumal-ōlāśa-ōlragah || 40 Prabhāgyan-mundā-mālāśa-ōkalita-gaja-  
mukham vyagra-jāgrat-ōdhiv-āyam vyākīrṇantāḥ¹ prakāram
- 54 dhūm-yidhara-mahāśānam-ātāh[ra\*] janta-bhūtan(tam) | dhvaat-ōchchah[ra]² kṛitā-kharāśa  
prapatna-nayana-āśvīram-ugr-ōgra-bhū[va] jū yatah[ra]³ kha[ra]⁴ jgōna vyadhāyi pravama[ra]⁵ na-
- 55 mudnam-raṅga-bhōr-Bhātravaya || 41 Vindhya-varman-ābhavat-tasmād-ānām-ōrvet-talā-  
khāh | yō Vindhya-giri[va] dvairi-ap[pa]pāyana-dantibhāh
- 56 | 42 Ajani Subha(yarmanā) saṅgatō krāta-karimā kuhata-rig[ra] nija-varmanā samadā  
prāpa-sarmanā | rīdha[ra]⁶ jātā-sadharm[ra]⁷ āth-ānām-ō-
- 57 dgita-narmuḍgimā² mohlita-mohita-varmanā nārgaga-pāpa-kharmanā || 43 Arjunadēva-  
tasmād Arjuna[va] Ratna jēva[ra] dānō | Bhārata-bhāhā-
- 58 bhūti Kṛpāśa-ratirva[ra] bhūhūva bhū-bharitā || 44 Satva[ra] kha-khitibhāh-jaya-  
syasamānām śatv-āya nānānva[ra]n Māna[nā]ka-pramākhāh prakampam-
- 59 dadhur-mundhya-mva³ bhūtā dhruvāt(vam) | s[ra] Sāmōva[ra]⁴ ca-pābhīraśudhā⁵ samay²  
prakāshayabhyatō mubhōmubhōr-utkalōlatay-ānām yad-ābharat-mihavaritā-ā-
- 60 bhāhāh || 45 Dēvapālāśa tatāh prāpa-prājyāh rājyāśa dhar-ādhipak | samamāh samadā  
prāh Kūpa-vrīk[ra]ś-ādi-madhyagah || 46 Sphāra-
- 61 r-ābhikrāśa suramāma-khūmāh prapāha-pratāp-śalāh[ra] udilp[ra]⁶ rī-radhā-vikōhama-jalāh-  
līptā gūlat-kajjāhāh | yat-kāshchā-v-
- 62 jayō vrīk[ra]hāh khāh Kūlāy-ōk-āmbh[ra]⁷ gō mūshatāśa-pāśatvāśa-charapāśa-chaturbhīr-  
ādhamā bhū-mandāśa kha[khō]lāśa | 47 Dhāvad-vāji-
- 63 khur-ōgra-ākāśa-vasantā prāstha-ephurāśa-bhūjā-dhvānt-ākāśānta-dig-āntarāla-vishaya-  
vyarthāh[ra]² āśa-karam(tam) | Bhāllasvāmī-pur-ōpa-
- 64 kūtāśa-ānām² Mūśchāśa-ādhipatī dūshikaram-yah kūtāśa-taravān[ra] siva samāśa dvāśhā  
vyadhōśa-uddhātām(tam) || 48 Tasmā[ra] Jātugūd[ra]³ bhūt-pā-
- 65 rihavāh prithivītāśa | dharām-udāharatā yēna āśaātā Śrītharvāgita[ra]⁴ || 49 Tatāh tri-  
Jayavarmanānam āśa-
- 66 y² Sēth sphūśadhbhū[ra] bhū[ra]d[ra]jām | āśa-āduryāśa yam[ra]śāśyā tatyāśa chāpāśa-ōty-  
āśa[ra]⁵ (tam) || 50 Yaga-yāgād-ātākhāśa vrīk[ra]h-

¹ Read *drāgnibhān* *akirā* *akirā*.

² Read *drāgnibhān* *akirā*.

³ The word is generally spelt as *akāśa* and not *ākāśa*.

⁴ Read *drāgnibhān* *akirā*.

⁵ Read *drāgnibhān* *akirā*.







- 84 rīdhī-vāri-pāna-duḥṣavēda-duḥkham-iva mārāḥi pīva(ba)ṇa=apō=chitaḥ || 65 Prākārēṣa  
pratōḷyā śhaḍ-ādihika-ḍasa(ḥa)bhūr-namodirāḥ eva-
- 85 rṇṇa-kamūbhair-utunṅgaire-bhūri-kakshair-gura-sata-andanēn-āṇva(ba)-kudḍēna yuktān-  
(ktām) | yō durgē Maṇḍap-ākḥē(khyē) vyalarad-īha purīn Vra(Brā)hmaṇē-
- 86 dhyō nrip-ājñām lavḍhrā(bdhvā) Māndhātī-durgē-py=ampāna-rachaaṇḍi tadvad-ēva  
vyadhātta || 66 sa ēsha pūrev-ōkta-rāj-āvalī-vīrajamāṇaḥ bha-
- 87 kty-ādibhūḥ prasālitāna ārīmaḥ-Jayavarmanṇaḥ Dhār-ādhipēn-ānujñātāḥ Sa(Sā)dhārikō  
=nayastrīhadēvō dharmm-ādhat-samva(ba)ddha-vu(ba)-
- 88 ddhir-vijayī Vardḍhanāpara-pratījāgarapakō Kumhūḍāṇḍa-grāmō tathā tatr-āira  
Vīlānda-grāmō tathā Saptāśīti-pratī-
- 89 jāgarapakō Vaghāḍī-grāmō tathā Nāgadhā-pratījāgarapakō Nāṭiyū-grāmō samasta-  
rājapurnabhūn-Vra(n-Brā)-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 90 kṇaḥ-ḥitatām-pratīnīvīś-ṣaṭṭakila-janapad-ādibhū-cha vō(bō)dhayaty-asu vah samv-  
ditam-yathā | Maṇḍapa-durg-āraśhīta-
- 91 samābhū-ākātrīṇḍa-ādihika-trayōḍasa-sata-samkhy-ānvitō Pramāthi-nāmaḥ  
samvatsarō Bhādrapadē māsi śukla-pakṣhō
- 92 saptamyām uthau Sukra-dinō Maitrē<sup>1</sup> nakṣatrē anūtvā bhagavantaṁ Pārvarīpatinī  
samahyareḥya samāśray-āśmatān dīśhivā tathā
- 93 hi ||\*|| Yāi-ābhra-vīkramam-śhaś vasaḍh-ādhipatyam-āpāta-mātra-madhurō viśhay-  
āpabhōgāḥ | prāḍa=trīn-āgra-jala-vindu-samā nardān
- 94 dharmmāḥ śikhā pāram-śhō pāra-lōka-yānā || 67\* || it sarvāni vimṛṣīḥy-ādīśhīḥa-phalam-  
arūḥkṛtya cha eva-putrāḥ Kamalāsīṇha-Dhārasīṇha-Jatra-
- 95 śīṇha-Padmasīṇha(bā) ity-śtālī sahitaḥ||\*|| nānā-gōtrābhyō nānā-nāmābhyō Māndhātī-  
Vra-(Brā)hmaṇapūri-vāṇavyēbhyō Vra(Brā)hmaṇābhyāḥ ya-
- 96 tathā Takāri-śhāna-vinirgatāya Gāntama-sagōtrāya Āṇḍīma-Auvathya-(Gan)ṭam-śī-tri-  
pravarāya<sup>2</sup> Rīgveda-śikh-ādhyā-
- 97 yāś Cha<sup>3</sup>-Kamalādharaśarmmanāḥ putrāya Avamthi-Vidyādharaśarmmanāḥ putrāya  
Dī<sup>4</sup>-Padmanābhaśarmmanāḥ Vra(Brā)hmaṇāya
- 98 padam-śkam || 1 Takāri-śhāna-vinirgatāya Gāntama-sagōtrāya Āṇḍīma-Auvathya-Gāntam-  
śī-tri-pravarāya Rīgveda-
- 99 śikh-ādhyāyīnō Cha<sup>3</sup>-Kamalādharaśarmmanāḥ putrāya Ava<sup>5</sup>-Vidyādharaśarmmanāḥ  
putrāya Cha<sup>3</sup>-Mādhavaśarmmanāḥ Vra(Brā)hmaṇā-
- 100 ya padam-śkam || 1 Takāri-śhāna-vinirgatāya Bhāradvāja-sagōtrāya Āṇḍīma-Va(Brā)-  
rāṇapāya-Bhāradvāja-śī-tri-prava-

<sup>1</sup> The intended reading may be *dharm-śikhā*.<sup>2</sup> The popular name of the constellation is *Asvadhā*.<sup>3</sup> According to many authorities, the preverbs of the Gāntama given are Āṇḍīma, Aṇḍīma and Gāntama, while those of the Uthya or Ushathya given are Āṇḍīma, Uthya or Ushathya and Gāntama.<sup>4</sup> This is a contraction of *Chakradhā*.<sup>5</sup> This is a contraction of *Uśakha*.<sup>6</sup> This is a contraction of *Amavāsi*.



- 101 rāya Rīgvēda-sākhā-pravaraddhamāyā Mītra-Dharmasādharaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Pañcha-  
pīthi<sup>1</sup> Mītra<sup>2</sup> Uddhamaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Path<sup>3</sup>
- 102 Śrīkumhāśarmmaṇaḥ Vra(Brā)hmaṇāya padam-śkam || 1 Lāha(kha)ṇapura-vinīgatāya Kā-  
śyapa-sagōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvataśra-Naidhru-
- 103 v-ēti-tri-pravarāya Cha<sup>4</sup> Bhō(Bhā)patiśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Paṇ<sup>5</sup>-Vidyāpatiśarmmaṇaḥ  
putrāya Rūgvēda-sākhā-pravaraddhamāyā Dvi<sup>6</sup>
- 104 Gōvaraddhamāśarmmaṇaḥ Vra(Brā)hmaṇāya padam-śkam || 1 Tōlāpanthā-sthāna-vinīgatāya  
Chandratrāya-sagōtrāya Ātrāya-Gāvi-
- 105 śhikha-Pāryvāṭi-ēti-tri-pravarāya Dv<sup>7</sup> Śrīvatasśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Dv<sup>8</sup> Dvāśarmmaśarm-  
maṇaḥ putrāya Mādhyamādi-
- 106 kh-ādhyāyina<sup>9</sup> Dv<sup>10</sup> Vāṇmaśarmmaṇaḥ Vra(Brā)hmaṇāya padam-śkam || 1 Takāri-sthāna-vinī-  
gatāya Vajishikha-sagōtrā-
- 107 ya Vāishikha-Saktiya-Pārāśary-ēti-tri-pravarāya Va(Bā)labhadraśarmmaṇaḥ p[re]su[re]trāya  
Sūdharaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Mādhyamādi-
- 108 na-sākh-ādhyāyina<sup>9</sup> Avasthi<sup>11</sup> Anantaśarmmaṇaḥ Vra(Brā)hmaṇāya padam-śkam || 1 Takāri-  
sthāna-vinīgatāya [Bh]āra-
- 109 dvāja-sagōtrāya Āṅgīrasa-Va(Bā)ṭhaṇḍāya-Bhāradvāj-ēti-tri-pravarāya Sukla-Pradyumna-  
śarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Dvi<sup>12</sup> Śō-
- 110 śāśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Mādhyamādi-sākh-ādhyāyina<sup>9</sup> Dvi<sup>13</sup> Harīśarmmaśarmmaṇaḥ Vra(Brā)-  
hmaṇāya padam-śkam || 1
- 111 Tōlāsthāna-vinīgatāya Kāśyapa-sagōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvataśra-Naidhruv-ēti-tri-pravarāya  
Upā<sup>14</sup> \*
- 112 Dvāśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Upā<sup>15</sup> Valīśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Mādhyamādi-sākh-ādhyāyina<sup>9</sup>  
Dvi<sup>16</sup> [Mā]-

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 113 [hā]dvāśarmmaṇaḥ Vra(Brā)hmaṇāya padam-śkam || 1 Takāri-sthāna-vinīgatāya Kāśyapa-  
sagōtrāya Viśvā<sup>17</sup>
- 114 [m]itra-Kātya Kū<sup>18</sup> ēti-tri-pravarā[ya] Pā<sup>19</sup> Kallhaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Ava<sup>20</sup> Āladēvaśa-  
rmaṇaḥ putrāya
- 115 Mādhyamādi-sākh-ādhyāyina<sup>9</sup> Dvi<sup>21</sup> Har[ī]dvāśarmmaṇaḥ Vra(Brā)hmaṇāya padam-śkam || 1  
Takāri-sthāna-vinīgatāya [Bh]ānuvāja-
- 116 sagōtrāya Āṅgīrasa-Va(Bā)ṭhaṇḍāya-Bhāradvāj-ēti-tri-pravarāya Dvi<sup>22</sup> t[ra]śādharaśarmmaṇaḥ  
putrāya Ava<sup>23</sup> V[ī]ṇak[ā]dvāśarmmaṇaḥ

<sup>1</sup> The intended word seems to be pāthi.

<sup>2</sup> Mītra has not been observed here.

<sup>3</sup> This is a contraction of Pañcha-pīthī or more probably Pañchī.

<sup>4</sup> This is a contraction of Lāhaḥ.

<sup>5</sup> Paṇḍita is possible. Paṇḍit has not been observed here.

<sup>6</sup> This may be a contraction of Pādma or more probably Upādhyāya.

<sup>7</sup> The correct form of the name is Dvī according to many authorities.

<sup>8</sup> This may be a contraction of Pīthī.



[illegible]



अथवा भगवत्पुत्रोऽपि

ननु पुनरपि कथं वा ततोनाथक

या यतः स्यात्तथा च

114

गङ्गायाः कौन्तिनिमि उग्रव

गङ्गायाः कौन्तिनिमि उग्रव

गङ्गायाः कौन्तिनिमि उग्रव

116

ननु पुनरपि कथं वा ततोनाथक

या यतः स्यात्तथा च

गङ्गायाः कौन्तिनिमि उग्रव

118

ननु पुनरपि कथं वा ततोनाथक

या यतः स्यात्तथा च

गङ्गायाः कौन्तिनिमि उग्रव

120

ननु पुनरपि कथं वा ततोनाथक

या यतः स्यात्तथा च

गङ्गायाः कौन्तिनिमि उग्रव

122

ननु पुनरपि कथं वा ततोनाथक

या यतः स्यात्तथा च

गङ्गायाः कौन्तिनिमि उग्रव

124

ननु पुनरपि कथं वा ततोनाथक

या यतः स्यात्तथा च

गङ्गायाः कौन्तिनिमि उग्रव

126

ननु पुनरपि कथं वा ततोनाथक

या यतः स्यात्तथा च

गङ्गायाः कौन्तिनिमि उग्रव

128

ननु पुनरपि कथं वा ततोनाथक

या यतः स्यात्तथा च

गङ्गायाः कौन्तिनिमि उग्रव

130

ननु पुनरपि कथं वा ततोनाथक

या यतः स्यात्तथा च

गङ्गायाः कौन्तिनिमि उग्रव

132

ननु पुनरपि कथं वा ततोनाथक

या यतः स्यात्तथा च

गङ्गायाः कौन्तिनिमि उग्रव

134

ननु पुनरपि कथं वा ततोनाथक

या यतः स्यात्तथा च

गङ्गायाः कौन्तिनिमि उग्रव







- 155 kīā rājābhī[<sup>1</sup>] Sagar-ūlībhūh | yasya yasya yadā bhūmī-tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam)  
|| [68<sup>a</sup>] Śva-dattām para-dattām vā yō hareta vasumdhātū(tām) |

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 136 aa viśvāhāyān kyimīr-bhūvā pīpībhūh mha mājjatī ( || 69<sup>a</sup> ) Sarvān-śvāt bhūvāt bhūmī-  
pālān-bhūyō bhūyō yācatō Rāmabhadraḥ |
- 137 sāmānyō-yatī dharmma-śtur-nīpānān kāl[<sup>2</sup>] kālō pālanīyō bhavadbhīh || [70<sup>a</sup>] Iti kamala-  
dal-āmra(bu)-vīndu-lōlān śrīyama-
- 138 puchi[<sup>3</sup>]tya mānalya-jī[<sup>4</sup>]tanī cka | sakalam-ulam-udāhṛitam cka vū(bud)dhvā na hi puruṣa-  
sīh para-kīrtayō vilōpya[<sup>5</sup>]h || [71<sup>a</sup>] Iti ||
- 139 Śethaṇṭhōs nīyuktōs sahhāya(h)(yān) Jayavarmanapā | cakrō kula-kram-āyātō(ia)-  
traividyatōs āśanam(nam) || [72<sup>a</sup>] utkīrṇam cka ra(rū)pa-
- 140 kēra-Kāṇhākōna ||

<sup>1</sup> Originally kō was engraved.

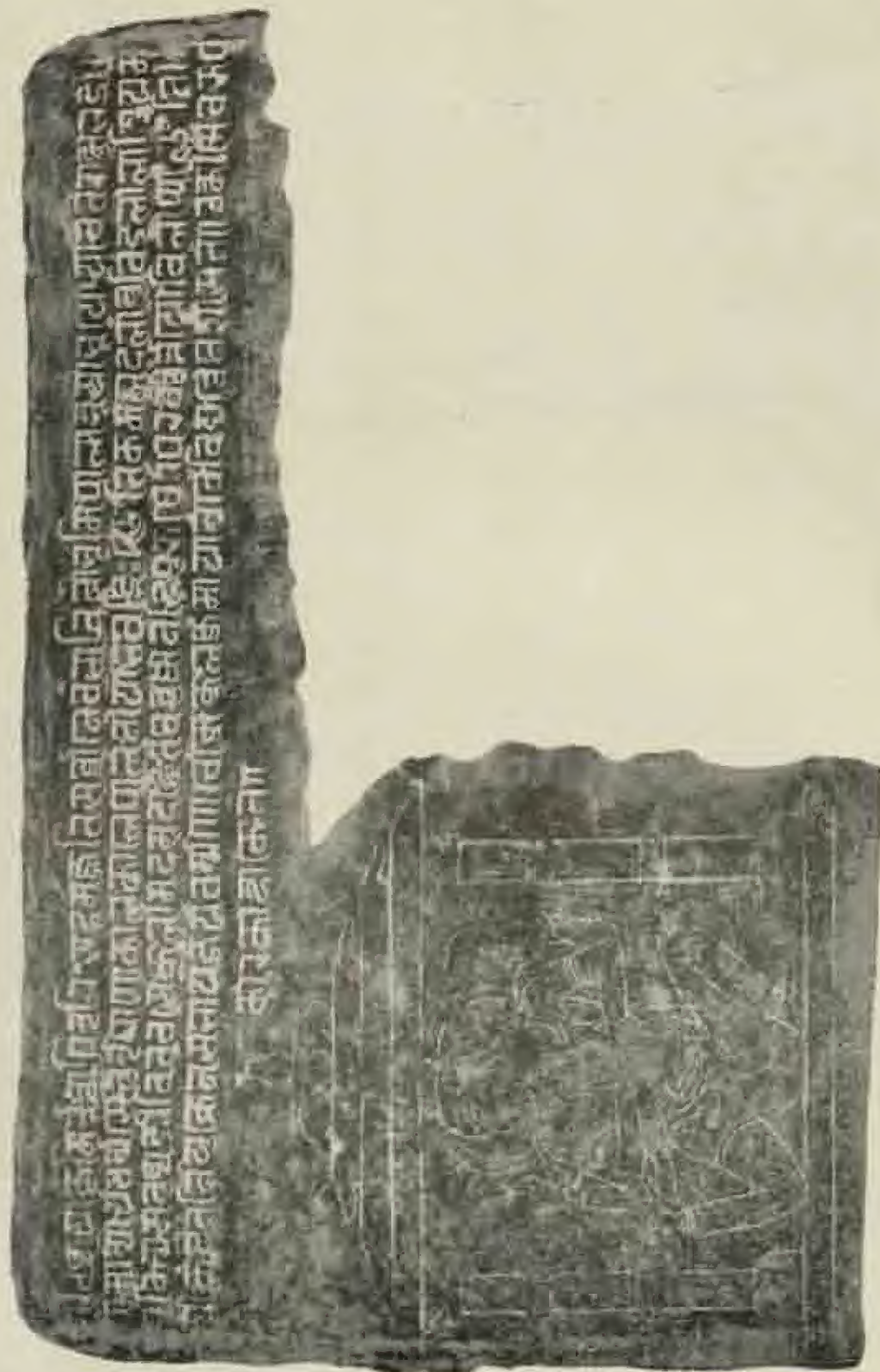


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" 34. <i>Amudalapadu Plates of Vikramaditya I, Year 8</i>	between pages 182 and 183
" 35. <i>Two Inscriptions of Parantaka, Year 9</i>	" " 186 " 187



# No. 18—JHARIKA GRANT OF RASHTRAKUTA GOVINDA III, SAKA 725

[2 Plates]

V. B. KOLTE, NAGPUR

These plates were discovered on the 13th of April 1954 by Shri Ashvutras Gopalrao Deshmukh in the dilapidated mud wall on the south-west side of a small fortress owned by him at **Sirso**,<sup>1</sup> a village two miles north of Murtimpur, the headquarters of a Taluk of that name in the Akola District, formerly in Madhya Pradesh but now in Bombay State. Shri B. G. Deshmukh, B. A. G., the younger brother of Shri A. G. Deshmukh and an erstwhile pupil of mine, kindly sent them to me through Shri J. B. Kadam alias Nanasaheb, M. L. A. I am indebted to these gentlemen for permitting me to edit the plates.

The plates are strung together on a ring (about 1" in thickness and 3" in diameter), the ends of which are soldered into the socket of a circular **seal** (1.8" in diameter), containing in relief, on a counter-sunk surface, the figure of Gaurāṇa, facing full front, squatting on a lotus and carrying a serpent in each hand. The ring was intact when the plates reached my hands. I got it out through the Curator, Nagpur Museum. The weight of the plates is 175 *akas* and that of the ring together with the seal 51 *tolas*.

The plates are **three** in number, each measuring from 9.5" to 10" in length and 7" in breadth. Their ends are slightly raised for the protection of the writing. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only and the second on both the sides. At the centre of the proper right and about .8" from the end, each plate has a circular hole about .8" in diameter for the ring to pass through. When I received the plates they were all covered with verdigris. After cleaning them, it was found that they were corroded in many places. Several letters on each plate have been damaged, especially the letters in lines 51 and 52 on the second side of the second plate. This has rendered the decipherment of the names of the boundary villages very difficult, although the introductory part of the inscription could be read without much difficulty with the help of cognate records. There are 73 lines in all, 17 of them occurring on the first plate, 19 and 20 on the first and second sides of the second plate, and the remaining 17 on the third plate. The penultimate line on the first side of the second plate is short in length by 1.5" and the last line incised on the right side at the bottom, is only 1.7" in length and contains only seven letters. The last line on the second side of the second plate is also only 1.3" in length and contains only five letters incised at the bottom on the right side. The size of the letters therefore is not the same everywhere. They are generally  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$ " in height, but are slightly bigger in lines 72 and 73 and smaller in line 39. The engraving is careless and, in certain places, some syllables and words are omitted or repeated (cf. e.g., the confusion in line 34).

Medial ā is generally denoted by adding a short downward stroke at the end of the top *mātrā*, e.g., *maṇḍalā* in line 2. In some places, it is a long full-fledged stroke, e.g., *śāṭā* in line 12. Sometimes it is indicated by a horizontal stroke turned upwards, e.g., *parākrāma* in line 17 while often it is a short vertical stroke on the top of the letter, e.g., *śaṣṭhā* and *danā* in line 57. Medial *ṛ* is denoted by a short horizontal stroke at the foot of a letter, e.g., in *ojāṣi* in line 3, and sometimes by a curve open to the left, e.g., *kāṇat-āṣṭa* in line 1. Medial *ū* is represented in many cases by a

<sup>1</sup> It is at this village that the Siaver and Lāhārā grants of Govinda III were discovered (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 204).



curve open to the right, e.g. *pāṇā-pāṇā* in line 72, and sometimes by a horizontal stroke slanting to the right : e.g. *bhūmā* in line 66. The forms of *ra* and *rā* may be noted in *rueḍiē* in line 8 and *rāpaṇā* in line 24. Medial *ṣ* or *ṣ* is shown either by a short vertical or a slanting downward stroke to the left of the top *mātrā* of a letter or by a slanting line out on its head. The letters are generally uniform ; but *ḷ*, *v*, *p*, etc., have different forms. The letter *n* has two forms, one North Indian and the other South Indian.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit which is not accurate in all cases. Sometimes *ḍ* is used for *ṣ* and *vice versa*. In certain places, *anuvāra* is used for final *n* (cf. *śmānakāṇ* for *mānakāṇā* in line 46). Attention may also be drawn to the use of *ṭi* for *tri* (line 6) and *gi* for *gri* (line 12). There are instances of short vowels being used for long ones and *vice versa*. As an example of metathesis may be cited *yaja* for *gya* in line 23.

Some discrepancy is noticed in the **date** as recorded in lines 55-58 of the inscription. The **Saka** year, given both in words and in figures, is 726 according to the former and 725 according to the latter. A lunar eclipse is stated to have occurred on the full moon of Kārttika during the year in question. According to Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, there was a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Kārttika in the expired Saka year 725. There was no eclipse on Kārttika *purnimā* of the preceding and following few years. The Saka year intended here was therefore 725 (expired).<sup>2</sup> The corresponding Christian date is the **2nd November 803 A.D.**

The plates were issued by the **Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III** from his victorious camp on the bank of the river **Tuṅgabhadra near Alampura**. The genealogy of the king recounted here is the same as in his other copper-plate grants, viz. Gōvinda I : his son Karkka I : his son Indra : his son Dantidurga : his uncle Krishna, son of Karkka I : his son Gōvinda II : his younger brother Dhruva : and his son Gōvinda III, the donor of the present charter. In line 45 he is referred to as *Śrī Vallabha-narāyaṇa*.

The introductory stanzas are mostly the same as in the Paithan plates<sup>3</sup> of Saka 710, except that verses 29, 34 and 27 of the present plates do not occur in the latter and that verses 24, 26 and 27 of the Paithan plates do not occur in the present record. An interesting point to be noted is that verses 20 and 21 of the Paithan plates, which do not occur in any previous records of the Rāshtrakūṭas, are found in the present plates (verses 21-22). Verse 24 of the present inscription is not found in any other charter.

Although the present inscription contains no new facts about the genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭas, it is useful for elucidating the **time of the southern campaigns of Gōvinda III**. According to our epigraph the king was camping on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra near Alampura on the 2nd November 803 A.D. According to the Sanjan plates<sup>4</sup> which describe the exploits of Gōvinda III, this king is stated to have launched an offensive against the Deavīḍa kings after his campaigns in the north. While engaged in this southern expedition, he was encamped at Hēlāpura. In the other records of Gōvinda III, he is said to have spent the rainy season at Śrībhavana after his northern expedition and thence proceeded to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra.

<sup>2</sup> In most of the charters issued by Gōvinda III the Saka year mentioned is expired and the system followed is the northern luni-solar one. Sometimes the Saka year is a current one, though it is said to be an expired one, as in the present plates. Besides this grant, there are two more records in which the date is mentioned as above. They are the Wān-Dipdōri plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 159) and the Bhūllāwā plates (*Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, p. 21). In the present charter, notwithstanding the expression *Saka-śrīpa-kāla-anta*, the year 726 has to be taken as current, the year intended being 725 (expired).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 165 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. XVIII, pp. 225 ff.



It is very probable<sup>1</sup> that Alampur of the present charter is identical with Hāḷapura of the Sanjan plates.<sup>2</sup> According to the British Museum plates,<sup>3</sup> Gōvinda III was camping at Rāṁśvara-tirtha on the bank of the Tungabhadra on the 4th April of 804 A.D. after his victorious expedition against the Pallava ruler. From this we are led to surmise that his southern expedition was carried on between the date of the present charter and that of the British Museum plates, i.e., between the 2nd November of 803 A.D. and the 4th April of 804 A.D.

As pointed out by Prof. Mirashi,<sup>4</sup> the charters of Gōvinda III fall into two groups, the first consisting of the Paithan and Ajjanavati plates, in both of which the draft of the introductory part follows for the most part the text of the earlier records of the Rashtrakūta family. Under the second group fall all other charters commencing with the Nēsarī plates of Śaka 727. In this series, a new draft was employed for the introduction describing the victories of the king over his northern and southern adversaries. The new draft is also found in the Marge plates of his brother Stambha dated Śaka 724 which was therefore taken to be the starting point of the second series by Prof. Mirashi. The genuineness of the Marge plates was questioned by Dr. Altekar who pointed out that as Gōvinda III was still engaged in his southern campaign in Śaka 725 according to the British Museum plates, the new draft could not have been composed prior to this date. To obviate this difficulty, Prof. Mirashi argued that the southern expedition mentioned in the British Museum plates must have been a second expedition of a later date. But an examination of the inscription shows that there is no ground for such an assumption.<sup>5</sup>

The present inscription proves the spurious nature of the Marge plates. The first group of charters issued by Gōvinda III is represented by the Paithan and Ajjanavati plates and the present record is a new and important addition to it. While the Paithan and Ajjanavati plates were issued before the Marge plates, the charter under study was issued one year later than that record. It can therefore be inferred that even in Śaka 725 the old draft was being used by the king. If the new draft was already composed and used in the Marge charter, there was no point in continuing with the old one in a charter issued one year later. The unimixed evidence of the Jharikā and British Museum plates shows that, during Śaka 725 and 726, Gōvinda III was still engaged in his southern campaign which he carried on from his camp at Alampur on the bank of the Tungabhadra and that after this expedition, on his way back to the capital, he had the new draft prepared. It was used, as far as evidence goes, for the first time in the Nēsarī charter of Śaka 727. Prof. Mirashi's inference that Gōvinda III's expedition against the southern kings occurred in Śaka 722 and 723 needs revision.\*

<sup>1</sup> Bhambhakar's suggestion (above, Vol. XVIII, p. 241) that Hāḷapura might be Yāḷapur or Hāḷur in the Hassan District of Mysore does not seem to be correct, as the place is far away from the Tungabhadra.

<sup>2</sup> The identification of Hāḷapura with Alampur is correct. The place was known by various names such as Hāḷapura mentioned in a Kāḷattya inscription (*Hyd. Arch. Soc. No. 13*, Ins. No. 53, p. 167). Hemalāpura according to a passage in the *Subahparāṇa* (*Prabuddha Karmāṇa*, No. 46, 1942, p. 29), and Alapura reckoned among the eighteen Śākta Pithas (*JOB*, Vol. XLX, p. 257; *Kannada Sāhitya Parishat Patra*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1-2, p. 131) — P. B. D.]

<sup>3</sup> *Bauddh. Soc.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 387-98.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 314 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet's translation of this record as given by him earlier in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 437, is incorrect and misleading. This mistake was rectified later by him in the *Bauddh. Soc.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 387. I am indebted to Shri N. Lakshminarayana Rao for this reference.

\* [For the controversy on the nature of the Marge plates between Dr. Altekar and Prof. Mirashi, neither of whom regards the inscription as spurious, see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 292-97. For the former's views on the chronology of Gōvinda III's campaigns, see also *Ajanta-Peśwāpāl's Volume*, pp. 123 ff., and *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. IV, p. 8, where he has accepted the date of Gōvinda's southern campaign as suggested by Prof. Mirashi.—P.B.D.]



The donee of the present plates is *Bhūṭa* Rāyapa of the Rāyapa *gōtra*, who was a resident of Dhārāsiva, belonged to the family of Traividyas (i.e. learned in three Vedas) and was a student of the Rīgveda. He was the son of *Bhūṭa* Annasvāmin. It is to be noted that with some variations of spelling in the name the figures in the same capacity in three more records of Gōvinda III, viz. the Śīmarai,<sup>1</sup> Daṣapura<sup>2</sup> and Lohārā<sup>3</sup> grants. The grandfather of Rāyapa is not mentioned in the present grant. According to the Śīmarai charter he was Viśva-chaturveda who, it may be noted, belonged to the family of Chāturvidyas and not Traividyas as stated in other grants. He is called *uśa-guṇvāsin* in the Lohārā and Daṣapura plates.

As stated in the last two lines of the record, the charter was written in the presence of the king by Kukkāyya who was the son of the general Gaṇḍa, honoured by the five great titles, and by Dēvayya,<sup>4</sup> officer in charge of the records. Kukkāyya who wrote the Añjanavati charter seems to be identical with this Kukkāyya. The same person seems to be responsible for the writing of the Paithan plates, as the last sentence in the record (line 73) can be read as *līkhitam cha Parameśvara-ādrot(jaṇ)ṇaḥ Śrī Kukkāyaya(n)-āṇi*, although Kielhorn, its editor, did not decipher this portion. Thus it seems that Kukkāyya wrote the charters in which the old draft was used and that Arṇāditya wrote the others in which the new draft was utilized.

As for the places mentioned in the present grant, Alampara is the present Alampur, near the Alampur Road railway station on the Central Railway, 3 miles to the north of the Taṅgabhadra river. Jharikā, the donated village, may be modern Zari in the Kalapur Taluk of the Yeotmal District. Pūga, the headquarters of the territorial unit in which Jharikā was situated, may be modern Pūhānā on the bank of the Wardhā river in the Hingnaghat Taluk of the Wardha District. Of the boundary villages, Talati may be identified with the present Taroli, 3 miles to the east, Valurāma with Umbari about 4 miles to the south, and Mānagrāma with Mārḡāon 5 miles to the north of Zari. Talabhi cannot be identified.

#### TEXT

[Metres : Verses 1, 23, 29-30, 32-33, 39 *Anuṣṭubh* : verses 2-3, 5-6, 8-9, 15, 24-25 *Fusantilaka* ; verses 4, 19, *Upajit* ; verse 7 *Giti* ; verses 10, 17, 20-22 *Sārdūlankāṭṭā* ; verses 11-14, 26, 28 *Āryā* ; verses 16, 18 *Śaugharā* ; verses 27, 31, 34 *Indrayajū* ; verse 35 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

#### First Plate

- 1 Ōm\* [1\*] Sa vō-vyād-Vōdhasā dhāma yan-māḥḥa-kamalam kṛitam(ām) [1\*] Harat-cha  
yasya līkhitam(t-ām)du-kalayā kam-alam(kṛitam(ām) [1\*] Āṇṣaḥśiva(t-āvi)-  
śhaḥśi(śhaḥ-ā)mi.
- 2 ram-udyata-maṇḍal-āgrā dhvastin-nayanama(yana-a)bhima(khā) rapa-darvavāḥaḥ | bhūpaḥ  
anchar-vādhut(v-aḥ)pa-dig-adha-kim(r\*)-āḥ(Gō)vindarāḥa.
- 3 iti rājasa rāja-singhaḥ(hah) [1\*] 2\* Uchistvā ebamām-abhimukhī(r\*) saḥśat-āḥa-līkhit-  
mam(mā)mitam sapadi yōna rapāḥa-niyam(ayam) [1\*]
- 4 das(ā)ṣṭ(ā)llharāpa dāḥatā bhīkṇu(tī)ḥaḥ hāḥa khadgaṇ kulam cha hridayam cha nijaḥ  
cha satvāḥa(tram) [1\*] 3\* Khadgaṇ kar-āgrān-mukhāt-cha 45.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 295.

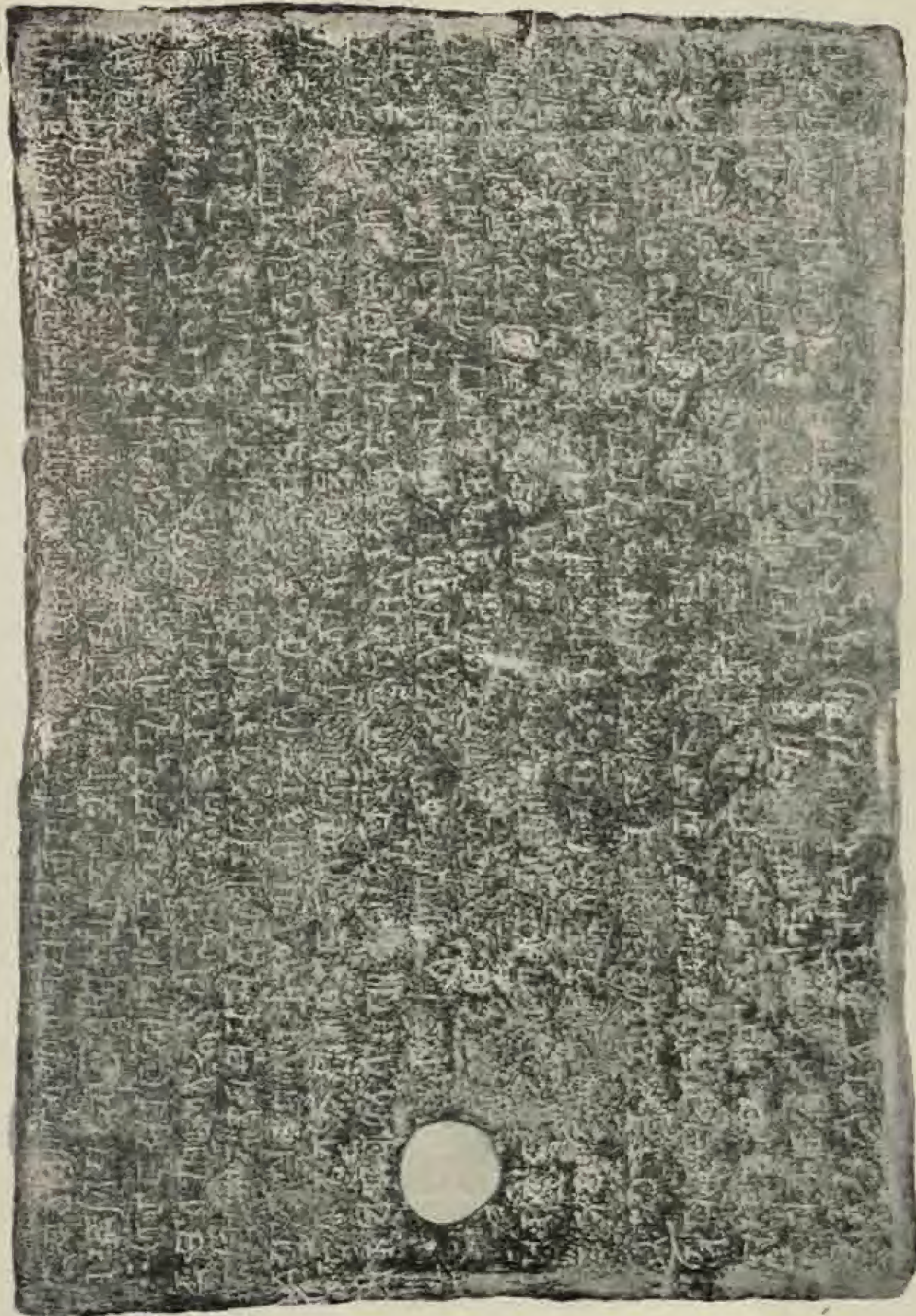
<sup>2</sup> Sources of the Historical History of the Deccan, Vol. III, pp. 27 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 213.

<sup>4</sup> This Dēvayya seems to be identical with Dēvayya-rāṣaḥa figuring as the *Dēvaka* in the Nēnāḥ charter.

\* Expressed by symbol.





Scale : Nine-tenths

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16



Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a manuscript page. The text is densely packed and appears to be a continuous passage. A large circular hole is visible near the bottom center of the page.

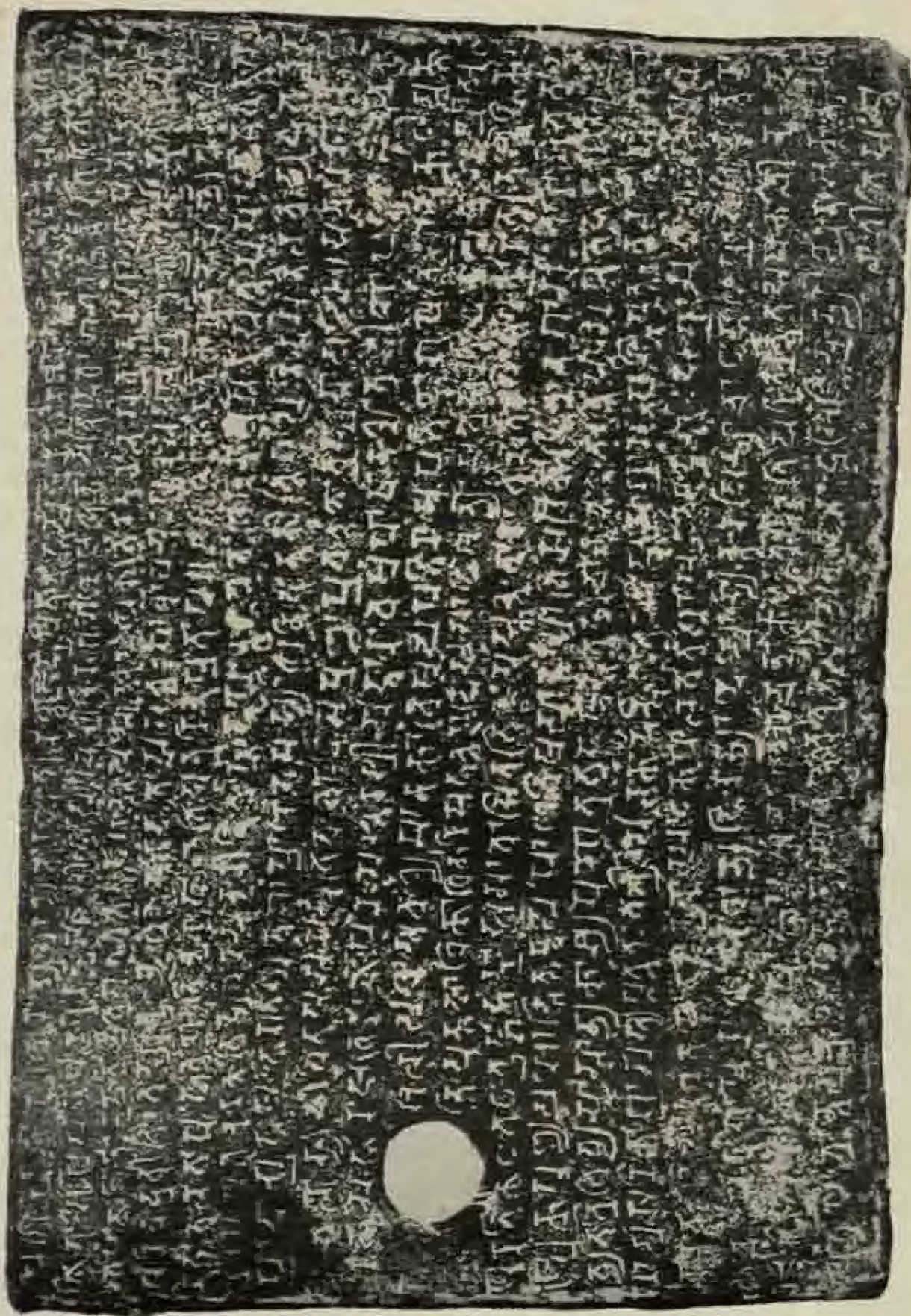












Scale : Nine-tenths



654

40



3

1. **THEORY**

25

11

27



- 39 kha-parikajānīni [dēvā] dīvāni gataṃvati tṛi(tri)-jagataṃ yasya [i]<sup>a</sup> ady-āpi kūrīti-amra-  
[kū]m iv-ānuzāg[da] . . . yāśāśi
- 40 parī[ḍ]ā[dravīti] || 24<sup>b</sup> Tasy-āpi[y-a]bhūl-lhuvana-bhūm-bhritau samarthah Pārth-  
ōpanah Pārth-samāna-guṇō guṇajñah [i]<sup>a</sup> harvāra-vairi-va-
- 41 nī-ātula-tāpa-hētur (lāvīndarāja) iti sāmur-ina-pratāpa[h]<sup>a</sup> || 25<sup>a</sup> Śāśa(hara-kara-  
nikara-nibhūti yasya(sya) valasah<sup>c</sup> [Suranag-āgra-sānu-śhalah] [i]<sup>a</sup> pa-
- 42 riglyatō-nimaktair Vidyādharā-sundarī-nivahah || 26<sup>a</sup> Hṛishīṭō-āvalaham yō-[rthi]-janāya  
sarvva[m]<sup>a</sup> sarvvaṃ samānandita-va(ba)ndhu-vargah [i]<sup>a</sup>
- 43 prālāt-praharīhō<sup>d</sup> hantā [ana vāgān(gāt)] pāpāna(n-Ya)masy-āpi nīlāta-kīrtih  
|| 27<sup>a</sup> Yēn-ālam anllā-vidyuch-śhantīhalam-a-
- 44 valūkyā [vītam aśāntadīram] [i]<sup>a</sup> kalitī-dāma-parania-puṇya[h]<sup>a</sup> pravartitō vra(hra)hma-  
dāyō-yūth(yam) || 28<sup>a</sup> sa-śha paramabhatjā-
- 45 raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramōvata śrinad-Dhārāvaraha-pād āmalyāta-īrī<sup>e</sup> Gōvīndarāja-  
dēva[h]<sup>a</sup> ku-
- 46 ānī yathā-sarva(ha)bhayamānakām(kām) vishayapati-rāshtrapati-bhūgupati-gṛāmakūy-  
āyukta-
- 47 niyuktah-śhlikāśhlikā<sup>f</sup> [ka]<sup>a</sup> mahattar-ādih(dīa) samādīśaty-astu vah samēvhitam yathā  
mayā Alarh-
- 48 pa(pu)ra-nikata-rata-Tuṅgabhadrā-samāśrīta-vijaya-śharadhāvā(t-ā)śāntīm mātā-  
pitṛō-ātmanā-śh-śhlik-ānu-
- 49 śhūka-puṇya-yatō-bhivīdīdhagē Pōṇa-vishay-ānta[h]pūti-Jharik-ābhīdā[ḍ]hā)na-grāmah  
Dhārāśha-vāta-
- 50 vra-tātra(vi)dyā<sup>a</sup> sāmānya-Kāśyapa-gūtra-va(ha)hvīja(śha)-sva(śa)vra(hra)hmachārī-bhātta-  
<sup>a</sup>Annasvāmi-anta-bhātta-Risya-
- 51 pūya<sup>a</sup> Jharikā-grāmaṇya-pūrevataḥ Taluī-śāva[kadī lakshīgataḥ (Vi)śh[rā]mā-grāmah  
pāchimatāḥ Taluḥī-grāmah-a-
- 52 itarātah [Mātagrāma] śvaṃ śa[śh-śha]tur-āghāja-kupāla-va(ha)śha[ddha]-grāmah  
śh[dratigah] sa-grāma-bhūgah [a-śh]pari-
- 53 karah sa-śha-āpārādīah sa [dhā]nya himāyā[ay-ā]śayō-bhyantara-śh[śh]hy-a-śhāta-bhātta-  
prāyāya[h] sarvva-rō-
- 54 juktyā[nā]m-a-[haṃta]-prakōbōpanīyah ā-śhamī-ārkk-ā[ruga]va-kalitī-sarit-parvata-soma-  
kālmah sa-
- 55 putra-putr-ānvaya-kram-ōpabhuṇyamāna dēva-xra(hra)hma-dāya-rahitō bhūmi-śhohīdīra-  
nyāyēna | **Saka-nripa-kā-**
- 56 1-ātita-samva(samva)-

<sup>a</sup> Read an āh.<sup>b</sup> These words which were omitted by the engraver have been restored here from the Pāthay and other records.<sup>c</sup> Read parāśhīśh as in Jaitawā and other plates.<sup>d</sup> Read before this as in the Pāthay and Añjanavāli plates parvata-bhātīrānta-mahāśhīdāśha-parvataśha-  
prithivīśhāha-Prabhātarāśha. These words have been left out by the engraver evidently through mistake.<sup>e</sup> The letters śhāśh are unnecessarily repeated.<sup>f</sup> Read trāśhīyāz. (Or, ha-trāśhīyāz.—ED.)<sup>g</sup> Kaśhīśh has not been observed here.<sup>h</sup> This word referring to the home is to be connected with prathīdīśh in line 50.



## Third Plate

- 57 *tsara-sātōshu' saptasu sha[ḍ-vim]vish'antya-adbhikēshu yair-āṅkatō-pi samva-*  
(*saiva*)(*tsarna*)(*aya*) 725 ra(ba)li-vāśvadēv-āgni-
- 58 *hōtr-ātūhi-paśchala-mahāya[ḥ-āḍi-kra(kri)]y-śtaa[r\*]pan-ā[rtham\*] Tungabhadra-na[dīni]-*  
(*dyāni*)*śmātrā dyōtakādīsargōm\** Karta(*rti*)ka-paurṇamāśyāh(*syāh*) *grah-ō-*
- 59 *parāgē pratiśālitah [i\*] Yatā-ay-śahitayā vra(bra)hma-dāya-śhityā bhūhjatō*  
*bhōjayatā(ta)ō-cha kṛishatō(tah) karshayatah prathila-*
- 60 *tō rā na kalāchid-ālp-āpō pratiśāntihmā\** kāryā [ *tath-āgrā(gā)mihhīr-āpī bhadra-nīpa-*  
*ti\**]*bhūr-nama(ama)l-ratnā(āya)r-ānyair-vyā śmānyah bhūmī-*
- 61 *dāna-pa(pha)lam-ayōiya vidyul-lilāny-anityāni aiāra[rya]-ukhāni apō-āgra-lagna-jala-*  
*vindh-chaśchahāh cha jivitān-ākalayya*
- 62 *sva-dāya-nirvīśchō-(ram-a\*)jama[d\*] dāyō-numatavya[h\*] pratiśāyitavya-cha [i\*]*  
*yat-cha-āhāna tūtra-paṭal-āyita-matir-śchekhindyā-śchabhūya-*
- 63 *mānam vāmanu'mōḍita-sa paśchabhi[h\*]-mahāpātaka[h] a-ōpapātaka[h]-cha pratisamnyukta-*  
*[h\*] ayūd-ity-uktam cha bhagvātē Veda-*
- 64 *vyāśna Vyāśna [ Shashīr va[r\*]jha-sahastōpī vva[r\*]gē mōḍati bhūmibah [i\*]*  
*śchekhōtā dh-ānamatā cha tāny-eva nānāō vānt-|| [29\*]*
- 65 *Vindh-y-ājavīśva(ah-a)-tōyān āndha-kōpara-vāśnah [ kṛishn-āhayaḥ hi jāyantō bhūmī-*  
*dāyāni batamit yō || 30\*] Agnir-āpatyāni pratha-*
- 66 *matē svavarnam bhūr-Vaishnavi Sūrya-antā-cha gāvah [i\*] lōka-trayaḥ tōna bhavōl-dhī*  
*dātum ||\* yah kāmahanam gām cha mahim cha dadyāt || 31\* ]*
- 67 *Va(Ba)huhīr-vyāmadhā dattā rājābhīh Sagar-āḍi(bhī) [i\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmī-tasya*  
*tasya tadā [pha\*]-*
- 68 *kūh(kam) [|| 32\*] Gām-ōkām svvarṇam-āshah bhūmōḍa(r-a)py-ōkam-ādignat(ham) [*  
*harah(ran)-matākam-āyātī yāvād-ābhūta-samplavam || 33\*]*
- 69 *Yān-śha dattāni parā narēndrair-dānāni dharmā(rn-ā)ritā-yāśa-karōpī [i\*] nirmakta-*  
*mōlya-pratimāni tāni kō nūna sādhu-*
- 70 *gunar-āśadita [|| 34\*] Sva-dattah(tān) para-dattam(trān) vā yatnād-raksha narādhīpa*  
*[i\*] mahim mahimh(tām) rōkṣtha dānōh-śhīr[yō]-nupādānam [|| 35\*]*
- 71 *hi kamala-dal-āchru(ba)-vidyul-lilām triyam-ādhibhatya mamshya-jivitah cha [i\*]*  
*ati-vināśa-manūbhīr-ātma-kūmar-na hī pū-*
- 72 *rashah pata-kṛitayō vilōpyah [|| 36\*] Likhitah ch-āntan-mahā-paśchala-mahāśavla(bha)-*  
*pūjā-pūjita-śi-(lān)hā-ra(ba)hāhikṛita-*
- 73 *śān(h)nunā śri-Kukṛāyēna [ Tathā mahāparamēvara-pratyakshya(kshah)] mā-*  
*ākhapātā ādhīpa-Dāvayān-āḍi ||*

\* There is some gap in between each two of these three letters.

\* This letter is superfluous.

\* Read *śady-śchak-āśāryāna*. [Or. *vāśvadēv-āḍi*—Ed.]

\* Better read *paripomāhāt*.

\* Read *vahv*.

\* The *śady* is superfluous.



No. 19—KALYANA INSCRIPTION OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD, SAKA 1248

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, DHARWAR

**Kalyāṇa** is a small town in the Humnālad Taluk of the Bidar District, Mysore State. Its original name was also Kalyāṇa and this was modified as Kalyāṇi during the Muslim regime. The latter form of the name is still recognised in official quarters, although the common people prefer to call it by its earlier name. Kalyāṇa figures in hundreds of inscriptions of the rulers of the Later Chālukya family, who made it their principal headquarters about 1033 A.D.<sup>1</sup> This seat of political power was occupied by the usurpers of the Kalachuri family for some time in the latter part of the 12th century. It was also the scene of the religious conflict between Kalachuri Bijjala II and his minister Basavāśvara, the founder of Viśiṣṭaīva school, when it witnessed the great upsurge of the latter's followers. These memorable events are remembered to the present day and a visitor to Kalyāṇa is shown various sites associated with the activities of the historical personages.<sup>2</sup> An attempt is made in certain quarters even to restore the place-name as Basava-Kalyāṇa after the great leader of the Viśiṣṭaīva movement.<sup>3</sup>

Kalyāṇa, until recently included in the Hyderabad State, was in the possession of a family of petty Nawabs or Jāgirdārs who constructed a fort at the place. In the courtyard of this fort have been kept a large number of antiquities such as inscriptions, sculptures and remains of architectural constructions, brought over from various sites inside the town and also from the neighbouring villages. In the course of my official tour in search of inscriptions, I visited Kalyāṇa in January 1937 and copied 16 inscriptions kept in the said place, and two more in the Nawab's Bungalow. Of these, seven belong to the reign of Vikramāditya VI, one to that of his son Sūmāśvara III and three to that of the latter's successor Jagadākanṇalla II. One more in the former place is the epigraph under study here. I edit the inscription from the estampages taken during my visit. It was previously edited in *A. R. Arch. Dept.*, Hyderabad, 1936-37, pp. 43 ff.

The inscribed area of the stone slab bearing the epigraph is clearly demarcated by lines drawn on its four sides and it measures 45·7" long and 21·3" broad. At the top of this space are engraved figures of the crescent on the left and of the sun on the right. The stone has peeled off at the left corner of the bottom, resulting in the loss of a few letters. There are in all 32 lines of writing and in most cases they are in a fair state of preservation.

<sup>1</sup> R. K. Coll., No. 136 of 1933-34; *SIU*, Vol. I, Pl. I, Ins. No. 80. The Saka years in both these records are wrongly engraved. For an elaborate discussion on the various Chālukya capitals, see the *Corpus of Inscriptions in the Kannada Districts of Hyderabad*, Hyderabad, 1938, pp. 2 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the sites may be mentioned here: 1. the palace of Bijjala, 2. the mansion of Basavāśvara, 3. the cave of Akkaṇṭagannā, sister of Basavāśvara, 4. the pedestal of Allama Prabhu, 5. the cave of Viśiṣṭaīva.

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Report of Basavanna Devasthanam*, 1954-55, and other publications (Hindi) of the institution.



The characters are Nagari, being normal for the period to which the inscription belongs. The following peculiarities, however, deserve to be noted. The top *mātrā* which is generally a straight line is sometimes curved towards the left, the curve being turned into a loop in a few cases; see for instance *r* in *rōpita* in line 7 and *l* at the beginning of the next line. The letters *l* and *n* are not distinguished in many cases; e.g. *tanayō* in line 17. The letter *l* presents two forms; e.g. *Śakti* in line 1 and *śud* in line 2. In regard to orthography, two rare instances of the doubling of the consonant after *r* are available and they are confined to one letter only which is *r* in *vartamāsa* in line 7 and *vartatā* in line 13. *ṣh* is written for *śh*, e.g. *Śhōjā* in line 7. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition both prose and verse. There are four verses which are numbered. Of the large number of errors that have crept into the writing, a few may be attributed to the insufficient knowledge of the language on the part of the person who prepared the draft and the majority to the incompetence of the scribe who apparently failed to follow the draft fully. These blemishes are particularly glaring in verses 3-4 which have become difficult to decipher and interpret.

After the auspicious symbol the inscription mentions the date which is cited as Saka 1248, Kāraya,<sup>1</sup> Kārtika in 15, Monday (lines 1-2). This regularly corresponds to the 10th November 1326 A.D. The epigraph then states that Mahārājādhirāja Śaratāya Mahamada was ruling at this time (lines 3-4). Next we are introduced to his subordinate Mahāpradhāna Mallika Kāmadīna who was in charge of the whole administration and was governing Mahārāshtra-maṇḍala (lines 4-6). The phrase found in this context, viz. *śamaso-mātrā-vyapārāṇa pariपालयति* is interesting. The expression *paripāluyati* as it occurs here cannot be traced in the lexicons, although it seems to have been used in the sense of 'conducting' or 'executing'. This phrase appears to have passed into the administrative terminology of this period as seen from its occurrence elsewhere also.<sup>2</sup> Next comes a local official under the provincial governor. He was in charge of the area of the town of Kalyāṇa and called Śhōjā (i.e. Khōjā or Khvājā) Ahamedā (lines 7-8).

What follows (lines 8-10) is highly interesting though difficult to interpret fully on account of the faulty text. It seems that in connection with the revolution (*viparyaya*) caused by Bāhabādīna, Khōjā Ahamedā, the officer of Kalyāṇa, along with Jaṇḍamala, went to Syāra Mallika. This gave room for confusion which was taken advantage of by the unruly elements who seem to have caused serious damage to the temple of Madhukāvara and even broken the Śiva-līṅga. Soon after this, some devotees of the god from the Karmāṇa section of the population appear to have made a premature offer to embellish the temple. The text of the relevant passage after correction stands as *Kāryāta-lākaṣa ājāna-buddhiḥ kṛitā*. But this move was not encouraged by the trustees of the temple.

After some time when the governor of the town returned, a representation was made to him in the matter of reinstating the deity and resumption of ceremonial worship as usual by Thakkura

<sup>1</sup> The name of the cyclic year is given as Akshaya in verse 2 (line 19).

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Lakṣapaddhati* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XIX), pp. 33-34.



Malla,<sup>1</sup> son of Vainasimha or Vainapāla, who was in charge of the management of the temple. The request was granted by the governor in consultation with his secretary.<sup>2</sup> The governor is stated to have given the verdict that as it (i.e. worship in the temple) was the religious duty of the petitioners, they should follow it (lines 11-14).

Then come four verses, all in the *Sāṅdhyaśikṛīḍita* metre. In verse 1 the Sultan is mentioned as Mahimada. Verses 1-2 together summarise the main facts stated before. The only additional information furnished by them is that the said Malla was a Kāyastha and that the installation of the deity took place according to the prescribed rites such as the chanting of the mantras at night during the Rōhiṇī *nakṣatra*. It is interesting to note that on the date cited previously the Kṛtīkā *nakṣatra* lasted till 34, followed by Rōhiṇī thereafter. Verse 3 seems to allude to the Puranic episode of the destruction of the Three Cities by the god Śiva. Verse 4 praises the deity Madhukēśvara, i.e. Śiva, as the supreme god and invokes his blessings. In the prose passage that follows (lines 29-30) is introduced Vijāditya who wrote (i.e. drafted) the charter. He is described as one respected by Syama Sindhā-rāja<sup>3</sup> who appears to have been an officer of some importance, probably a prince of the royal family. It is not unlikely that he is identical with Syāma Mallika mentioned in line 8. This Vijāditya appears to have been a person of some learning, though his composition has been spoiled by the ignorant engraver. The last two lines (31-32) are damaged. Line 31 again refers to Thakura and Madhukēśvara.

The inscription is of unique historical importance. The ruling king introduced as *Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Surāditya* must no doubt be Sultan Muhammad Shah bin Tughluq. The epithet *Surāditya* is a Prakrit form of *Surāditya* (cf. lines 14-15) which is a Sanskritised form of *Sulṭān*, Muhammad Shah's accession took place a few days after the death of his father Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq in February or March 1325 A.D.<sup>4</sup> The area around Kalyāṇa might have been annexed by Muhammad Shah himself in the course of his campaigns against Warangal and Bidar during the life-time of his father when he was acting as the viceroy of the southern provinces under his original name Ulugh Khan.<sup>5</sup> Our inscription dated 1326 A.D. falls in the second year of Muhammad Shah's reign. It thus furnishes the earliest epigraphic evidence so far known for the reign of the king.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This name is spelt as Malla in one place and Mallu in two places. Similarly, the family name Thakura given alternately as Thakura and Thākura and perhaps wrongly as Tākura also.

<sup>2</sup> The name of the secretary appears to be Jambhadrā (lines 12-13). It is not unlikely that the same person is mentioned as Jambhadrā in line 8 immediately after Shōja Ahamedā. Compare the name of Shōja's father mentioned with variations as Vainapāla (line 12) and Vainasimha (line 17).

<sup>3</sup> Sindhā may be a corrupt form of Śaṅkṣā, meaning a prince.

<sup>4</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. II, p. 135.

<sup>5</sup> Aiyangar, *South India and Her Muhammadan Invasions*, 1921, pp. 133-34.

<sup>6</sup> It is interesting to note that two inscriptions associated with the Sultan are found in the south. One of them, in Persian, from Rajahmundry is dated September 12, 1324 A.D. (Sewell and Aiyangar, *Historical Inscriptions*, etc., p. 182). But it is clear that Muhammad Shah was not the reigning king at that time. As the record mentions the name Muhammad Shah which was assumed by the Sultan after his accession, it is possible to think that the epigraph was set up later in his reign. The second one is dated in his ninth year (1334 A.D.) and comes from Panakūr in the former Padukotta State (Aiyangar, op. cit., p. 165).



Another piece of historical information which was not known hitherto and which is offered for the first time by our epigraph is that *Mahārāshtra-maṇḍala* was placed at this time under the governance of Mallika Kāmadīna.<sup>1</sup> This *Mahārāshtra-maṇḍala* seems to have comprised the erstwhile dominion of the Dēvagiri kings, as the latter is sometimes referred to as *Maharajja*.<sup>2</sup> A subordinate officer of this Kāmadīna, *Shōjā* (i.e. *Khōjā* or *Khvājā*) Ahamada, was in charge of the small area around Kalyāṇa. Although included in *Mahārāshtra* for the exigency of administration, Kalyāṇa must have been a Kannaḍa area as seen from the numerous Kannaḍa inscriptions from earlier centuries found there. This fact, curiously enough, is indicated by an allusion to *Kārnāṭa* (i.e. of *Karṇāṭa*) occurring in the present inscription itself.

The charter under study incidentally offers confirmatory evidence in favour of a tumultuous event in the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq, which looms large in the history of South India. This was the rebellion, in the second year of his reign, of his cousin Bahā-ud-dīn Gurshāp, who held the fief of Sāgar, near Shorāpur,<sup>3</sup> in the present Gulbarga District. The expression *Bāhabadīna-viparyaya* occurring in line 8 of our inscription undoubtedly alludes to this episode. The region of Kalyāṇa which is not far away from Sāgar seems to have been affected by the disturbances following this revolt. What took place is not clearly stated in our record; but it appears that the governor of Kalyāṇa had to leave his headquarters in this connection, probably for advice and aid from another officer of the Sultan, posted in the adjoining area. This officer seems to be one who is mentioned as Syāra Mallika<sup>4</sup> in line 8 and Syara Sīhādā in line 29.

It is stated in verse 1 that the temple of Madhukēśvara which became a victim of vandalism during these disturbances was situated at Kalyāṇa itself. The magnanimous view taken by the Muslim governor of Kalyāṇa in respect of the reinstallation of the Hindu deity and the resumption of traditional worship therein, particularly at the time when the communal feelings ran so high, deserves high appreciation.

The following geographical names are mentioned in the epigraph: *Mahārāshtra-maṇḍala*, *Karṇāṭa* and Kalyāṇa. The first of these has been discussed above. The reference to *Karṇāṭa* separately either as a territory or as its people is interesting, as this province under its distinct name generally does not find a place as an independent unit in the official records of the period. Kalyāṇa is of course still known by its old name.

#### TEXT

1 Siddham<sup>a</sup> || Svasti śat-Śākā 1248 Kshaya-samvatsarē ||<sup>1</sup> Kārttik[ā]

2 śudī 15 Sōmē ||<sup>2</sup> ady-āha samasta-rājāvalī-māl-ālah-

<sup>1</sup> He has been identified with Qivāmuḍḍin Qutluḡ Khān. See *J. R. A. S. A. Dept., Hyderabad*, 1936-37, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot, *History of India*, etc., Vol. III, p. 236. There is evidence to show that during the later days of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, the *Mahārāshtra* country and Marāṭhī language came to prominence.

<sup>3</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, op. cit., p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> The original personal name may be Shāra.

<sup>5</sup> From *lakṣa* impressions.

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>7</sup> The *doṣa* are unnecessary.



नालिचिआमासा १२४८ तयसंवसदेकात्रिके  
 शुद्धिमासा १२४८ तयसंवसदेकात्रिके  
 चतुर्विंशतितमदिना १२४८ तयसंवसदेकात्रिके  
 मंदशापतस्यादपक्षा १२४८ तयसंवसदेकात्रिके  
 पितृमहाशयानमस्मिन्कामदीनमस्तु १२४८  
 दुष्टसमप्रभुताया १२४८ तयसंवसदेकात्रिके  
 लेवतमानेकाल्यापडवेतिरोपिबुजो १२४८  
 दजंडुचतसस्मारकजिक्कगलजोदवदी १२४८  
 विपययिभयुक्कयदेवसतिओकापदलाक १२४८  
 नवुपिचतुशतसंतदेवभोयभोयतत्रकि १२४८  
 वृतस्मिन्नाजावेधतरपिदेवछापनप्रदातविषया १२४८  
 सैवकुरीविप्रातसुतमकरमदाकोजा १२४८  
 मंडनकोजेमोदंतेयुभायकुसुमोवि १२४८  
 नेकरणाया १२४८ तयसंवसदेकात्रिके  
 णमंडसासतिस्सुजिपकागदीनसवि १२४८  
 सुद्राधनेमयाकल्याणनगरेश्वरयोग १२४८  
 ससजोरयकायसोत्रमलोसिंदनमयोभी १२४८  
 पुपलजिभ्यासासतथाश्रयतिक्कला १२४८  
 मयनारवयवेमापनोतिवसंतकोपुधु १२४८  
 सीमापानिओरोप्रियाविशेविधमं १२४८  
 सावविष्णुसेमलुणीमधुपुं १२४८  
 लभति १२४८ तयसंवसदेकात्रिके  
 बदे १२४८ तयसंवसदेकात्रिके  
 केतरोपिक्कने १२४८ तयसंवसदेकात्रिके  
 तयाश्रितपदतम्याविरंविजिता १२४८  
 वसुधादेवालनाटपदी १२४८ तयसंवसदेकात्रिके  
 चवगातिहा १२४८ तयसंवसदेकात्रिके  
 नमविजेवगा १२४८ तयसंवसदेकात्रिके  
 ववगाविजा १२४८ तयसंवसदेकात्रिके







- 3 kṛīta-virājita Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Suratāpa-Maha-  
 4 nadah<sup>1</sup> rājyē tat-pāda-padma(dm-ō)pa|itv(vi)|tu[-sar(nā)](rva) bhāra-n|ī|rū-  
 5 jita-Mahāpradhāna-Mallika-Kāmadina(nā) Mahārāj(ah)|tra-marā-  
 6 jalā samasta-mūlā-vyāpā(rā<sup>2</sup>)n paripanthayati || D<sup>3</sup>ty-āvan-kā-  
 7 lā varittamānā Kā(Ka)lyānapurē tat(ān)-nirōpita-Śhōjā Ahama-  
 8 da(h<sup>4</sup>) Jāhāmalaś(hah) ta[tha]<sup>5</sup>(thā) [Syā]ra-Mallikantah<sup>6</sup> gatō(tan) | ) [B]āhabadim-<sup>7</sup>  
 9 viparyayē Madhukāvaradē[va]-sah(tityā)<sup>8</sup> Kārṣṇa(-lōkē) arāja-  
 10 navudhi kṛtāt | <sup>9</sup> jalānta-dēva(tō dhā nīyātā tra<sup>10</sup> kīti na hi | tā-  
 11 tra tasmān prasthānē punar-āpī dēva-sthāpana-pūjana-vishayā  
 12 sah<sup>11</sup> Thākura-Vaiṇapāla-anta Thākura Māla<sup>12</sup> | Shōjā sah<sup>13</sup> [Jahā]dā-  
 13 sah<sup>14</sup> uta [Shōjā] prasādāt dattat<sup>15</sup> | Yashinā[kanī] kula-dharmā varittatō |  
 14 tat-karaṇīya[m] || thā<sup>16</sup> || <sup>17</sup>Prithvīśā(-ā)bhīpatu Mahimāla-mratrē-  
 15 nē mahāh<sup>18</sup> śā(kā)vatī prasphūrjargu(d-gu)ṇa-Kāmadina<sup>19</sup> savivī(dhūh)

<sup>1</sup> This letter is peculiarly formed.

<sup>2</sup> Read *śamāpāna*.

<sup>3</sup> The engraving of this letter is peculiar. It may be read as *śā* also.

<sup>4</sup> The intended reading may be either *Mallikāntah* or *Mallikāntam*.

<sup>5</sup> There is a top *addit* above this letter, which is to be ignored.

<sup>6</sup> These two letters are doubtful. The reading intended may be *śāntya* as suggested by the context.

<sup>7</sup> The reading of this passage is almost certain; but its meaning is rather obscure. See the interpretation suggested above, p. 166.

<sup>8</sup> The intended reading may be *śa[-sam-śamānta-śāh kalyānta]*.

<sup>9</sup> This *na* seems to stand for *śamānta*.

<sup>10</sup> The sentence is left incomplete.

<sup>11</sup> The intended reading may be *Jahādātāna an Shōjā prasādāt dattat*.

<sup>12</sup> This letter which may be read as *śā* indicates the end of a topic; see above, Vol. XXX, p. 218, note 2.

<sup>13</sup> The metre of this and the following three verses is *śāntāśānt-śāntā*.

<sup>14</sup> This *anuvāsa* is given before the letter.

<sup>15</sup> Grammatically it should have been *śāntāśānt*; but this will violate the metre.



- 16 mudrāṁ dadhānē tadā | Kalyāṇē nagarē [va]rāṅga-vīpadanī [driṣṭva(śhṭv-ā)]-
- 17 [aya] Sam(Śam)bhōṣ-ayam Kāyasth-ōttama-[V]ajrasinhha-tapayau(yō) dhīmāṁ(mān)
- 18 [su]-Marlājita[h]\* || 1 ||\* Sa(Śa)[kṣ]-śhṭ-ā[vyē](balhy-a)yan-aika-nā[mm] viśhamā(mē)
- 19 samvatsarē ch-Ākshayē māśē Kārttika-samjñakē vidhu-yuta-śri-pau-
- 20 ṛamā[pō](yām) ti[th]au | Rōhiṇyā niśi vipra-mantra-vihīta[=tē]-
- 21 [śhāvanaib]\* [[Tā]kurō<sup>2</sup> Malla[h\*] śri-Madhukē[śva]tasya vidadhē dha-
- 22 [aya\*]-pratishṭhāṁ punaḥ || 2 ||\*<sup>3</sup> Yamtrē trāṇayutē [asya] sambhavata kāmō
- 23 patan[gi]pada pakarāja bharaṇē jagaddhatī harata kālakūṭa-viśha-
- 24 madā | tēnō purā pura-trayam-apa [ghā]tām kathāsēśhatām sō-yam Mahā-
- 25 mahāśvarō<sup>4</sup>=<sup>5</sup>dhikurutē [chē]taḥ pratishṭhā-padam(dam) || 3 ||\* Yamtrē trām valāśā
- 26 tathā pratipadaṁ la[kshmyā] churam [ch]hmitām ha[ta]ri[pu]ma[ta]v śatatā
- 27 tumukhā dēvā labha[m\*]itā padam | sō-yam sarva-surēśvarō<sup>6</sup> pi mahatām
- 28 datvā(ttvā) pratishṭā[m\*] niśa[m\*] dēvaḥ śri-Madhukēśvarō vitamutā[t-ta]-
- 29 [t-ta]ya vitā-śhanāḥ || 4 ||\* Śrīma[tu] Syara Sihādā-rājapūjita-{dē}-
- 30 va[yachā] Vijāditya[s]ya li[chhi](khi)ta-śāsanam Madhukēśvara || chha\*||
- 31 . . . . . [[Tha]kura [rē]dhatu Vi[śvarupā] Madhukē[śva]ra . . .  
 . [sthāna] ||

\* The reading intended might be *Mull-ārjita*. One of the dots of the recurve sign after ta is given before the letter.

\* There is something wrong in the engraving of these letters. The intended reading may be *\*tāś purāśāś*.

\* Read *Thaḥkurō*.

\* This letter is intriguing. The intended letter may be *ra* also. [Or, it may be *nyak*.—Ed.]

\* The engraving of this and the following lines is faulty resulting in errors too numerous to be corrected.

\* This indicates the end of a topic; compare above, Vol. XXV, p. 218, n. 2.



## No. 20.—HOSUR INSCRIPTION OF VIRA-BALLALA, [SAKA] 1129

B. R. GOPAL AND SHRINIVAS RITTI, OOTACAMUNDI

This inscription, edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, is engraved on a pillar in the Trikūṭāśvaram temple at **Hosūr** in the Gadag Taluk of the Dharwar District, Mysore State. It was copied in 1926-27 and noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year.<sup>1</sup> The record covers a space of about 1' 2.5" × 1' 2" and is in a fair state of preservation, though a few letters in the middle are worn out. It contains 19 lines of writing.

The record is in **Kannāḍa** and is written in prose throughout.

The **palaeography** of the record is regular for the period to which it belongs, i.e. early half of the 13th century A.D. However, the following points deserve notice. *Anuvāṁ* is used in place of *anuvāsika* as in *Chikka-[Nara]śiṅgaṅṅaṅgaḷu*, line 7. The use of the prosthetic *y* in *Yēṣumāra-rara*, (line 9), may be noted. The cursive forms of *e* and *o* are used, e.g. *yāvaṁḍa*, (line 8) and *mukhyo*<sup>2</sup> (line 9). The following may be noted in **orthography**: the doubling of letters preceded by *r* as in *śarvāṁdhikāri* and *Chikraṁṇetti* (line 6, etc.); the use of *ś* for *sh* as in *śāśāḷa*, (line 4) and *śarva*, (line 3), and the wrong use of *l* for *l*, e.g. *[Nara]śiṅgaṅṅaṅgaḷu* and *Maluguṇḍa* in line 7, *Toppa-dakallī* in line 14, etc. The long *mā* in *śaṁkramāḷa* in line 5 is a scribal error for *ma*.

The **purpose** of the record is to register a gift of land to the god Motakēśvaraḍēva by Chikka-Naraśiṅgaṅṅaṅgaḷu who is described as *Mahāpradhāna* and *Śarvāṁdhikāri* and as the second son of the sovereign. He is stated to be governing Muḷuṅḍa Twelve. The gift land was obtained by the donor from the Seven-Hundred of Hosavūr, headed by Mahābala-gāvuṇḍa. Mahābala-gāvuṇḍa along with others figures in another record<sup>3</sup> of this place, dated in 1192 A.D.,<sup>4</sup> as the recipient of the income derived from taxes as a compensation for the damage caused to the town of Hosavūr, when king Vira-Ballāla had camped there. It is likely that the gift was made in the course of the king's campaign against Yādava Bhīlanna which took place between 1191 and 1192 A.D.

The record under review is dated in 1129, apparently of the **Saka era**, **Prabhava, Āśvāḷa, ku. 11, Sunday, Karkkajaka-saṁkramana**. The details of the date are irregular. The *śaṁkramana* occurred on Wednesday, the 27th June in the year 1207 A.D., when the *tithi* was ku. 1, the month being Nija Āśvāḷa. The given *tithi*, however, corresponds to July 7 of the same year when the week-day was Saturday and not Sunday as stated in the record. The details do not work out correctly in the *Adhika Āśvāḷa* either.

The record is **important** inasmuch as it furnishes certain details pertaining to the Hoysala family which were hitherto not properly assessed. Chikka-Naraśiṅgaṅṅaḷu is introduced as the second son (*deṭṭiga kumāra*) of Vira-Ballāla. It is well known that Vira-Ballāla was succeeded by his son Naraśiṅha II in 1220 A.D.<sup>5</sup> If Chikka-Naraśiṅgaṅṅaḷu, apparently Naraśiṅha II, was the second son of the king, who was his first son and what became of him? In his account of the Hoysalas, Fleet has referred to a record from Śravaṇa Belgola which mentions *Sōmāyata* as a

<sup>1</sup> Appendix F, No. 116. This has also been noticed in the *ARASI* for 1926-27, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> *A. R. Ep.* 1926-27, App. F, No. 113.

<sup>3</sup> The details of the date, viz. *Saka 1114, Purāṣāḷa, Kārtika, Paṇṇami*, Monday, correspond to 1192 A.D., October 22. The week-day, however, was Thursday.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Chera*, Vol. VII, Cl. 72; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Bl. 85.



*kumāra* or son of Ballāja.<sup>3</sup> But he dismisses the fact, not supported as it was by any other known record, with the remark that there was probably some mistake about either the original or the transcript.<sup>4</sup> Commenting on the same epigraph, Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhaiah contended that Sōmēśvara mentioned in the record must have called himself the king's son by courtesy; for, Ballāja had no son of his own by that name. He has, however, shown that the record could be attributed, unaltered as it is, to 1206 A.D., judging from the internal evidence of the mention of Nayakittī's disciples in this record as in some other dated records allied with this epigraph.<sup>5</sup> It may be noted that the cyclic year Akahaya corresponding to 1205-06 A.D. cited in this record as the year from which the tax exemptions alluded to in it were to take effect, falls well within the reign-period of Ballāja II (1175-1220 A.D.). It may not be unreasonable to presume that the inscription itself should have been actually engraved and set up sometime prior to Akahaya inasmuch as its object was to proclaim the grant of exemptions of specified taxes and the proclamation itself was to take effect from the year Akahaya. This we will discuss in the sequel.

The date of Narasimha II's birth, viz. Śaka 1105, Śubhakṛt (1182 A.D.), is furnished by an epigraph from Ajcandra.<sup>6</sup>

The earliest record<sup>7</sup> mentioning him as administering in association with his father bears the date Śaka 1128, Krōdhana (=1205 A.D.).<sup>8</sup> He should have been a young man about this period. To revert to the Śravapa-Belgoḷa epigraph, in the light of the categorical expression *devitāyām kumārān* applied to Narasimha in the record under review, it appears that the Sōmēśvara mentioned in the former inscription was the elder son of Vīra Ballāja. The record has been attributed to 1205-06 A.D. for reasons already referred to. But the cyclic year Akahaya from which or rather from the commencement of which (by inference) the tax-exemptions proclaimed in the record were to be effective and which corresponded to 1206 A.D. could not have been the year in which the record was set up. Allowing a reasonable time for the proclamation to be effectively made known to the public concerned, we may suppose that the inscription might have been set up some time in the year Krōdhana preceding the year Akahaya. But we have seen above that Narasimha figures already in Krōdhana actively in association with his father in the administrative activities of the kingdom in an inscription<sup>9</sup> from Gaṣṣigatte in Chitaldurg, which bears the date Śaka 1128, Krōdhana, Chaitra, paurṇamī, Monday, Śaṅkranṭha-tyāgāyāṭe, the details corresponding to 1205 A.D., April 4, Monday, I.D., 47, on which day there occurred a lunar eclipse not mentioned in the record. Whether Sōmēśvara was still living on this date and was also associated with his father in the administrative activities of the kingdom, we do not know. If he was dead by this date, then his Śravapa-Belgoḷa record must have been set up at the very commencement

<sup>3</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 502, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Carr.*, Vol. II (rev. ed.), Int. p. 62, 85, 327, 333 and 335.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 32.

<sup>7</sup> A record from Hachchala (*Ibid.*, Vol. IX, No. 47) has been ascribed to Narasimha II by Prof. William Coulton in his book *Hemachalam*. This damaged record refers to Kumāra Narasimhaśaṅkha as 'ruling over the world'. Apart from the date and the mention of a Vīra-Gaṅga Vīra-Ballājaśaṅkha no other details are available. It is dated in the cyclic year Nala, Jyeshṭha sa. 19, Sunday. The Śaka year is not given. Vīra-Gaṅga Vīra-Ballājaśaṅkha does not seem to have borne any of the epithets of the king and it is inexplicable as to why he is mentioned after his son and that too during his own lifetime, as the cyclic year Nala falling in his reign-period, corresponds to 1190 A.D. The details of the date also do not work out correctly. On the other hand, the details regularly correspond to June 4, Sunday, in the year 1205 A.D., when Narasimha III was ruling. Therefore the record may be assigned to Narasimha III rather than to Narasimha II.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep. Carr.*, Vol. XI, Cd. 23.

<sup>9</sup> *Loc. cit.*



of the year Krōḍhana itself or sometime prior to it. Further evidence by future research alone can settle these points. Since Ballāḷa's father himself was Narasiṃha, his own son is called Chikka-Narasiṃga yya.

The geographical names that occur in the record are Muḷugunda, Hosavūr and Tuppadahaḷḷi besides the well-known Vārāṇāsī, i.e. Banaras which is usually mentioned in the imprecatory portion of such records. Muḷugunda can be identified with modern Muḷgund in the Gadag Taluk and Hosavūr apparently is the modern Hosur, the lindēpot of the record. Tuppadahaḷḷi, however, cannot be identified, since no village of that name is now found in the vicinity of Hosur.

## TEXT

- 1 ॐ Svasti śrīmatu Yādava-Nārāyaṇa-pratā-
- 2 pa-śhakra-variti Hoyasa Vira-Ballāḷa(ḷa)-
- 3 dōva-varuśa(śha)da 1129 neya Prabhava sam-
- 4 vatsarada Aśā(śhā)da(ḍha)-su 11 Adivāra vi(vya)tipāta Ka-
- 5 rkkāṭaka samikramā(ma)padarindu śrīman-mahāpra-
- 6 dhānadi sarvādhikāri śhakra-varittiya dvitīyadi
- 7 kumāra(ṛi\*) Chikka-[Nara]śirṅgayyaṅgaḷu(lu) Muḷu(lu)guṇḍa-
- 8 haṇṇo(nne)raḍan=āḷu(lu)ttatō Hosavūra Mahābaḷa-gāvuhḍa-
- 9 mukhyav=āgi Yāḷu-sūrevara-kayyala sarvā(rva)-bādha(dhā)-
- 10 parihārav=āḷiḡi dhārāpūrvvakam māḍia-komḍu
- 11 Śrī-Morakōśva(śva)ra-dōvara ariga-tibōga-nāthā-divigo-nivōḍya-
- 12 kke hīṭṭa bhūmi dōvara pūrevada keyiṇḍalāḥ baḍagala
- 13 Kotūḷa(ṛa\*)ṇana keyiṇḍalāḥ māḍala brahmapa-
- 14 tiya keyiṇḍalāḥ teṇṇikalu Tuppadahaḷḷi(ḷḷi)-
- 15 ya baṭṭeyiṇḍalāḥ paduvalu hīṭṭa keyi hī-
- 16 riyaḷōlu mattaru 1 (i\*) Yi-dhamma(rumma)vaṇṇ nāḍan=āḷuv-ara-
- 17 aṅḍala pratipāḷṇavaru (i\*) Pratipāḷṇadavaragge Vā-
- 18 rapāṇiyahu aḷyira-kayḷeyarṇ komḍa pāta-
- 19 kav=aku(kko) ḷ

## TRANSLATION

Lines 1-10. Hall! In the year 1129<sup>1</sup> of the illustrious Yādava-Nārāyaṇa Pratāpaśhakra-variti Vira-Ballāḷadōva of the Hoyasa family and the year Prabhava, on Sunday, the 11th day of the bright half of Aśāḍha, when there were vyatipāta (yōga) and Karkāṭaka-samikramana, Mahāpradhāna and Sarvādhikārī Chikka-Narasirṅgayya, the second son of the emperor, while administering (the division of) Muḷugunda Twelve, obtained with the pouring of water from the Seven-Hundred of Hosavūr headed by Mahābaḷagāvuhḍa, land, free from all impents.

<sup>1</sup> From ink impression.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently this stands for the Śaka year.



Lines 11-16. (And) he made a gift (of that land) for the *śāpa-bhōga*, burning of a perpetual lamp and offerings to god Morakēśvaradēva. The gift land measures one *mattura* by *Harigakṣa* (i.e. the big rod) and its situation is as follows : (It lies) to the north of the eastern field of the god ; to the east of the field of Konda(ṛa\*)ṇa ; to the south of the field of Brahmapuri and to the west of the road to Toppadahalli.

Lines 16-19: The kings ruling over the country should protect this righteous deed. Those who do not, will incur the sin of slaughtering a thousand cows in Yārṇāśi, i.e. Vārāṇasī.

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# No. 21—AMUDALAPADU PLATES OF VIKRAMADITYA I, YEAR 5

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sreen, Ootacamund

The inscription was published in the Telugu journal *Bhārati* for May 1937, pp. 86 ff., by Pandit Gadiyaram Ramakrishna Sarma<sup>1</sup> who secured the plates for examination from Mr. Narayana Reddi, a pleader of Vanaparai in the Mahbubnagar District of the old Hyderabad State, now in Andhra, through Mr. Dimpali Ram Reddi. Mr. Narayana Reddi got the plates about 20 years ago from an inhabitant of the village of **Āmudālapāḍu** in the Alampur Taluk, formerly of the Raichur District of Hyderabad but now forming a part of the Mahbubnagar District of Andhra.

The inscription is inscribed on **four** plates each measuring about 7·1" in length and about 3" in height. They are strung on a ring, the ends of which are secured beneath a **seal** containing the well-known Varāha emblem of the Chālukyas. The borders of the plates are not raised. Of the four plates, the first and the last are inscribed on the inner side only while the second and third plates have writing on both the sides. There are altogether 48 lines of writing in the inscription. They are distributed on the inscribed faces of the plates as follows: I—7 lines; IIA—7 lines; IIB—8 lines; IIIA—9 lines; IIIB—8 lines; IV—9 lines. The last line on IIIA consists only of two letters. The weight of the plates is 75 *toles* and that of the ring with the seal 16·5 *toles*.

The characters belong to the old Telugu-Kannaḍa alphabet and closely resemble those of the published records of the issuer of the charter, viz. Chālukya **Vikramāditya I** (655-81 A.D.) of Hāḍḍami.<sup>2</sup> As regards palaeography, it is difficult in some cases to distinguish between the medial signs for *i* and *l* and between the consonants *ch* and *c*, *n* and *ṇ*, etc. The language of the record is Sanskrit. In point of orthography and style, the inscription closely resembles most other charters of Vikramāditya I. The orthography of the record is characterised by the tendency to use class-nasals in preference to *anuvāsa* and the rare use of the *upadhāniya* (cf. line 9). There are several instances of *visarga-mudhā* as in *mātrābhā-supta* (line 2) and *gurūśrīya*<sup>3</sup> (line 19). The grant is dated in the **5th regnal year** of the king. As Vikramāditya I is known to have ascended the throne in 654-55 A.D.,<sup>4</sup> the issue of the grant may be assigned to 659-60 A.D. Since the *tithi* on which the grant was made is stated to have been the *Vaiśākha-pūrṇimāśi*, the actual date seems to be the **30th April 660 A.D.**

<sup>1</sup> Recently Pandit Sarma has also published the Palapāḍa (Alampur Taluk, Mahbubnagar District, Andhra) plates of **Vijayāditya I** in the *Journal of the Deccan History and Culture*, Hyderabad, Vol. III, No. 1, January 1956. This charter was issued on the full moon day of Vaiśākha in Saka 604 expired (27th April, 682 A.D.) and the second regnal year of the king who is stated to have granted, when he was stationed at Bānmalanagara (modern Pāngal in the Nagar Kurnool Taluk of the Mahbubnagar District), the village of Paṇṇal, situated on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇā at a distance of one *paripala* from Dharmapara, in favour of a Brāhmana named Mādhavaśāstṛin. The grant was made at the request of Brāhmikarkja.

<sup>2</sup> For three sets of his plates from Kurnool, see *IBRAA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 233 ff., pp. 238 ff., pp. 240 ff.; for the Talamanchi, Guvral and Hyderabad plates, see respectively above, Vol. IX, pp. 98 ff.; *ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 190 ff.; and *Jed. Soc.*, Vol. VI, pp. 72 ff. For the Honour plates, see *A. R. Mys. Arch. Dep.*, 1939, pp. 129 ff. Good facsimiles of most of the inscriptions have been published along with the articles on them.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 102; cf. *Alamb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, pp. 363, 366. If Kishore's suggestion that the 13th July 660 A.D. fell in the sixth regnal year of Vikramāditya I is accepted, it may be supposed on the basis of the date of the present charter that the accession of the king took place roughly in the period between the 30th April and the 13th July 655 A.D.



The record begins with the well-known stanza *Jayaty-āvisakṛtām*, etc., found at the beginning of numerous charters of the Chālukyas and their subordinates. As in the other grants of Vikramāditya I, the king's great-grandfather is introduced as belonging to the family of the Chālukyas (Chālukyas) who claimed to be Hārīti-putras of the Mānava *gotra*, to have increased through the favour of the Seven Mothers, to have obtained prosperity through the protection of the god Kārttikeya and to have overpowered their enemies who submitted at the very sight of the Bear emblem which the family acquired through the grace of Lord Nārāyaṇa. The Chālukya king is represented, as in most of his records, as the great-grandson of Pōlakēśivallabha-mahārāja (i.e. Pulakēśin I) who celebrated the Aśvamedha sacrifice, as the grandson of Kirtivarman-Prithivivallabha-mahārāja (i.e. Kirtivarman I) who subdued the territories of his adversaries including the land of Vanavāśī (i.e. the capital of the Kadambas), and as the dear son of Satyākēśava-Śrīprithivivallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara (i.e. Pulakēśin II) who obtained the second name *Paramēśvara* as a result of his victory over Harshavardhana, the lord of the entire Uttarāpatha (meaning here the northern half of India lying to the north of the Vindhya). King Vikramāditya I, the issuer of the charter, is stated to have overthrown, with the help of his charger Chitrakaṇṭha and his sharp sword, the three kings who were responsible for the disappearance of his father's royal fortune and to have restored the properties belonging to gods and Brāhmanas in the kingdoms of the said three kings who had confiscated them. The above introductory part of the record is concluded with a stanza saying that king Anivārita-Vikramāditya (i.e. Vikramāditya I) recovered the prosperity of his family as a result of his conquests over many adversaries in different directions. This verse is found in the earlier charters of the king, while the later Gadval (874 A.D.) plates add to it four more stanzas referring to his success against his three adversaries belonging to the Pallava royal family of Kāñchī.

None of the facts recorded in the introductory part of the inscription, discussed above, is new. It is well known that the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman I (c. 630-68 A.D.) defeated and killed Pulakēśin II about 632 A.D. and occupied the southern part of the Chālukya empire including the capital city of Bādāmi while Vikramāditya I succeeded in recovering the lost part of the kingdom and in establishing himself on his father's throne about 665 A.D., although his struggle with the Pallavas continued till the early years of Paramēśvaravarman I (c. 669-90 A.D.), the grandson of Narasiṃhavarman I.<sup>1</sup> But two points deserve notice in this connection. In the first place, the statement that Pulakēśin II assumed the second name *Paramēśvara* after his victory over king Harshavardhana of Northern India does not appear to be strictly accurate. As we have elsewhere<sup>2</sup> suggested, the Chālukya king probably assumed that name after saving his homeland from enemies and restoring Chālukya sovereignty in the territories of the disaffected neighbours while an additional significance was later attached to it after his victory over *Paramēśvara* (i.e. the imperial ruler) Harshavardhana. Secondly, it is well known that the reference to the regal fortune of Pulakēśin II, which had been interrupted by three kings, and to the re-establishment of the grants to gods and Brāhmanas (which had been confiscated by the three kings) by Vikramāditya I was understood by Fleet as an allusion to the Chālukya king's success against his three Pallava rivals, viz. Narasiṃhavarman I (c. 630-68 A.D.), Mahēndravarmān II (c. 668-69 A.D.) and Paramēśvaravarman I (c. 669-90 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> This view is, however, clearly wrong, because the claim is noticed in the records of Vikramāditya I, including the one under study, which bear dates much earlier than the end of the rule of Narasiṃhavarman I. It has also to be noticed, as already indicated above, that the stanzas referring to his success against the said three rulers of the Pallava family are found

<sup>1</sup> See *The Classical Age*, pp. 241 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 302.



for the first time in the Gadval plates of 674 A.D.<sup>1</sup> They appear therefore to have been added to his *prabasti* after the accession of the Pallava king Paramōścaravarman I some time about 669 A.D.<sup>2</sup> One of the three kings who shadowed the royal fortune of Pulakēśin II must have been Pallava Narasiṃhavarman I while the two others were apparently his allies, although their identity is not clear. The allusion to the three kingdoms of the hostile rulers, in which Vikramāditya I re-established his family's prestige, does not appear to suggest that three kingdoms were established in the southern part of the Chālukya empire, which had been conquered by the enemies of Pulakēśin II. The implication of the passage in question seems to be that Pulakēśin II conquered the three kingdoms in which he created certain endowments in favour of gods and Brāhmanas, that the rulers of those kingdoms later defeated and killed Pulakēśin II and confiscated the properties involved in the endowments and that Vikramāditya I sometime afterwards reconquered the three kingdoms and restored the endowments. This seems to be supported by the Aihole inscription,<sup>3</sup> according to which Pulakēśin II defeated the Pallava king of Kāñchi and went to the land to the south of the Kāvēri, where he became the source of prosperity to the Chōlas, Kērajas and Pāṇḍyas. It appears that Pulakēśin II succeeded in winning over the allegiance of the southern neighbours of the Pallavas. Since it is very probable that it is two of these three smaller powers of the south that aided with Pallava Narasiṃhavarman I in his successful encounter against Pulakēśin II, the Chālukya king's policy of befriending the neighbours of the Pallavas, referred to above, appears to have been successful only for a short time. But which one of the four southern kings, viz. the Pallava, Chōla, Pāṇḍya and Kēraja, is omitted in the reference to the three kings (*trairājya*) and their kingdoms (*rājya-traja*) in the records of Vikramāditya I is difficult to determine, although it may be Kēraja. It is, however, interesting to note that the inscriptions of Vinayāditya (681-96 A.D.), son of Vikramāditya I, credits his father with success against all the four rulers.<sup>4</sup> Vinayāditya speaks of his father as "*Pallavarupa-parājaya-ānantara-grhīta-Kāñchīpura*" (i.e. one who captured Kāñchīpura after having defeated the Pallava king) and "*dakṣa-Chōla-Pāṇḍya-Kēraja-dharagūḍhara-māna*" (i.e. one who curbed the pride of the Chōlas, Pāṇḍyas and Kērajas). Vinayāditya himself also claims to have arrested, under his father's orders, the power or forces of *trairājya-Pallava* or *trairājya-Kāñchi-pura*. These expressions have been variously interpreted; but the reference is apparently to the same achievements ascribed to the Chālukya king's father separately, i.e. to the success against the Pallava king of Kāñchi and against the three kingdoms of the Chōlas, Pāṇḍyas and Kērajas.<sup>5</sup> The explanation of the omission of one of the four powers in the records of Vikramāditya I seems to be that he had no occasion to enter into that particular territory. The presence of the Chālukya king in the Chōla country is well known from his Gadval plates issued from Urugapura (i.e. the Chōla capital) situated in the Chōla *vishaya* on the southern bank of the Kāvēri.<sup>6</sup> But the references in the passages under study appear to point to his exploits in the southern kingdoms before his occupation of the throne of Bādami about 656 A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of Iparumkal, situated in Varigūravāḍi-vishaya, by Mahārājādhirāja Paramabhūta Vikramāditya Satyaśraya Śrīpri-

<sup>1</sup> The stanzas are also found in the undated Hyderabad plates. But they are absent from the Hunnur plate issued on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in Saka 692 or the king's 16th regnal year (i.e. April 19, 670 A.D.). The grant was made when the king was camping at Malliyūgrāma to the west of Kāñchīpura at the request of Gaṅga Kalyāṇa's son Mīdhava and the latter's wife who was the daughter of Vikramāditya's elder brother Raṣṭraka-varman.

<sup>2</sup> As already noted above, the stanzas in question are not found in the Hunnur plates, dated the 6th April 670 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 4, text lines 14-15.

<sup>4</sup> Cf., e.g., *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 89.

<sup>5</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 362, note 6; *The Classical Age*, p. 344.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. X, p. 103, text line 23.



**thirivallabha** (i.e. Vikramāditya I), when he was stationed at the village of **Marrūra** in favour of Sudarśanāchārya in payment of *guru-dakṣiṇā* on the occasion of the king's *śīma-maṇḍala-dīkṣā* on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the fifth year of his reign.

It is clear that the Chālukya king underwent *Śaiva-dīkṣā*, i.e. initiation into the Śaiva faith, at the hands of his guru or preceptor Sudarśanāchārya who received the village as his *dakṣiṇā* or perquisite for the performance of the initiation ceremony.<sup>1</sup> It is further stated that the *Āchārya* (i.e. the king's preceptor Sudarśanāchārya) distributed plots of land in the gift village among the following twenty-seven Brāhmanas: (1) Rudrasivāchārya of the Kātyāva *gōtra*; (2) Gāyatrībha of the Kaundinya *gōtra*; (3) Sivasvāmin of the Hārta *gōtra*; (4) Gōllabhaṭṭa of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*; (5) Paramāśva of the same Bhāradvāja *gōtra*; (6) Vāmanasvāmin of the Kauṭika *gōtra*; (7) Kṛṣṇasvāmin of the same Kauṭika *gōtra*; (8) Kōḷḷasvāmin of the Maitrēya *gōtra*; (9-10) Nārāyaṇa and Vāmana of the Kātyāva *gōtra*; (11) Rōṇasarma of the Śāṅkṛityāyana *gōtra*; (12-15) Rōṇasarma, Rōṇasarma, Ādityasarma and Thōṇasarma of the Kātyāva *gōtra*; (16-19) Bhōmasarma, Durgasarma, Bhōyasarma and Māḍisarma of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*; (20) Nāgasarma of the Kaundinya *gōtra*; (21) Brahmasarma of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*; (22) Ādityasarma of the Śāṅkṛityāyana *gōtra*; (23) Rasivāmin of the Kātyāva *gōtra*; (24) Śrīvāṣaśibhasarma of the Kauṭika *gōtra*; (25) Dāmasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*; (26) Dāmasvāmin of the Kātyāva *gōtra*; and (27) Māḍisarma of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. Of these Brāhmanas, Śrīvāṣaśibhasarma is stated to have received two shares or plots of land, probably implying thereby that the others received only one share each. It seems that one share of land was also allotted to Sudarśanāchārya's wife. There is little doubt that the said Śaivite Brāhmanas assisted Sudarśanāchārya in the celebration of the *dīkṣā* ceremony of Vikramāditya I. It may be noted that the king's guru Sudarśanāchārya has been mentioned without the name of his *gōtra*. This was possibly due either to an oversight of the scribe or of the engraver, or because he was an ascetic who had renounced the world. The first alternative is more probable since Sudarśana's wife seems to be mentioned in the record.

We know that the Early Chālukyas were devoted to the Seven Mothers, to the god Kīrttikēya (the son of Śiva according to Hindu mythology) and to Lord Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) and that their emblem was the lion representing the Varāha avatāra of the god Viṣṇu. Their title *Śaivathirivallabha* (literally, 'the husband of Śrī and Pīthirī') seems to allude to their claim to having been incarnations of Viṣṇu, the husband of Śrīlōkī and Bhūdēvī. The early members of the family thus appear to have been Vaiṣṇavas, with leanings towards Śaivism and the cult of the Mother-goddess. It may be recalled in this connection that Maṇḍalīya (597-616 A. D.), younger brother and successor of Kīrtivarman I, is described as a *Paramabhāgavata* (i.e. a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu, the Bhāgavat) in one of his inscriptions,<sup>2</sup> but that he not only made grants in favour of the Vaiṣṇava cave-temple at Bādāmi but also supplemented an endowment of the god Mahāśīvarāmaṭha (Śiva) made by his father and elder brother.<sup>3</sup> His successor Pulakāin II, father of Vikramāditya I, is called a *Paramabhāgavata* in one of his records, viz. the Lohar plates.<sup>4</sup> Under these circumstances, the initiation of Vikramāditya I into the Śaiva faith is a very interesting fact. The Nausāri plates of the feudatory prince Śrīyāzara Śillāditya, dated 671 A. D., mention Vikramāditya I as a *Paramabhāgavata* (i.e. a devout worshipper of Mahāśīvara or Śiva) and meditating

<sup>1</sup> In Indian epigraphy, there are other instances of the grant of land in payment of *guru-dakṣiṇā* on the occasion of a king's initiation. See R. Ch. Chakrav. *Antiquaries of Chamba State*, Part II, pp. 38, 64, 68, 70, 72 (especially p. 72 where the expression *pāṇi-mukha-grāhaṇa* has been used for *dīkṣā*). See also *A.R.Ep.*, 1953-54, App. B. No. 19; etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 347.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 345.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 40, text line 17.



on the feet of Śrī-Nāgavardhana who is believed to have been a god or a religious teacher.<sup>1</sup> It is not impossible that the king's guru Sudarśana was the head of a Śaiva religious order and that Nāgavardhana was one of his successors in that position. But the Talamanohi plates<sup>2</sup> of Vikramāditya I speaks of one, Śrī-Māghāchārya of the Vāishṭha-gotra, as his *śaṅkha-guru*. This grant was issued on the 13th July 660 A. D. in the sixth regnal year of the king, i.e. shortly after the issue of the charter under study. This may suggest that Sudarśanāchārya was succeeded as head of the order or organisation in question, soon after the king's initiation, by Māghāchārya who was probably himself succeeded by Nāgavardhana. It is interesting to note that Māghāchārya and Nāgavardhana are not mentioned in the list of Brāhmaṇas who were benefited by the grant under discussion and do not therefore appear to have taken part in the initiation ceremony of the Chālukya king. Alternatively it may be suggested that Māghāchārya was the king's *dikṣhā-guru* just as Sudarśana was his *śikṣhā-guru*, though in such a case his relationship with Nāgavardhana cannot be determined.

The devotees of the great god, called variously by such names as Śiva, Pāśupati and Mahāśvara, were generally known in early times as Śaiva, Pāśupata or Mahāśvara, although the three expressions gradually came to indicate different sects of the god's votaries. In epigraphic and numismatic records, the royal devotees of the deity usually call themselves *Mahāśvara*. The *Mahābhāṣya*<sup>3</sup> of Patañjali, who flourished in the second century B.C., mentions a sect of Śiva-worshippers as Śiva-bhāgavata (i.e. devotees of Śiva, the Bhagavat; identified with Kāpālika in Nāgā's *Uddyōta*), who used to carry an iron lance in the hand. The same work also alludes to the construction of images of Śiva as well as of Skanda and Viṣṇu, for sale.<sup>4</sup> In the first or second century A. D., a great Śaiva saint named Lakulin (literally, 'the bearer of the club') or Lakulīśa, flourished at Kāyāvarāḥaga (modern Karvan in the Dahhol Taluk of the old Baroda State now in Bombay) and he founded a new school of Śaivism.<sup>5</sup> Owing to the great popularity and influence of this school Lakulin came to be regarded as an incarnation of the god Śiva and Lākula became another name of the Śaiva, Pāśupata or Mahāśvara faith. Lakulin is said to have had four pupils, viz. Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurmahya, while his ascetic followers are stated to have resorted to the *yōga* of Mahāśvara and besmeared their bodies with ashes.<sup>6</sup> According to the Chinese traveller Hsuan-tsang who visited India in the seventh century, the ascetics devoted to Mahāśvara went about naked, tied their hair in a top-knot and besmeared their bodies with ashes.<sup>7</sup> Gradually the name Pāśupata came to be more or less specially applied to the said ascetics.

The present Kannada-speaking area was a great stronghold of Śaivism, especially of the school of Lakulin, in the early medieval period. A sculpture on the outer wall of the temple of Virūpākṣa (built by a queen of Chālukya Vikramāditya II, 733-45 A.D.) at Paṭṭadakal in the Bijapur District represents Śiva in the form of Lakulīśa.<sup>8</sup> In Karmāṭaka was born a great Śaiva ascetic, named *Muninōtha* Chulluka-bhaṭṭara, who, according to an inscription of 943 A.D. from Mysore, was regarded as an incarnation of Lakulin.<sup>9</sup> An ascetic is called an ornament of the *Lākula* school and another a follower of the same faith in an inscription of about 1078 A.D.,<sup>10</sup> while a record of 1103

<sup>1</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> *Abore*, Vol. IX, p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> See under Pāṇini's *Aṣṭaśāṅghī*, V, 2, 76.

<sup>4</sup> See under op. cit., V, 3, 90.

<sup>5</sup> *Abore*, Vol. XXI, p. 7. The name is also spelt as *Natolis* and *Natolis*.

<sup>6</sup> *Faya Purāṇa*, Chapter 23, verse 221 *R. Liṅga Purāṇa*, Chapter 24.

<sup>7</sup> See Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 47. Varāhamihira (*Brhat-saṁhitā*, Chapter 60, verse 16) calls them 'Brāhmaṇas smeared with ashes (*śo-śasana-draṇa*)'.

<sup>8</sup> *Prog. Res.*, 1941-46, p. 36.

<sup>9</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Śiva, No. 23; trans., p. 92.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, Shikarpur, No. 107; trans., p. 303.



A. D. mentions a student of the *Nyāya* and *Taiśśika* philosophies, by name *Sōmēśvara-sūri*, as having caused the *Lākula-siddhānta* to bloom.<sup>1</sup> A record of 1117 A. D., from Dharwar, registers a gift entrusted to *Achārya Sōmēśvara-paṇḍita* who was well-versed in the *Lōkād-āgama*.<sup>2</sup> In an inscription of 1177 A. D. certain ascetics are mentioned as the upholders of the *Lākul-āgama-samaya* (i.e. the religious system following the views of Lakulin) and the adherents of the *Kālā-mukha-sect*,<sup>3</sup> and in another of 1213 A. D. a person is described as an upholder of the system of Lakulin.<sup>4</sup> An epigraph of 1293 A. D. similarly refers to a supporter of the *Lākula* system.<sup>5</sup>

Medieval authors like *Vāchaspati*, *Bhāskara*, *Yāmunāchārya* and *Rāmānoja* mention four schools of Śaivism, viz. Śaiva, Pāṇpata, Kāpālika, and Kālāmukha, the last also called *Kāruka-siddhānta*, *Kāṭhaka-siddhānta* or *Kārupika-siddhānta*<sup>6</sup> and supposed by some scholars to have been followers of *Kaṇvaśiṣya* who was a disciple of Lakulin.<sup>7</sup> The Kāpālika and Kālāmukha sects represented two extremist orders of Śaivite ascetics, while the doctrines of the Śaivas were even more moderate and rational than those of the Pāṇpata.<sup>8</sup> The sect of the *Vīraśaivas* or *Līṅgā-yatas* of the Kannada-speaking area is believed by Bhandarkar to have developed out of the moderate Śaiva school.<sup>9</sup>

The foundation of the *Vīraśaiva* (*Līṅgāyata*) sect is attributed to Basava, a contemporary of the Southern Kalachuri king Bijjala (c. 1156-67 A. D.) of Kalyāṇa; but Bhandarkar suggests that the system came into being before the days of Basava.<sup>10</sup> He points out how, according to the *Basava Purāṇa*, Śaiva saints like *Viśvōtvarādhya*, *Paṇḍitarādhya*, *Ekōrāma* and others flourished from time to time and worked for the establishment of Śiva-bhakti amongst the people before Basava's age.<sup>11</sup> He also draws our attention to certain works<sup>12</sup> describing the *dikāśā* (i.e. the

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Cora*, Ballarjāt, No. 98; trans., p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. Kan. Riv.*, 1941-42, p. 19. Since *Sōmēśvara* was a rather common name, it is difficult to say whether he was identical with *Sōmēśvara-sūri* mentioned above.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Cora*, Vol. V, Ankur, No. 62; trans., p. 135. See below, note 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Ankur, No. 46. Bhandarkar (*Integration, Syncretism and Minor Religious Systems*, Poona edition, p. 172), relying on the faulty translation of the record in *op. cit.*, trans., p. 120, speaks in this connection of 'Pāy-Lākula, i.e. the system of the learned Lakulin' although the letters *lāp* form a part of another expression (*śaṅk-śāṅga-āp*, i.e. 'for a perpetual lamp') and can in no way be connected with *Lākula*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Cora*, Vol. XII, Tipura, No. 12. Bhandarkar (*loc. cit.*), relying on the wrong translation in *op. cit.*, trans., p. 45, finds here a reference to the 'new system of Lakulin' which he understands in the sense of the later school of the *Vīraśaivas* or *Līṅgāyatas*. But there is no word for 'new' in the original. It should also be pointed out that the *Vīraśaivas* do not appear to have recognised Lakulin.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*; Handl., *Taiśśika and Indian Culture*, p. 234.

<sup>7</sup> Bhandarkar, *loc. cit.* In the Kannada country, the Kālāmukhas are often identified with the Lākulas. An epigraph of 1033 A.D. from Balligūni in Mysore records a system granted accepted by a great saint named Lakulīśvara-paṇḍita on behalf of the temple of the god Paśchabhāga which was 'the college of the Kālāmukha Brahmins students of Balligūni, the capital of the Hoysaleswara 12000' (cf. *ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 227). He is also mentioned in some other records (*ibid.*, p. 228). See above, note 3.

<sup>8</sup> Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 180, 187. See *The Hindu Pilgrims*, p. 10, note 1 of Sankar, *Albermarle's India*, Vol. I, p. 121. For the practices of the Pāṇpata, see also Handl., *op. cit.*, pp. 190 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 190.

<sup>10</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 188, 190. As Dr. G.S. Gai points out to me, the names are not found in Nārada's report to Śiva on the state of Śaivism on the earth, as stated by Bhandarkar, in the *Basava Purāṇa* published by Appaji Appanna Appanna and Deveshvara Basava Shastri in 1914 from the Śrī Rājaraṇjīvari Press. There is, however, no doubt that the saints in question are believed to be earlier than Basava. Some of the *Vīraśaiva* *śaṅkha* (i.e. saints credited with religious writings), such as Jōgarā Dāimayya and Saṅkara Dāimayya who were contemporaries of Chāḍḍya Jayasimha II (1018-42 A.D.), flourished about a century before Basava (cf. *Mangali, Kannada-Śaiva Characters*, pp. 146-50).

<sup>12</sup> *Vīraśaivaśāstram*, Pārva-śāṅga, pp. 226 ff.; *Vīraśaivaśāstram*, pp. 33-37; *Paśchabhāgaśāstram*, pp. 1, 23.



ceremony of initiation) of a Virasaiva or Liṅgāyata when he chooses his *guru* or preceptor.<sup>1</sup> In connection with the ceremony, it is necessary to place four metallic vessels full of water at the four cardinal points with a fifth in the middle. This last vessel belongs to the person to be consecrated as the *guru* who is supposed to represent an old *Āchārya* named Vāyārādhyā (Viśveśvarārādhyā) while the others belong to four other *Āchāryas* pertaining to the schools respectively of Rāmanasiddha (also called Rēṇukāchārya), Maruśiddha, Ēkōrama and Pāṇḍitarādhyā<sup>2</sup> and connected with certain Maṭhas. The five vessels are consecrated to the five faces of Śiva, viz. Sadyaśāta, Vāmadīva, Aghōra, Tatpurnas and Iāma, and the five *Āchāryas* are believed to have sprung from the five forms of Śiva.<sup>3</sup> Bhandarkar notes that, of the five names of the teachers mentioned in this connection, at least three are stated in the *Basava Purāṇa* to have flourished before Basava and comes to the conclusion that the Virasaiva or Liṅgāyata creed, known to its followers as the Śaiva-darsana or Siddhānta-darsana, was affiliated to the moderate or sober school of Śaivism. He further suggests that this creed was reduced to a shape by learned Śaiva Brāhmanas called Ārādhyas, while subsequent reformers gave it a decidedly uncompromising and anti-Brahmanical character.<sup>4</sup> The inscription under study appears to support these views inasmuch as the *Śiva-maṇḍala-dīkṣā* referred to in it seems to have some resemblance with the initiation of the Virasaivas described above, though some authorities prescribe only *Jñāna-dīkṣā* for kings.

We have seen how the Ulākalaya king Vikramāditya I of Bādāmi granted a village to Sudarmanāchārya in payment of *guru-dakṣiṇā* (i.e. fees to be paid to the preceptor on the occasion of one's initiation) at the time of his *Śiva-maṇḍala-dīkṣā* (i.e. initiation into Śiva's circle)<sup>5</sup> and how the said *Āchārya* (i.e. his preceptor Sudarmanāchārya) allotted portions of the land in the gift village to as many as twentyseven other Brāhmanas as well as to his own wife. The names of the Brāhmanas who received shares of the land in the gift village and must have assisted Sudarmanāchārya in the performance of the king's *dīkṣā* ceremony have been quoted above.<sup>6</sup> That at least one of them acted in the capacity of a subordinate *Āchārya*, as in the case of the four assistant *Āchāryas* in the initiation of a Virasaiva (Liṅgāyata), referred to above, seems to be suggested by the suffix *āchārya* added to the name of Rudrasivāchārya who heads the list of the twentyseven Brāhmanas. Another interesting fact is the name-ending *śiva* affixed to the names of three of the Brāhmanas, viz. Rudrasīva, Gāyatrīśiva and Paramasīva. As Bhandarkar has pointed out, the

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 180 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The word *ārādhyas* is often also affixed to the names of Rēṇuka (Rēnuka), Maruśa and Ēkōrama. The *Ārādhyas*-Brāhmanas appear to have been also known as Śiva-Brāhmanas.

<sup>3</sup> In a Kannada work entitled *Mādhavarādīkṣāvidhi* by Kāṇṇātha Śāstri, to which my attention was drawn by Dr. G.S. Govt, it is stated in connection with the *śaṅkha-saṁskāra* ceremony associated with *Śiva-dīkṣā* that two new vessels, either metallic or earthen, are placed, one in the north and the other in the south. They are filled with sacred water, etc., and four Māhāśvaras take their seats, two behind each vessel.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 191. Among the reformers who are regarded as the founders of the Virasaiva (Liṅgāyata) sect, the names of Basava and of his contemporary Ēkōtānta Rāṇayya, both of whom were born in Brāhmana families, and of Basava's nephew Channa Basava are the most celebrated.

<sup>5</sup> As suggested above, *Śiva-maṇḍala-dīkṣā* seems to be the same as *Śaiva-dīkṣā*. According to Kāṇṇātha Śāstri's *Mādhavarādīkṣāvidhi*, when the *Āchārya* performs the *śaṅkha-saṁskāra* in connection with *Śiva-dīkṣā*, he has to make a *Maṇḍala* for the performance of the *dīkṣā* and another in connection with its *śaṅkha-saṁskāra*. These ceremonies, however, do not appear to have caused the introduction of the word *maṇḍala* in the expression *Śiva-maṇḍala-dīkṣā*. But the arrangement of the five vessels in connection with the Virasaiva *dīkṣā*, i.e. four in the four corners and the fifth in the middle, may be regarded as forming a *maṇḍala* or circle, although it is difficult to determine whether the expression *Śiva-maṇḍala-dīkṣā* really owes its origin to such a practice.

<sup>6</sup> In Kāṇṇātha Śāstri's *Mādhavarādīkṣāvidhi*, it is stated in connection with the *śaṅkha-saṁskāra* ceremony of the *Śiva-dīkṣā* that a *śaṅkha* is placed in a vessel filled with rice and also money sufficient to be offered to 24 Māhāśvaras. The money is given to 24 Māhāśvaras who are fed afterwards.



suffixes *śakti*, *jīva*, *śiva* and *śāśi* were generally affixed to the names of the more extremist sects of the Śaiva school.<sup>1</sup> Although therefore most of the Brāhmanas participating in the *śrīśekhā* of Vikramāditya I, including his preceptor Sudarśana, thus appear to have belonged to the more moderate and rational school of Śaivism, a few of them were ascetics of the extremist orders. This fact again seems to suggest that there was no general antagonism between the sober and extremist sects of the followers of Śiva at least in the Kannada country during the seventh century A. D.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, Vanavāsi and Uttara-pāthā are well-known. As suggested by Sarma, the village of Marrūr, where the king was staying at the time of making the grant, may be one of the two localities called Chinna Marrūr and Peshla Marrūr on the bank of the Krishna in the present Kollapuram Taluk of the Mahabubnagar District. There is a ruined temple at Chinna Marrūr. It seems that the king visited the village for his initiation ceremony and that Sudarśanaśāharya was a resident of the said locality. The name of the Vanigurvāḍi *vishaya* seems to be preserved in that of the modern village called Vānigūru in the Kalvajeru Taluk of the same District, about 40 miles from the villages called Marrūr. Pandit Sarma who published the inscription in the *Bhārati* is inclined to identify Taramukal with the present village of Vipramignūḍla about 10 miles from the localities named Marrūr.

### TEXT

[Metres : verses 1, 3-5 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 2 *Āryā*.]

#### First Plate

- 1 Jayaty-āvalokīṭāni Vishpōr-vearāham kah[ōbbat ācāpa]vatu(vam | ) dakṣiṇ-  
māta-dād-
- 2 śhṛ-āgra-viśrūta-bhavanam vapuḥ || 1\* śrīmatāśh śakala-bhavana-sametūyama-
- 3 na-Māna(vya)-sagōṭrāṇā[ū]\* Hārīputrāṇāni sapta-śka-nūtpibhis-sapta-
- 4 Māpīdhīr-ābhiva[r\*]ddhinānāni Kā[r]pitāśhya-parimakṣapa-prāpta-kalyā-
- 5 ṇa[ra]j[ya]māpātāṇāni Bhāgavata-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsāḍita-
- 6 Varāha-lāñchana-śikhara-kṣapa-yāśkṛit-āśāśa-mahābhīṭāni
- 7 Chatikyānāni kulam-ālāṅkarishpōt-Aśvamedha-āvaḥhrīṇ(bhī)tha-sandha-pa-

#### Second Plate, First Side

- 8 vit[ī]kṛta-gāṭmāya śrī-Pōlīśśēṭi-vallabha-mahārāṇaya
- 9 prajaputrah[ā] = parāh[k]ram-ākṛānta-Vanavāsy-ādi-pura-nipati-maṇḍala-
- 10 prajābuddha-viśvādhus-kṛt[ī]ṭ[ī]\* śrī-Kī[r]ttivarmma-prithivī[ī]vallabha-m-
- 11 hārāṇaya pautra = samata-saṁśāhita-mukal-Ōṭarāpāthi-śva-
- 12 ra-śrī-Harshavarādhana-parājay-śpalabdhya-Paramēśvar-āpara-
- 13 pāmadhōyasya Satyāśraya-śrīprithivī[ī]vallabha-mahārājā-
- 14 dhīrāje-paramēśvarasya priya-tanah[ā] prātī-śāśka-sama-

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> From *impressions*.

<sup>3</sup> *Kea. inscriptions*.



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Figure 6

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*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 15 ra-mu(kh)shu Chitraka[ā]h-ākhyā-pravara-turāṅganāy=akān=siva śipu-āp-  
 16 pati-rudhira-jal-śavādana-rasānāyamāna-jvalat-amala-niśi-  
 17 ta-nistatimā-dhātay=śvadhātita-dhātayī-bhata-bhujaga-bhōga-sadpīsa-  
 18 nīja-bhoja-vijita-vijit(g)ahar=ātma-kavach-śvamatya-ānka-  
 19 pralārus=eva-gurōś=śrīyam=avanīpati-ttritay-āntarītām=ā-  
 20 masātkṛtya kṛt-aik-ādhushtat-śāśaba-rāja-bharaḥ tasmā t-  
 21 jya-trayō vimashātān dēvaeva brahma-dēyām dharmma-ya-  
 22 śō-bhīyiddhayaś eva-mukhēna śikhāpātavān [1\*] Raga-śrusa

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 23 śipu-narēndrān=liśi diśi jivā eva-vakṣājā[ā]h lakṣm[im] [1\*] prāpya cha paramā-  
 āvaratām=A-  
 24 nīcārīta-Vikramādityaḥ [1 2\*] Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-Śrīprithivīvallabha-  
 mahā-  
 25 rājādhirāja-paramēśvaras=sarvān=ājñāpayati [1\*] vilitam=asaṁ vā(vā)=amābhīh  
 26 pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rāja-paṅchamā-sarivatsarē Maṇḍāgrām-ādihivā-  
 27 akul(kai)h Vamgūravādī-vishayō mātā-pitrōś=ātmanas=cha paṇya-yakō-  
 28 vāptayē Śiva-maṇḍala-dīkṣā(kahā)yaśi Sodarān-śahāryyāya<sup>1</sup> guru-da-  
 29 kṣhīp-ārīkati Vaisākha-paurṇamāsyām=Iparuthkal-nāma-grāmah sarva-  
 30 parihāram=adaka-pārcvā dattat [1\*] śahāryēy=āpī Brāhmaṇābhyō  
 31 do[ti]taḥ<sup>2</sup> [1\*]

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 32 [Rudra]śiv-śahāryya<sup>3</sup> Kāśyapa-gōtra-Kaundinya-gōtra-Āyatri(tr)śiva-Hā-  
 33 r[ī]ta-gōtra-Sivāśvā[mi] Bhāradvāja-gōtra-Āllabhatti-tad-gōtra-Parama-  
 34 śiva-Kauśka-gōtra-Vāmanasvāmī-tad-gōtra-Kāśavasvān-Mai-  
 35 trēya-gōtra-Kōkilaśvāmī-Kāśyapa-gōtra-Nārāyaṇa-Vāmana-  
 36 dvayāt cha<sup>4</sup> Śāṅkṛtyāyana-gōtra-Rōvasārmanā-Kāśyapa-  
 37 agōtra-Rudrasārmanā-Rōvasārmanā-Āll[ī]jyāsārmanā-Tāśārmanā-  
 38 Bhāradvāja-gōtra-Bhīmasārmanā-Du[r]<sup>5</sup>ggasārmanā-Bhōyisārmanā-  
 39 Bādīsārmanā-Kaundinya-gōtra-Nāgasārmanā-

<sup>1</sup> The place of the Brāhmaṇa has not been quoted in the record probably through oversight of the scribe or the engraver.

<sup>2</sup> These letters are at the beginning of the line, the rest of which is left blank.

<sup>3</sup> Better read Kāśyapa-gōtra-Rudrasārmanā.

<sup>4</sup> Read Nārāyaṇa-Vāmana-Śāṅkṛtyāyana-gōtra as the expression forms part of a compound. The word *dvaya* may also refer to two classes each to be enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇas concerned.

<sup>5</sup> *Kandī* has not been observed here.

<sup>6</sup> There is an unnecessary mark here.



## Fourth Plate

- 40 Bhāra[dvā<sup>\*</sup>]ja-gōtra-Brahmaśarma-Bhyō[Śā]pūliya-gōtra<sup>1</sup>-[Ā]dityaka[r<sup>\*</sup>]ma-  
 41 <sup>1</sup>[Kāśya]ja-gōtrō[tra]-Ravisvā[mī]-Kauśika-gōtraśya Śravaṇasinhā[sinhā]śarmamāṇō bhā-  
 ga-dvāyāt<sup>2</sup> Bhalandana-sa-  
 42 gō[tr]ō[tra]-Dāmasvānī-Kāśyapa-gōtrō[tra]-Dūmōdarasvā[mī]-Bhārad[va]ja-gōtrō[tra]-Mā-  
 dusa[rma]dō[tr]māpa ||  
 43 Svan=dātum samahach=chhakyam dāhkhani=anyasya pālanam [\*] dānadi  
 44 [vā] pālanam v=eti danāch=chhreyō=nupālanaś(nam || 3) Bahubhir=vvasni-  
 45 [dhā] bhuktā rājabbis=Sagar-ādibhūh ||<sup>\*</sup> yasya yaśya yadā bhū-  
 46 [mī]t=tasya tasya tadā phalanam || 4) Sva-dattam para-dā[ttam] vā yō karō-  
 47 ta vaṇṇullarāśh(trām ||) aśashī[shī]-[va]raha-sakarāgī viśhīhāyām jāya-  
 48 tā kri[mir=iti]<sup>4</sup> śr-Sulacānasya bhās[ya](ryā) cha<sup>5</sup> ||<sup>\*</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sandhi has not been observed here.

<sup>2</sup> This line is engraved in smaller letters.

<sup>3</sup> Read Kauśika-gōtra-dai-bhāga-bhāga-Śravaṇasinhāśarmam.

<sup>4</sup> Better read krīmī || 3 ||

<sup>5</sup> This passage seems to have been omitted from the list of donors in lines 32-42. Its proper place is at the end of line 42. The word intended here may possibly be bhāga also. In that case Śulacāna's wife is not mentioned in the record.



## No. 22—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF PARANTAKA, YEAR 9

(I Plate)

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI AND T. N. SUBRAMANIAM, MADRAS

There are three Tamil inscriptions of Parāntakadēva, all dated in the 9th year of his reign, which 'pose one of the minor problems' in Chōla history.<sup>1</sup> Of these, the text of the one found at Tiruvālkōgādu in the Chittoor District of the Andhra State has already been published.<sup>2</sup> The other two inscriptions, one from Kōyil-Tēvarāyan-pēṭṭai in the Tanjavur District (referred to in the sequel as **A**)<sup>3</sup> and the other from Tiruvaḍatturai in the South Arcot District (marked **B** in the sequel),<sup>4</sup> both in the Madras State, are now published from the inked impressions kindly placed at our disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

Inscription **A** is found engraved on the south wall of the central shrine of the Matayapurisvara temple at Kōyil-Tēvarāyan-pēṭṭai which is included in the present village of Paṇḍaravāḍai, a Railway station in the Papanasam Taluk, Tanjavur District. It is called Tiruochēyātūr or Tiruchēhālūr in inscriptions and is said to be included in Rājakēsari-chaturvēdimangalam, a *brahmadēya* on the southern bank of the river Kāvēri.<sup>5</sup> This *Chaturvēdimangalam* was evidently founded by the Chōla king Āditya I, after whom it was named and one of its hamlets was known as Paṇḍitavatssalchēhēri after one of the surnames of his son Parāntaka I.<sup>6</sup>

The other record **B** is found on the south wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Tiruvapurisvara temple at Tiruvaḍatturai, a village about four miles from Paṇḍaravāḍam, on the north bank of the river Vellāra. This place is connected with the life of the Śaivite saint Tirujñānasambandha. The story is that it was at this place that, when he, as a tender child, was no longer in a position to continue his journey either on foot or on the shoulders of his aged father, the god miraculously intervened to offer him a palanquin and an umbrella, both made of pearls.<sup>7</sup> This tradition finds support in the inscriptions wherein the god of this place is called Tirumuttuḥaivigai kuḍettarūliya Nēyanār.<sup>8</sup> In inscriptions as well as in the hymns of the *Tēvāram*, this village is known as Tiruvaḍatturai-Nelvāyil to differentiate it from other places bearing the name of Aṇḍatturai.

The two inscriptions are in the Tamil language and script with an admixture of Grantha letters here and there, and palaeographically they may be assigned to circa 1100 A.D.

The only orthographical peculiarity that deserves notice here is the use of double *chē* in *Tiruchēhālūr* in line 10. In the conjunct letter *chēḷ*, the doubled consonant *n* is written after the vowel sign of *ē*. The letters *a* and *ā* are used quite indifferently. The rules of *sandhi* have not been properly observed.

<sup>1</sup> K. A. N. Sastri, *The Chōlas*, Vol. I, p. 145, note.

<sup>2</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1896, No. 16; *SIU*, Vol. V, No. 576.

<sup>3</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1923, No. 261.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1928-29, No. 225.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1923, No. 276.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 204.

<sup>7</sup> *Periapparaḥaṇḍam, Tirujñānasambandhanārti-saṁgrahaḥ paripāṭa*, cv, 185-214.

<sup>8</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1928-29, No. 215.



The object of inscription **A** is to record the gift, by purchase, of a piece of land to meet the expenses of offerings to the god Tiruchchēlūr-Mahādēva in Rājakēśari-chaṭurvēdimaṅḡalam, a village in Nallūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Nittavinōḍa-vaṇanāḍu, by Amiyan Kaṇṇappaṇ alias Rājakēśari Pēṇayan of Kāḷikoḷi, a village in Kīḷiyūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Pāṇḍikulaśaṇi-vaṇanāḍu, in the 9th year of the reign of the king Parakēśarivarman alias Tribhuvanaśakravartin īri-Parāntakadēva.

Inscription **B** is incomplete and stops after mentioning the date, i.e. the 9th year of the reign of the king who is styled here as Rājakēśarivarman alias Chakravartin īri-Parāntakadēva.

Both these inscriptions contain a new *prastāva* or *meṅkīrti* which commences with the words *Pēmaṅgai valaṇu* in **A** and *Pēri maṅḡai valaṇu* in **B**. Even though there are some slight variations in the wording between them in the first two metrical lines of the *meṅkīrti*, yet we can safely take both of them as identical as these variations do not make any difference and as such variations are found in the standard versions of similar *meṅkīrtis* of other Chōḷa kings also.<sup>1</sup> We have already mentioned that the king is styled Parakēśarivarman and Tribhuvanaśakravartin in **A**, while he is named Rājakēśarivarman and Chakravartin in **B**. The third inscription of the king at Tiruvāṇamūḍu, the text of which has already been published,<sup>2</sup> does not contain any *meṅkīrti*, but mentions him as Parakēśarivarman and Tribhuvanaśakravartin as in **A**. Considering that the two complete records call him Parakēśarivarman and Tribhuvanaśakravartin, we may not be wrong in ascribing these titles to him, ignoring the title of Rājakēśarivarman of the incomplete record **B**.<sup>3</sup>

The importance of these records lies in the problem of the identity of the king in whose time they were issued.

We have so far known only of two kings, grandfather and grandson, having the name Parāntaka. The former, more famous, with the title *Mālinakōṇḍa*, was a Parakēśarivarman and the latter, otherwise known as Sundarachōḷa, was a Rājakēśarivarman. Neither of them had the title Tribhuvanaśakravartin which came into vogue only during the time of Kulōttuṅga I. Parāntakadēva of the present records is quite different from the two Parāntakas mentioned above and lived at a much later period.<sup>4</sup>

The names of the territorial divisions mentioned in the record **A**, viz. Nittavinōḍa-vaṇanāḍu and Pāṇḍikulaśaṇi-vaṇanāḍu came into existence during the reign of Rājārāja I after whose titles *Nittavinōḍa* and *Pāṇḍikulaśaṇi* these divisions were named. Again the temple at Tiruvāṇamūḍu wherein the record **B** is found engraved does not contain any inscription earlier than the time

<sup>1</sup> K. A. N. Sastri, *The Chōḷas*, Vol. II, pp. 2, 61, 66.

<sup>2</sup> *SI*, Vol. V, No. 479.

<sup>3</sup> It was possibly due to some such mistakes having crept in, that the record was left incomplete.

<sup>4</sup> The *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1921 tries to identify the king of inscription **A** with Parāntaka I Mālinakōṇḍa and says: "The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it is the first time record so far known of a Chōḷa king before the time of Rājārāja I containing an introduction or eulogy. This introduction is purely eulogistic without recounting any of the king's exploits. Generally in inscriptions commencing with historical introductions, the king is said to be seated on the throne with his consort whose title is also given. But in the present record which is dated in the 9th year, this fact is omitted. Perhaps we are to suppose that the king was not married till then" (p. 100). In the above review, the palaeography of the record does not appear to have been taken into consideration. Further, the mention of the king's consort occupying the throne along with the king is found to be made only in the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I and his successors. In the *meṅkīrtis* of the Chōḷa monarchs prior to the time of Kulōttuṅga I, with the exception of the *meṅkīrti* beginning with the words *Pēmaṅgai* (ancestresses) of Viraśōḷendra, which *meṅkīrti* was also later adopted by Kulōttuṅga I as his own, the queen's title is generally not mentioned.



of Virarājendra-śōhō. The Tiruvālaṅgōla inscription<sup>1</sup> already referred to, in mentioning Kuḷōttuṅga-śōhō-vaṇaśōhō in Śōḷamāṇḍalam, makes it clear that the Parāntakadēva of this inscription must have ruled later than Kuḷōttuṅga I after whom the *vaṇaśōhō* was named. Thus the king Parāntakadēva in whose time these records were issued cannot be placed earlier than the time of the Chōḷa king Kuḷōttuṅga I, and the palaeography of these records supports this conclusion.

We have not so far known of any Chōḷa king with the name Parāntaka about this time. On the other hand, we have references to a prince of the royal blood of that name ruling one of the provinces of the Chōḷa empire. Several inscriptions in the Telugu script found in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākṣhārāma in the Kamachandrapuram Taluk of the Godavari District in Andhra Pradesh mention a certain Parāntakadēva as ruling over the Eastern Chāḷukya country of Vāṅḡṭ in the early years of the 12th century A. D. One of them<sup>2</sup> dated in Śaka 1034, corresponding to 1112-13 A. D., mentions the gift of fifty *vaṇa edū* for burning a lamp in front of the god Bhīmēśvara by Parāntaka Brāhmaṇḍurāya for the benefit of his mother. There the donor is described as the military commander of Parāntaka, the head ornament of the Chāḷukya-varma (Chōḷa-ya-varma-tilaka-ya Parāntakaya śō-śūhipō deivapōṭi). The official title of the commander indicates that he rose to prominence during the days of Parāntaka whose name the general obviously adopted. Another inscription<sup>3</sup> at the same place dated in Śaka 1038 (*giya*) by the astronomer *mṇa-śrīma-mṇa-chandra* registers the grant of the village Sillā to meet the expenses of offerings to the goddess Pārvatī set up in the temple by king Parāntakadēva. In some other inscriptions found there,<sup>4</sup> the king is introduced with the characteristic Eastern Chāḷukyan title *Sarvalōkāyaya śō-Vishṇuvardhana-mahārājula* and is referred to as a *Chāḷukya* ruling over the Chāḷukya kingdom (*Chōḷa-ya-kabū*).<sup>5</sup> In addition, he has also the characteristically Tamil title *Kōṇṇṇamakkōṇṇ*.<sup>6</sup> Another inscription<sup>7</sup> dated in the 45th year of Kuḷōttuṅga I at Bhīmavaram in the same Taluk registers the gift of a lamp and twenty she-buffaloes by Mādhyava alias Rājavallabha Pallavaraiyan, a minister of Parāntaka, to the temple of Nārāyaṇa founded by Vaiḍya Maṇḍiṇya. Parāntaka<sup>8</sup> under whom he was serving as a minister is described therein as *śrīma-mṇa Parāntaka-śrīpa Chāḷukya-varāya-śrīyāṇa prāptāṇa rakṣaka*, i.e. 'while king Parāntaka who resembled the head of Śrī (i.e. Vishṇu) was protecting the fortune, namely the Chāḷukya kingdom acquired [for him]'. This officer is perhaps identical with the Rājavallabha Pallavaraiyan who figures as the *mathuragāḍin* in the smaller Leyden plates of Kuḷōttuṅga I issued in the 20th year of his reign.<sup>9</sup> There is also an inscription<sup>10</sup> of Parāntaka engraved on a pillar in the ruined Kamakūṭa-mandapa at the foot of the Indrakūṭa hill at Vijayavāḍa, dated in the 5th year of his reign coupled with Śaka 1037 and the cyclic year Manmatha, corresponding to 1115-16 A.D. This record, though damaged, seems to confer the office of the headmanship (*reḍḍiḷam*) of Vijaya-

<sup>1</sup> *SIH*, Vol. V, No. 379.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* Vol. IV, No. 1134.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, No. 1218.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, Nos. 1251, 1272, etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, No. 1226.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, Nos. 1253 to 1274 etc. It is given there as *Kōṇṇamakkōṇṇ*.

<sup>7</sup> *Above*, Vol. VI, pp. 319-22.

<sup>8</sup> The editor of this inscription has taken Parāntaka mentioned in the Sanskrit verse at the beginning of the record as one of the surnames of Kuḷōttuṅga I referred to in the Telugu portion of the same record as *Sarvalōkāyaya śō-Vishṇuvardhana-mahārājula* in whose 45th year of reign corresponding to Śaka 1037 the grant was made. But a careful reading of the record, as also of the Vijayavāḍa inscription referred to below, now reveals that they were different.

<sup>9</sup> *Above*, Vol. XXII, p. 276, text lines 11-12.

<sup>10</sup> *SIH*, Vol. IV, No. 337.



vēḍa on a certain Bṛhanna who is described as the Vēṅḍi-Chāḷukya-aṅkakāra<sup>1</sup> and whose brother Baddana had originally obtained the same office from Kulōttuṅga I described therein as the son of king Rājamahēndra.<sup>2</sup> The record bears at its end a royal confirmatory order dated in the 47th year of a king who is described as *Samastabhuvanāṅkaya, Rājādhirāja, Rājaparamēśvara, Paramabhūṭāraka, Ravikulatilaka, Satyārajanīya, Chōlakyaśharaya, Tribhuvanachakravartī, Paramaśūla*.<sup>3</sup> This king can be no other than Kulōttuṅga I as evidenced by the titles *Satyārajanīya, Chōlakyaśharaya* and *Ravikulatilaka* applied to him, and by the date mentioned in the inscription which agrees with the king's corresponding regnal year. This record would yield c. Śaka 1033 or c. 1111-12 A.D. for the accession of Parāntaka. It will be clear from the above that Parāntaka was ruling over the Vēṅḍi country in the closing years of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I as a semi-independent ruler under the aegis of the Chōlas and that he was a prince of the Chōla-Chāḷukya line, probably one of the seven sons of Kulōttuṅga. We may safely identify Parāntaka of the Telugu inscriptions cited above with king Parakēsarivarman Parāntakadeva in whose reign the Tamil records under review were issued. Then, these two records of the 29th year will have to be assigned to c. 1119-20 A.D., corresponding to the 50th or the last year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I.

We know that Kulōttuṅga I, on the death of his uncle Vijayāditya after a reign of 15 years, got possession of the Vēṅḍi country in 1076-77 A.D. and appointed his sons in succession as viceroys there. The first to be so appointed, Rājārāja Mummadi-chōla, preferred living under the same roof as his parents to the enjoyment of a distant viceroyalty and at the end of a year relinquished his office. His younger brother Vira-chōla was then chosen as the viceroy, and he continued to rule there for six years from the date of his anointment in Śaka 1001 (1078-79 A.D.). From 1084 to 1089 A.D. another son of Kulōttuṅga, by name Rājārāja Chōlaganga, the eldest, was the viceroy when he was succeeded by Vira-chōla again in his second term of viceroyalty. Vira-chōla was there till at least 1092-93 A.D.<sup>4</sup> What became of the viceroyalty after that date is not clear. It is generally believed that Vikrama-chōla, another son of Kulōttuṅga I, who succeeded his father on the Chōla throne, became the viceroy of Vēṅḍi and continued in that office till he was summoned to the south in 1118 A.D. by the aged Kulōttuṅga to become the co-regent (heir-apparent to the Chōla throne). No inscription of Vikrama-chōla issued during the time of his viceroyalty of Vēṅḍi or directly referring to it has come to light so far. But that he was a viceroy for some time in Vēṅḍi is borne out by his *mayyāḍittī* itself.<sup>5</sup> The Pithāputam inscription of Mallapādēva dated Śaka 1124 (1202-03 A.D.) states that Kulōttuṅga ruled for fifty years the five *Drāviḍas* together with the Andhra country and that, when Vikrama-chōla went to rule the Chōla country, the land of Vēṅḍi became heretofore of its lord (*Vēṅḍi-bhūmi=nāyaka-mūḍā jāṭi*), i.e. fell into a state of anarchy. The inscriptions found at Drākshārāma point out that Parāntaka was the viceroy of Vēṅḍi during roughly the last ten years of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, and from the Tamil inscriptions edited below we may surmise that he was probably chosen as heir-apparent by Kulōttuṅga I and crowned as such with the title Parakēsarivarman and continued in that capacity till the last year of the reign of his father Kulōttuṅga I, corresponding to 1119-20 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> The *anakkāra* was an officer whose duty it was, when called upon to do so, to lead armies to battle on behalf of his master, to represent him in the battle-field and champion his cause. See N. Venkatasubramanyam, *The Eastern Chāḷukyas of Vēṅḍi*, p. 246, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Rājamahēndra was a title of Rājārāja-anandera, the Eastern Chāḷukya king and the father of Kulōttuṅga I.

<sup>3</sup> It is worth noting that many titles, characteristically Western-Chāḷukyan, are borne by Kulōttuṅga I.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. V, p. 70 ff.; Vol. VI, p. 334 ff.; *SI*, Vol. I, p. 49; *A. R. Ep.*, 1922, Part II, para. 6; R. A. N. Sastri, *The Chōlas*, Vol. II, pp. 39, 32, 43.

<sup>5</sup> *SI*, Vol. II, No. 68.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 233, vv. 22-24.



But Kulōttuṅga was succeeded on the Chōḷa throne by Vikrama-chōḷa and not by this Parāntaka. If the statement in the Piṭhāpūram pillar inscription of Mallapādēva that Vikrama-chōḷa was ruling over Vēṅgi up to the time of his departure for the south to ascend the Chōḷa throne is to be accepted, then we have to identify this Parāntaka with Vikrama-chōḷa. The *meṅkīrti* of Parāntaka contains identical expressions and appears more or less the same as the earlier portion of the *meṅkīrti* beginning with the words, *Pūmādu puruṣa*, etc., of Vikrama-chōḷa.<sup>1</sup> This may also be cited in support of the above presumption.<sup>2</sup>

But there are difficulties in accepting this identification. The *meṅkīrti* beginning with the words *Pūmādu puruṣa* appears in the inscriptions of Vikrama-chōḷa even in the second year of his reign<sup>3</sup> (thus practically from its commencement) and it contains a reference to his Kālīṅga expedition which took place in the reign of his father Kulōttuṅga I, when he (Vikrama-chōḷa) was only a child.<sup>4</sup> But the *meṅkīrti* of Parāntaka of which we have the version brought up to the 9th year of his reign does not contain any reference to this Kālīṅga war. Moreover it is purely a eulogistic one of the more or less conventional type containing no reference to any event of importance. There is also no evidence, epigraphical or literary, that the title of Parāntaka was borne by Vikrama-chōḷa, though we know of his other titles like *Tyāgasamudra*.

Vikrama-chōḷa counts his regnal years from the date of his accession to the Chōḷa throne which took place on or about the 29th June, 1118 A.D.<sup>5</sup> But we have seen above that Parāntaka counted his regnal years from some date in Śaka 1033 or 1111-12 A.D. and that such a reckoning was continued by him up to 1119-20 A.D., the date of the two records now under publication; i.e. even beyond the initial date of 1118 A.D. claimed for Vikrama-chōḷa.

Again, according to the Piṭhāpūram pillar inscription<sup>6</sup> of Mallapādēva, Vikrama-chōḷa must have left his Vēṅgi viceroyalty and come over to the south before the date of his accession to the Chōḷa throne in 1118 A.D. But Parāntaka appears to have continued in Vēṅgi even after that date. An inscription<sup>7</sup> from Drākṣhārāma registers a gift to the temple of Parāntakōṣvata built there, and perhaps also points to the presence of Parāntaka there in the 49th year, 533rd day of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, i.e. on or about the 7th May, 1119 A.D.

We have therefore to account for two persons, Vikrama-chōḷa and Parāntaka, both claiming to be Parakṣarivarman and ruling as co-regents along with their father Kulōttuṅga I during the last two years of the latter's reign. This position is anomalous in Chōḷa history and has to be explained. It cannot be said that Kulōttuṅga I chose and anointed both of them as heirs-apparent. The Vijayavāḍa inscription<sup>8</sup> referred to above clearly points out that Parāntaka was chosen as heir-apparent and entrusted with the governance of the Vēṅgi country, nearly seven years prior to the date claimed for the accession of Vikrama-chōḷa to the Chōḷa throne. Parāntaka's position, not only as successor-designate but also as ruler *de facto* was recognised both in the Telugu country of Vēṅgi and in the Tamil area of the Chōḷa dominion proper. On the south wall of the Kōḍaggarāma temple at Madhurāntakam in the Chingleput District of the Madras State, there is a Tamil inscription<sup>9</sup> dated in the 7th regnal year of a Parānta[ka]dēva

<sup>1</sup> *SIH*, Vol. III, No. 80; Vol. VII, No. 832.

<sup>2</sup> Similar expressions are found in the *meṅkīrti* beginning with words *Pūṇal māḍuvāṅga* of Kulōttuṅga I, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *A. B. Ep.*, 1909, No. 409; also Nos. 170 of 1908, 229 of 1920; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bd. 2.

<sup>4</sup> The original has the word *śāḍal-pṛarmanu*, i.e. the period of childhood when amulet shaped like the five weapons of Viṣṇu are worn.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. VII, pp. 4-6.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 226-42.

<sup>7</sup> *SIH*, Vol. IV, No. 1226.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 737.

<sup>9</sup> No. 126 of 1896; *SIH*, Vol. V, No. 991.







The indifferent use of both the titles Rājākṣarīvarman and Parākṣarīvarman for Vikrama-chōla might also be construed as pointing to such a conclusion; but it may also be merely the result of a mistake of the kind, of which other instances are also known. Kulōttuṅga, being a Rājākṣarīvarman, his immediate successor on throne should have been a Parākṣarīvarman. The occasional use of the title Rājākṣarīvarman by Vikrama-chōla<sup>1</sup> presupposes the existence of another king with the title Parākṣarīvarman between him and Kulōttuṅga even though Vikrama-chōla did not perhaps recognise such a position and, claiming himself as the direct successor of his father Rājākṣarīvarman Kulōttuṅga I, used the title Parākṣarīvarman which is generally found applied to him in his inscriptions.

There are about half a dozen undated inscriptions of Parāntakadēva at Drākṣhārāma registering the oaths of fealty taken by certain persons to serve Parāntakadēva faithfully.<sup>2</sup> The occasion which necessitated such a step is not clear. But it is significant to note that these oaths were taken to serve faithfully Parāntakadēva personally and not in respect of the throne or kingdom of the Chōla or Chālukya as the case may be, probably indicating that there was another person at that time claiming equal rights as Parāntakadēva and that the oath was meant to safeguard the interests of their liege lord Parāntakadēva against the other person.

It may also be said that the political condition of the country at this period was favourable to Vikrama-chōla for embarking on a civil war.

We know that towards the end of his reign, Kulōttuṅga I lost some portions of his territory, both in the west and in the north. In the west, the province of Gaṅgavāḍi was lost to the Hoysalas. Bittiga Viśhṇuvardhana, the Hoysala ruler of the period claims the title *Talakāḍu-koṇḍa* which is applied to him for the first time in an inscription dated in 1117 A.D.,<sup>3</sup> and in the same year he is described as ruling in Talakāḍu and Kōlāla (Kolar) and over the whole of Gaṅgavāḍi. Ninetysix Thousand as far as Kōṅga.<sup>4</sup> This province which was under the Chōlas at the time and was regularly administered as a division of the Chōla empire was conquered for the Hoysala by *Danda-nāpāda* Gaṅgavāḍi. This event is graphically described in several of the Hoysala inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> The success of the Hoysalas was complete and this was followed by the expulsion of the Chōlas from Gaṅgavāḍi. That this campaign was not in the nature of a mere raid and that the Hoysala was well-pleased with the result will be evident by his assuming the title *Talakāḍu-koṇḍa* and by the issue of gold coins bearing the legend *tri-Talakāḍu-koṇḍa*.

The victory gained in Gaṅgavāḍi was pursued by the Hoysalas even in regions beyond its frontiers. Of Puṇḍra-rāja, another general of the Hoysalas, who also seems to have taken part in the expedition against Gaṅgavāḍi, it is said in an inscription dated 1117 A.D. that he 'frightened the Todas [of the Nilgiris], drove the Kōṅgar underground (or to the low-country), slaughtered the Pōluvas, put to death the Maleyālas, trifled king Kala (Kalapāla) and offered the peak of the Nilagiri to the goddess of victory'.<sup>6</sup> It also adds that on receiving the king's order, Puṇḍra 'seized Nilagiri, and pursuing the Maleyālas captured their forces and made himself master of Kēraḷa Nūḍḍi, and pursuing the Pōluvas slaughtered by him are evidently the before showing again in *Paṅgal-nūḍḍi*'. The Pōluvas slaughtered by him are evidently the Pōluvas, a community of the Kōṅga country,<sup>7</sup> round about Avināḍi. The region also came to be

<sup>1</sup> *R. & A. R. Ep.*, 1908, Nos. 420, 431; *Ibid.* 1926, No. 144; *ibid.*, 1900, Part II, para. 48; *ibid.*, 1926, part II, para. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *SI*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1270-75A.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Cave.*, Vol. III, MI. 51; also Vol. IV, Yd. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Ch. 82.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, (rev. ed.) Sb. 240. The same amount is given in Vol. III, MI. 31 also dated in 1117 A.D.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Ch. 83.

<sup>7</sup> *S. R. Ep.*, 1923, Part II, para. 50.



known as Pūruva-nāḍu and places like Sēvūr in the Avināśi Taluk and Perumānallūr in the Copicettiṭṭalāiyam Taluk of the Coimbatore District are said to be in the Pūruva-nāḍu.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Poṅgal-nāḍu captured by Pūṭṭa in the course of the campaign seems to be the Poṅgalūrkkā-nāḍu of the Koṅḡu inscriptions. The village of Kiraṇūr in the Pajani Taluk of the Madurai District was included in those days in the Poṅgalūrkkā-nāḍu.<sup>2</sup> The Hoysala inscriptions of this period mention Koṅḡu, Chēram and Ānamale as forming the southern extremities of Viṣṇuvardhana's kingdom. Viṣṇuvardhana claims to have squeezed Madurai in the palm of his hand<sup>3</sup> and extended his victorious march even up to Rāmēśvaram.<sup>4</sup> One record states that, 'on the Pāṇḍya flourishing his sword', Hoysalēśa 'cut him down with his own sword, and left only half a man to look on in the Tigala army.'<sup>5</sup>

This does not appear to be a mere hyperbole, as we find an echo of Viṣṇuvardhana's invasion in the inscriptions of the Tiruchirappalli District. A record<sup>6</sup> from Āḍuturai in the Perambalur Taluk dated in the 4th year of the reign of Parākrāma Pāṇḍya renews with the additional privilege for some money collection, an old charter said to have been issued to certain Pūḷḷi residents in the 4th regnal year of Vikrama-chōḷadēva under peculiar circumstances. It is stated that 'during the war of Periya-vaṇḍan, when the images of gods and Nāyanmārs were carried away to be deposited at Dōrasamudra (Halēhō) in Mysore, [the Pūḷḷi] rescued them, reconsecrated them in the temple, and agreed to provide for the expense of maintaining the worship of these images, making it a part of their communal obligation, in return for which act of service, the members of the community were to enjoy 'the temple honours of silk *parivāṭṭam* and *aralappāḍu*'. It is also said that the above arrangement was approved and sanctioned by Perumāḷ Kulōttuṅga Chōḷadēva,<sup>7</sup> thereby indicating that the rescue of the idols was effected immediately after they were removed and within the life-time of Kulōttuṅga I. It is not clear from the inscription who the Periya-vaṇḍan waging war in the Tamil country was; but the mention of Dōrasamudra makes it evident that the Hoysalas were among the invaders. Another damaged inscription<sup>8</sup> from Karūr, one of the capitals of the Koṅḡu kingdom, dated in the 3rd year of the reign of Vikrama-chōḷa, corresponding to 1120-21 A.D., states that the idol of Kūttagār (i.e. Natarāja) in the temple of Tiruvāṇḷal-Āṇḍaiya Nāyanār at Karuvūr in Veṅḡala-nāḍu, a sub-division of Virāṭōḷa-maṇḍalam which had been lost in the [days of the] revolt (*kalahattil lēman-tappinamaiyil*) was brought back after a search and set up by the Śiva-Brahmanas of the temple who also made provision for worshipping the same. Evidently the country seems to have suffered very much in the hands of the Hoysalas who were probably unscrupulous in striking terror in the hearts of the people.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 1909, No. 184. See also Nos. 192, 211, 328 and 329 (pp. 185, 204, 308 and 309) of *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. I, published by the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. This region is also referred to as Pūruva-nāḍu and possibly the Pūruva-rājar mentioned in the Velvikudi plates of the Pāṇḍya king Nedūṇḍiṇḍiyan (above, Vol. XVII, pp. 291-308) are the rulers of the region.

<sup>2</sup> *SI*, Vol. V., No. 262 to 284.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Cm. 100.

<sup>4</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1913, Part II, para. 47.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Bl. 171. The mention of the Tigala or Tamil army under the command of the Pāṇḍya precludes the possibility of identifying him with an Uchiṇṇṇṇi chief.

<sup>6</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1913, No. 85.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Part II, paragraphs 46-47.

<sup>8</sup> *SI*, Vol. IV, No. 387.

<sup>9</sup> There are inscriptions of the 45th and 46th years of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I (e.g. Nos. 820 and 847 of 1909 respectively at Tiruchirai and Kōndrīk-japuram in the Tanjore District) stating that the lands of tenants who had deserted the village unable to pay the taxes for over two years were confiscated and sold to the temples, and these are significant considering the time and the large number of such cases (see also Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, 73, 74, 1210).



The Hoyasāla incursions into the Chōla dominion were not restricted to the southern part. They appear to have carried on the expedition in the eastern direction also in the course of which Tegeyūr and Kōyātiūr (modern Laddigan in the Chittoor District) became subject to Vishnavardhana who is also credited with the conquest of Kāñchi, on which he took the title of *Kāñchi-gaṇḍa* which is very often met with in his inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> That this was not again a mere boast will be clear from the statements found in his inscriptions that 'he made proclamations of his victories over numerous kings by sound of drum in Kāñchīpura',<sup>2</sup> that 'he was like a fierce forest-fire to the territory of the Tondai chieftain'<sup>3</sup> and that 'after conquering Kāñchi and Madurai he burnt Jananāthapura'.<sup>4</sup> It is also said that he slew an Andhra king.<sup>5</sup>

It is significant to note that the capture of Kāñchi and the burning of the city of Jananāthapura are claimed not only by the generals of Vishnavardhana, but also by the generals of another monarch, viz. Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukya ruler of Kalyāṇa, at about the same time. We know that the Hoyasālas were from the very beginning the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and that they continued to be so even at that time. It is therefore quite possible that the Hoyasālas were waging war in the northern front as the subordinates and under the banner of their suzerain power, the Western Chālukyas.

Viewed in this light, the Periya Vadugaṇ mentioned in the Āṭuttuṭai inscription\* referred to above as waging war in the heart of the Tamil country would only mean the 'big (or elder) or great northerner', i.e. the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. Similarly, the exploits of 'displaying his valour before Maṇikyadēvi of the Chakrakūṭa throne', 'burning the city of Jananāthapura through his general' and the like in the north that the Hoyasāla is credited with, should be deemed to have taken place when he was in the service of his overlord Vikramāditya. Vikramāditya was waiting long only for an opportunity of making reprisals for his earlier failure in his wars against Kulōttuṅga I. Such an opportunity presented itself now. His plan was evidently to take advantage of Kulōttuṅga's preoccupation with the affairs in the south and create a diversion in the north by proceeding against the kingdom of Vāṅḍi and its vassal-states.

The exact course of the events of this campaign is not clear. But that at the end of this campaign, practically the whole of the Telugu country came under the sway of Vikramāditya VI is evident from the provenance of his inscriptions. A stone record<sup>†</sup> from Kollūm in the Tenali Taluk of the Guntur District dated in the cyclic year Manmatha, the 40th year of the reign of Tribhuvanamalladeva (Vikramāditya VI), i.e. 1115-16 A.D., refers to his famous general Anantapālayya and mentions the officers such as the *mantri*, *parāhita*, *śeṣapati*, etc., in whose presence, the king made a certain gift. There are inscriptions of the next year Duramkha, the Chālukya-Vikrama year 41, at Māgoḷa and Raḍḍāpuram in the Hailagalli Taluk of the same District, in one of which Padmalādēvi, a queen of Vikramāditya VI, is referred to as ruling over the *agrahāra* of Māṅgoḷa.<sup>‡</sup> In Śaka 1039 (December, 1117 A.D.), the Kākatya chief Prōḷa of Anumakonda acknowledges the supremacy of the Western Chālukya ruler and records that the Anumakonda territory was conferred on his father Bēta some time before by the same sovereign.<sup>§</sup> About a year later, in the cyclic year Viḷambin, corresponding to the Chālukya-Vikrama year 43 (December, 1118 A.D.), we find *Mahāśāmantālāpāti Mahāprachīnādityaṇāyaka* Anantapālayya actually

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Cm. 100.

<sup>2</sup> *Mysoor Inscriptions*, p. 331.

<sup>3</sup> *Inscriptions of Sravastya Belgola*, No. 53 (old).

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Cm. 100.

<sup>5</sup> *Mysoor Inscriptions*, p. 213.

<sup>†</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1913, No. 35.

<sup>‡</sup> *SII*, Vol. IX, No. 193.

<sup>§</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 104 and 105.

<sup>¶</sup> *Above*, Vol. IX, p. 256.



ruling over Vēṅgi 14000 as a subordinate of Vikramāditya when a certain Nāyaka made some gift to god Agastyaśvaradēva at Kommūru, in the Bayathu Taluk of the same District.<sup>1</sup> About 1120 A.D., Anantapāla's wife made a gift to the celebrated shrine of Bhimēśvara at Drākshārāma.<sup>2</sup> The gifts made by Velanāṅṭi Rājendra in the same year and by Mayilamma, the wife of a Telugu-Chōḷa chief, in the year after that, at Drākshārāma are recorded in inscriptions dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama era.<sup>3</sup> Another inscription from Tripurāntakam<sup>4</sup> in the Markapuram Taluk of the Kurnool District, dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 51, Parābhava (corresponding to Tuesday, June 22, 1126 A.D., a solar eclipse occurring on this date), states that Anantapālārasa, the *Dayaṇḍogaka*, was ruling over Vēṅgi 12,000 and Kamedala 6,000 as a subordinate of Vikramāditya. This record states that Anantapāla had the pleasure of seeing his nephew and son-in-law Gōvindharaṣa who was ruling over Kondapalli 300, pursue the Chōḷa, conquer the Chōḷa country and carry away as booty a large number of elephants, soldiers, treasures and all the belongings of the Chōḷa king. Gōvindharaṣa also attacked Jannātharājapura, another name of Drākshārāma, then the provincial capital of Vēṅgi, and brought from it everything of Kumāra, captured Dōcheya and Gōṅka (probably the *antatāms* of the Chōḷa viceroy)—a feat which was considered as amounting to the capture of the person of the king himself, and burnt Vēṅḡpura.<sup>5</sup> Anantapāla is said to have earned, as a consequence, the title *Chōḷa-śajaka chūṅkāra*. The same victory is also claimed by Rēhaja, a subordinate of Anantapāla, who is said to have pursued the Chōḷa forces from the village Uppinakaṭṭe in Vēṅgi to Kāṇchi and gained for himself the title *Chōḷa-rājya-nirmūḷana*.<sup>6</sup> It will thus be seen that Vēṅgi was completely conquered by Vikramāditya VI who carried his arms even as far as Kāṇchi. This eclipse of the Chōḷa-Chālukya power in Vēṅgi continued till the death of Vikramāditya VI in 1126 A.D. Thus Vikramāditya VI and his Hoysala subordinate Viśṇuvardhana, together overran the entire Chōḷa empire in the west and north. It was at this time when the whole dominion of the Chōḷas was overrun by foreign invasion resulting in much loss of territory that Vikrama-chōḷa began to assert his right to the Chōḷa throne and wage the civil war with his brother or half-brother Parāntakadēva. It may even be supposed that these troubles started after he proclaimed himself as the rightful heir to the Chōḷa throne. An inscription on a pillar in front of the Chōḷēvara temple at Nidubergū in the Guntur District registering the gift of land and lamps to the temple of Gōḷkēśvara at Chēṇakumbali or Hodupalli by Mārava Paṇḍa, the general of Velanāṅṭi Gōḷka, is dated in Śaka 1054 and the 17th regnal year of Tribhuvannabhakravartin Vikrama-chōḷa yielding Śaka 1058 (1115-16 A.D.) as the date of his accession, three years earlier than the date usually assigned to him.<sup>7</sup> And Kulōttunga I was alive when these two sons of his were fighting one another for the throne. We do not know what his attitude towards them was or whom he supported. But it is natural to presume that having already chosen Parāntaka as heir-apparent and associated him with the government, he would have espoused the cause of that son as against Vikrama-chōḷa unless it be that Parāntaka had in the meanwhile turned a traitor: there is indeed no ground to suppose such a situation. On the other hand, the inscriptions of Parāntaka show in unmistakable terms that his administration had the entire approval of his father and the reigning monarch, Kulōttunga I.

Then Vikrama-chōḷa would have had to contend against both his brother Parāntakadēva and his father Kulōttunga I to achieve his object. His ultimate success, even during the lifetime of his father, clearly implies that he must have had the active support not only of some strong

<sup>1</sup> *SIU*, Vol. IX, No. 196.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1211.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 1216, 1228.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, No. 212.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 212.

<sup>6</sup> *JARRS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 29; *Proc. AIOG*, Session X, p. 321.

<sup>7</sup> *SIU*, Vol. VI, No. 122.



and influential local faction, but also of some strong foreign power, mightier than that of the Chōla. We have pointed out elsewhere<sup>1</sup> that Vikrama-chōla was the son of Kulōttuṅga, not by Madhurāntakī, the Chōla princess, but by a Hoysala princess. The invasion of the Chōla dominion by Hoysala Vishnugvardhana with the support of his ally and overlord the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI who was the avowed enemy of the reigning Chōla monarch Kulōttuṅga I was perhaps partly motivated by the Hoysala king's desire to install Vikrama-chōla, his nephew, on the Chōla throne. The Hoysala bore the brunt of the war in the south as well as in the north, just before the formal proclamation of the accession of Vikrama-chōla.

It is also to be noted in this connection that the regions of Gaṅgavāḍi in the west and Vēṅgi in the north lost by the Chōlas in the closing years of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I were not recovered by Vikrama-chōla. So far as Gaṅgavāḍi was concerned, the bulk of it was lost for ever. And as for Vēṅgi, so long as Vikramāditya VI was alive, the Chōlas do not appear to have set their foot in it and their erstwhile subordinates, the local rulers, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Western Chālukyas. Towards the end of the reign of Vikramāditya VI, we find an Eastern Chālukya prince Sarvalōkāśraya Vishnugvardhana entrusted with the administration of Vēṅgi. An inscription on a stone pillar now in the Rajahmundry Museum,<sup>2</sup> which once probably belonged to the temple of Virabhadraśvara at Pattēsam, registers the gift of 25 cows to the temple by a resident of Pemungonda on a day in Śaka 1067 coupled with the 21st regnal year of Sarvalōkāśraya Vishnugvardhana-mahārāja, corresponding to the 23rd December 1145 A.D. This would yield Śaka 1047 or 1125-26 A.D. as the date for his accession. We have records of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI dated in his 51st regnal year<sup>3</sup> which commenced in June 1126 A.D., and his son and successor, Sāmāyana III ascended the throne some time between July 24 and October 5 of the same year. The Western Chālukyas were in complete occupation of Vēṅgi when this Eastern Chālukya prince commenced his rule there. An inscription<sup>4</sup> in Sanskrit incised on a pillar lying in front of the Kāśyapaśāmin temple at Yenamalakadurn in the Gannavaram Taluk of the present Guntur District records the gift of the town of Vijayavāḍa to the temple of Mallāyana by Bhīma, the son of Boddana. It is stated therein that Boddana obtained the town as a gift for the prosperity of his family from the Chōla king Triparāntaka and the Karcāṭa king (*Karcāṭa-chāhānāja*), i.e. the Western Chālukya monarch. Another record,<sup>5</sup> a Telugu version of the same, incised on the same pillar gives some additional particulars. It states that Bhīma belonged to the Pallava family and gives his genealogy for three generations. But it is not known who this Chōla prince Triparāntaka was. The fact that the grant made by him was confirmed by the Western Chālukya king would show that he was ruling over Vēṅgi as a subordinate of the Western Chālukya and this could have happened only after the conquest of that country by Vikramāditya VI. We have already noticed that Vijayavāḍa was originally granted by Kulōttuṅga I to a certain Boddana and that the gift was renewed by Parāntaka and confirmed by Kulōttuṅga I in 1115-16 A.D. in favour of Bhīmana who was the brother of the above Boddana and had been enjoying the property even during the life-time of his brother. The same was now conferred on Boddana by Triparāntaka-chōla and confirmed by the Western Chālukya king, probably Vikramāditya VI. Triparāntaka's name is not found elsewhere and he is a Chōla prince unknown hitherto. In an inscription<sup>6</sup> from the Telingana districts a general of Kumāra Sāmāyana, son of Vikramāditya VI, states that he captured the Chōlaga and his younger brother. Probably Triparāntaka

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 227-28.

<sup>2</sup> *SIH*, Vol. X, No. 116.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, No. 212.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 91.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 100.

<sup>6</sup> *Telangana Inscriptions*, No. 35; *JOB*, Vol. XXV, pp. 59-61.



was that brother whom subsequently Vikramāditya VI set up to rule over Vēṅgi. It is quite likely that this prince was set up to rule over Vēṅgi during the last days of Vikramāditya VI, presumably to continue the hold of the Western Chālukya rule over the area permanently and to prevent the return of the country to the Imperial Chōlas.

Thus at the time of Vikrama-chōla's accession to the throne, the Chōla empire had lost Gaṅga-vāḍi in the west and Vēṅgi in the north. Probably such cession of territory to the Chālukya was the price which Vikrama-chōla had agreed to pay for the help rendered to him by Vishnavarhuna and Vikramāditya VI in securing the Chōla throne. It is true that evidences are not quite clear and that some of the foregoing statements may not be capable of individual proof at present; but there is nothing implausible in the surmises made, the correctness of which will have to be confirmed by future discoveries.

Our thanks are due to Dr. S. Venkataramanayya who helped us by drawing our attention to the Telugu records referred to in the discussion above.

### TEXT<sup>1</sup>

#### A

- 1 Svasti-Śrī [||\*]Pūmaṅgai va|ara Puvimaṅgai puṇata
- 2 Jayamaṅgai mago|a<sup>2</sup> Puṅa|maṅgai ka<sup>3</sup>malara-tama-a-
- 3 diy-iraṇḍu[n\*]-taraṇipar sūṭṭa(ḍa) poṇ-muḍiyodu[m]-ma<sup>4</sup> puṅa-
- 4 laḍan sūḍi-taṇ-gōn varaviḷ<sup>5</sup> sēṅgōl na-
- 5 ḍāṭṭa(tū)\* tūṅga|-vey-kṇḍai-ki| vijaiya-siṁ-
- 6 hāṣapāṭṭu vīṭṭicūṇḍaru|iyw Kō-Pparakṣari-pa[n\*]
- 7 marāṅga Tribhuvanachakkaravattiga) śrī-Parāntakadē-
- 8 va[r\*]ḷkku yāṇḍu 9-dāvadu Nitavimōḍa-va|anā-
- 9 i<sup>7</sup> ṭṭu Nallūr-nāṭṭu Rājakṣari-charu[p\*]pēḍimaṇ-
- 10 galattu T[ī]ruchahālūr Mahādēva[r\*]ḷkku Pūṇḍi-
- 11 kulāṣaṇi-va|aṇḍāṭṭu Kīlīyūr-nāṭṭu [Kā]ḷi-
- 12 kuḍi [k\*] kuḍgaḷḷa(ḷ)ṅa Araiyug [Ka\*]ṅṅa[p\*]ṇaṇ<sup>8</sup>(u-ā)-
- 13 ṅa Irūjakṣari Pērayanū<sup>9</sup> amudu-
- 14 paḷḷikku pān kuḍu-viṭṭa nilam-āvadu-||\*] Rā-
- 15 jakṣari-charu[p\*]pēḍimaṇgalattu Kalākala(ch\*)-

<sup>1</sup> From the ink-impression.

<sup>2</sup> Read magiḷa.

<sup>3</sup> This is redundant.

<sup>4</sup> Read poṇ-muḍi=prṭigḍa. It is written correctly in B.

<sup>5</sup> Read marabīl.

<sup>6</sup> The phrase tūṇi varamaṅga has been omitted here. See B, line 2.

<sup>7</sup> The first i is superfluous.

<sup>8</sup> The e following pa is superfluous.

<sup>9</sup> [The reading appears to be Pāyanda (i.e., Lakṣanda) here as well as in line 28.—D.C.S.]

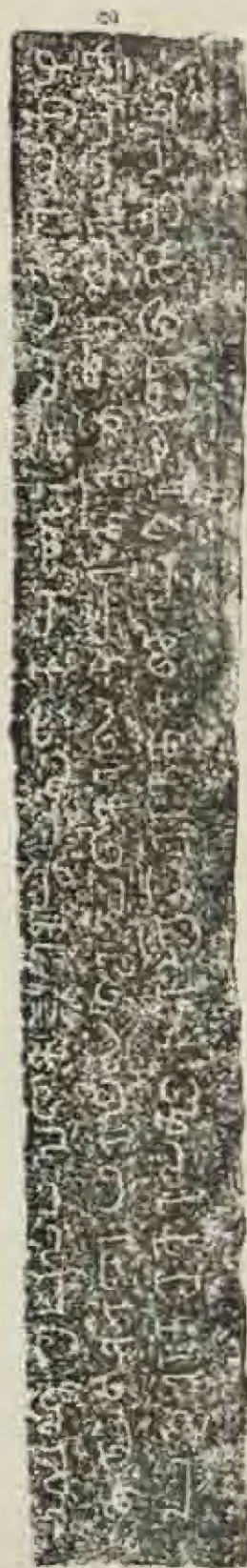




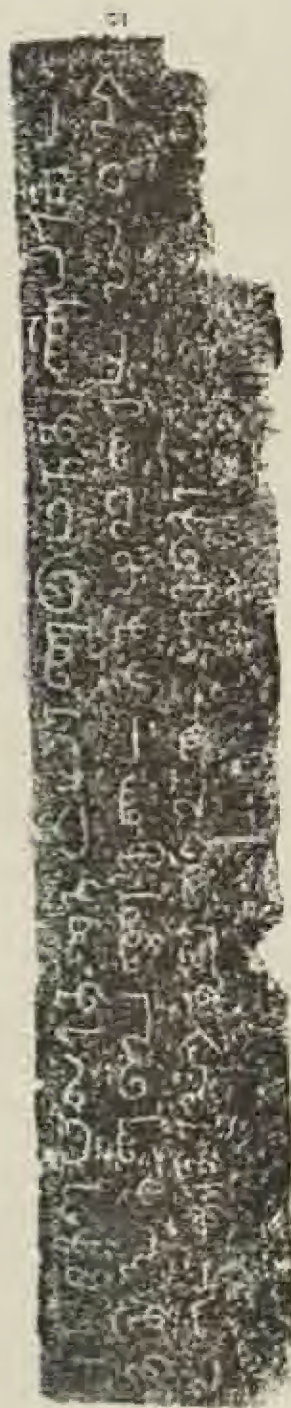


E

FIRST PIECE



SECOND PIECE



THIRD PIECE



Scale - One-fifth



- 16 ohēri Kavusāyan Nārāyaṇan Nārāyaṇanār-pakkal  
 17 pān<sup>1</sup> vilai-konḍu-viṭṭa nilam-āvadu [[\*] Ādi[\*]ta-  
 18 vadikku mārku Rājakēśari-vāy-  
 19 kēkēlu[k\*]ku terku aṇṇi[ā]jāgappā-  
 20 iṇṇu iraṇḍān-chaḍirattu- kreyā-  
 21 m[ā]j[ā]lambāḍi nilam kālēmukkāṇi[k\*]  
 22 k[ā]l[ā]l[ā]-ettu mā [[\*] i-nnilam kālē-  
 23 mukkāṇi[k\*]kīl ettu māvu[k\*]kum vi-  
 24 lai iṭṭu-[k\*] konḍa kēṣu āṇu [[\*] i-k-  
 25 kēṣu-āṇu-iṭṭu-[k\*]konḍu i-nnilam  
 26 ccaṇḍr-āḍi[k\*]tavarai i-[d\*]lēva[rk\*]ku amudapāḍi śe-  
 27 lvudāga=[k\*] konḍu viṭṭēṇ Araiya-  
 28 p Kappāppanāna<sup>2</sup> Rājakēśari Pērayaṇēṇ<sup>3</sup> [ | \* ]

## TRANSLATION

## A

Hail ! Prosperity ! While the goddess with the (*lotus*) flower (i.e. Lakshmi) prospered ; while the goddess of Earth wedded (*the king*) ; while the goddess of victory beamed with joy ; while the goddess of Fame was resplendent ; while (*all other*) kings bore (*on their heads*) his two feet ; while he put on with fame the shining golden crown and wielded the sceptre in the tradition of (*his*) forebears ; while he was seated on the victorious throne under the white parasol extending up to the (*four*) quarters ; in the 9th year (of the reign) of (*this*) king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds (*Tribhuvanachakravartin*) the prosperous Parāntakadēva :

The following land was purchased and given away as gift by me, Araiyan Kappappan *alias* Rājakēśari Pērayaṇ, a resident of Kāḷikuḍi, a village in Kīḷiyūrnāḍu, a sub-division of Pāṇḍikūḷāṇi-vaḷanāḍu for the (*daily*) offerings to the god Tiruchcheḷūr-Mahādēva in Rājakēśari-charuppēdimāṅgalam(chaturvēdimāṅgalam) in Nallūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Nittavinōḍa-vaḷanāḍu. The (*piece of*) land purchased (*for being given away as gift*) by me from Kavusāyan Nārāyaṇan *alias* Nārāyaṇan of Kālūkalachchēri in Rājakēśari-chaṭurvēdimāṅgalam to the west of Āḍitavādī, to the south of the channel (*teyyēkkūl*) Rājakēśari and comprised in the second square of the fifth *kaṇṇāṇṇu* and measuring 1/4, 3/80, 1/800 (or 231/800) (*kālēmukkāṇi-kīl-ettu mā*). The price (*first and*) paid for this land of 231/800 (*measurement*) was six *kāṭus*. This (*price of*) six *kāṭus* was paid and the land given for offerings to the god till the sun and moon last, by me Araiyan Kappappan *alias* Rājakēśari Pērayaṇ.

<sup>1</sup> The letter *nē* is written underneath *z*.

<sup>2</sup> The first *f* is superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> This *gā* is written like the Grantha letter, i.e. *ti*-*gā*'s one below the other.

<sup>4</sup> The letter *gā* is written below *ga*.

<sup>5</sup> The letter *g* is written below *gā*. [See above, p. 196, note 6—D.C.S.]



## B

- 1 Svasti Śrī [ ] \* Puvimāṅgai valara Pūmāṅgai puṇara Jayamāṅgai māṅṅai Puṅgai  
[ma\*]ga mālara taṅṅa-aṅṅi-irāṅṅum<sup>1</sup>-taraṅṅipar tūṅṅa poṅ-nūṅṅi oṅṅi<sup>2</sup>ṅṅa puṅga([ ]\*)-māṅṅa  
tūṅṅi
- 2 taṅṅ-gōṅ māraṅṅi tūṅṅōṅ naṅṅāṅṅi-[t\*]ṅṅai varamāṅṅa-ttiṅṅa]<sup>3</sup>-veṅṅuṅṅaṅṅi-ki viśaiya-ṅṅi[māṅṅa-  
nattu viṅṅirāṅṅaṅṅi]ya\* Kōv=[I\*]ṅṅaṅṅaṅṅi.
- 3 paṅṅarāṅṅa eṅṅaṅṅi[ka\*]ṅṅaṅṅi(tti)ṅṅa] śrī-Pirāṅṅakadēvaṅṅu yāṅṅu 9 āvaṅṅu [ ] \*  
Uṅṅaiyār Tīrṅvaṅṅattarai Uṅṅaiyār Kō<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read *māṅṅa*.

<sup>2</sup> This is *superfluous*.

<sup>3</sup> The letter *ā* looks like *ṅa*.

<sup>4</sup> The first *ī* is *superfluous*.

<sup>5</sup> The letter *ā* looks like *ṅa*.

<sup>6</sup> The inscription stops abruptly here.



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# No. 23—SIRRAMBAKKAM INSCRIPTION OF PARAMESVARAVARMAN, YEAR 1

(I. Plate)

P. B. DESAI, DHARWAR

This inscription was found at **Sirrambakkam** alias **Tenkārapai**, a village in the Tiruvallūr Taluk, Chingleput District, Madras State. It was copied by a member of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India in the course of the epigraphical survey of the Taluk in 1947-48. It is registered as No. 83 of Appendix B and noticed at page I of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for that year. I edit the record here for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The epigraph is engraved on a slab of stone used as a step at the entrance of the Chelhamman temple in the above village. The slab is almost square in dimensions measuring about 26 inches long and 28.5 inches broad. In the central part of the stone is carved a floral design consisting of melon-shaped petals arrayed within the space formed by two concentric circles. The diameter of the inner circle is about 8 inches and that of the outer one 15.5 inches. The space inside the inner circle is left blank. The margin on the four sides of this design contains the writing. The inscription is made up of six lines, two of which are incised in the upper space, followed by two more in the right. Next comes one line at the bottom and another towards the left. The record is partly damaged and a few letters in lines 3 to 5 are obliterated. As the inscription speaks of the erection of a temple, it seems likely that this inscribed slab was originally fixed into a wall of that temple.

With the exception of the four letters of the Grantha alphabet, viz., *ṣ*, *m*, *ḷ* and *ṣ* in the first line, the characters are archaic Tamil of the unornamental variety and belong to the 7th century. They may be compared with those employed in the cave inscription at Vallam<sup>1</sup> and some of the labels on the rocks near Pūjēri.<sup>2</sup> Among the individual letters may be noted the initial *a* in line 5 and cursive *ṣ* in line 6.

The language is Tamil. We may note the honorific plural 'varummay of Sanskrit *varman* in line 1. The vowel-ending plural form *Sēmāṣyāru* in the compound *Sēmāṣyāru-varummay* is also noteworthy. Two similar forms are met with in the Vallam cave inscription, namely, *Mayāṣṭamppittāreṣaru-aṣyāru* in line 3 and *Vayandappiriareṣaru-mayāru* in line 4. The full import of the expression *Tāṇṇ-giṇavar* in line 2 is not known. The word *giṇavar*, which, however, forms part of it, may stand for 'chiefs' or 'headmen'. The expression *taṇṇā* in line 6 is difficult to explain.

The inscription refers itself to the first regnal year<sup>3</sup> of *Mahārāja Paramēśvaravarman*. Considering the palaeography of the epigraph and the historical facts known about the Pallavas of Kāñchi, who had risen to power at this time and were wielding authority in the region represented by the present record, we are justified in identifying this *Mahārāja Paramēśvaravarman* with the Pallava ruler Paramēśvara I (circa 670-700 A. D.). The date of our epigraph would thus be about 670 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> *AIW*, Vol. II, No. 72 and Plate X.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, No. 29 A and Plate II.

<sup>3</sup> The expression *taṇṇā* from *taṇai* is used adjectively in the sense of 'first'. The same usage may also be noted in the familiar phrase *taṇṇāṭai taṇṇāṭai* meaning 'first child'. For epigraphic usage of the word *taṇai* meaning 'first', we may note the expression *Ṭaṇṇāṭai-ppirūṇṇāṭai* in the Takkaḍam inscription (above, Vol. XIX, p. 87).



The object of the epigraph is to record the construction of a temple by the sister's son of Sōmāyār<sup>1</sup> who appears to claim some distinction. The name of this relative is partially preserved in the expression *Kumā[ra]*. This appears to be the earliest known reference to the construction of a structural temple in the Tamil country.

The epigraph is of importance on account of the fact that it is one of the few early inscriptions on stone written in archaic Tamil. Added to this is another fact that it is also one of the few inscriptions referring to the reigns of the early Pallava rulers and citing the regnal years. The epigraphs of the early Pallava kings of the Sūmahaviṣṭu line are characterised by the following notable features. They are inscribed generally on rocks and in caves; their script is Pallava-Grantha of the ornamental variety and their language is Sanskrit. Most of them are of the nature of mere labels comprising royal titles and epithets. Even if we take into account a few more Tamil inscriptions of the early period belonging to private agencies,<sup>2</sup> purely Tamil epigraphical records as such containing specific allusions to the contemporary rulers are conspicuous by their paucity. Only two such instances have come to our notice so far. One is the Vallam cave inscription mentioning Pallava Mahēndravarmān I and the other the Tirukkalikamparam epigraph referring to his successor Nannabhavarman I.<sup>3</sup> The present record, therefore, makes a welcome addition to this meagre list.

There is probably only one place-name mentioned in the record and it is Ālavāy. This place is usually identified with Madurai. But if we connect the word *Ālavāy* with *oluppāta* occurring later, it will show that the temple was constructed at Ālavāy which may have been an early name of Tenkiranai, the provenance of the record.<sup>4</sup>

#### TEXT<sup>5</sup>

##### *Upper Side*

1 Śrī-Mahārāja-Paramēśvaravaruṇmaṭṭka yūga valaṭṭā-

2 vadu Tūṇa-gi[avaru]=Ālavāy) Sōmāyār-

##### *Right Side*

3 ru-marunagan Kumā[ra] ....

4 oluppāta kō[ṭṭa] ....

##### *Lower Side*

5 .....[ra]m śc-

##### *Left Side*

6 yilār taḍumāv-ōṭṭka [ ]<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sōmāyār may be contracted either from Sōmayāyār or Sōmāyār.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, Tirumeyyam inscription (*SIL*, Vol. XII, p. 3, n. 1); Pāṇḍrī records (*IInd.*, No. 23 A); *A.R.Ep.*, 1937-38, Nos. 133, 140, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *A.R.Ep.*, 1932-33, p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> [The language of the record seems to mean that Sōmāyār hailed from the locality called Ālavāy. -D.C.S.]

<sup>5</sup> From impressions.



SIRRAMBAKKAM INSCRIPTION OF PARAMESVARAVARMAN; YEAR 1



Scale: One-fourth







## No. 24—PATTALI GRANT OF YUVARAJA RAJENDRAVARMAN, GANGA YEAR 313

(1 Plate)

D. C. SINGH, OOTCHAMUND

This inscription was published by Mr. Manda Narasimham in the Telugu journal *Bhārati*, June 1954, pp. 574 ff. In April 1956, it was purchased from Mr. Narasimham for the Epigraphical Gallery in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India. Nothing is known to us about the findspot of the record and the story of its discovery. Mr. Narasimham's article in the *Bhārati* does not disclose any fact in these respects. But there is little doubt that the plates were discovered somewhere in the Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh.

The inscription is written on three copper plates held together by a ring bearing the seal of the issuer of the charter. The plates are rectangular in shape and measure each  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length and  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches in height. They have slightly raised rims. There is a hole (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in diameter) in the left side of the plates for the ring to pass through. The diameter of the ring is about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches while its thickness is about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch. The ends of the ring are soldered to the bottom of a thick circular seal about 1 inch in diameter. On the countermunk surface of the seal, which is considerably corroded, there are traces of the figure of a standing animal which is no doubt a bull that was the emblem of the Eastern Ganga kings. The three plates together weigh about 94 tolas and the ring and the seal about 36 tolas.

There are altogether 37 lines of writing in the inscription. But line 30 containing only three *akṣaras* written between the beginning of lines 29 and 31 is not a continuous line, while the last line contains only one *akṣara* followed by a *dayaḥ*. The inscription is incised on the inner side of the first plate and both the sides of the second and third plates. It has, however, to be noticed that, through oversight, the engraver originally began to incise the concluding part of the record (lines 34 ff.) on the outer side of the first plate instead of on the corresponding side of the third plate, which is its proper place. But the mistake was detected when only one line and a half had been engraved on the reverse of the first plate.

The characters belong to the later Kalinga script and resemble those of many early medieval inscriptions discovered in the Srikakulam region. The letter *dh* has the form of *ddh* in some cases as noticed often in inscriptions in the later Kalinga alphabet. The language of the record is corrupt Sanskrit and it is written in prose with the exception of a few imprecatory and benedictory stanzas at the end. In point of orthography, the record resembles other epigraphs of the area and age in question. The grant was issued in the year 313 of the Ganga era, which fell in the period between 809 and 811 A. D. The date is written both in words and in figures; but there are no other details of the date.

The charter was issued from Kalinganagara by Yuvārāja Rājendravarmā, described as the son of Mahārājapāṇḍita Paramatara Paramahajjāra Anantavarmā of the Eastern Ganga family. It records the grant firstly of the village of Pāṭṭali (elsewhere called Pāḍali) situated in the territorial unit called Kṛishṇamaṭṭamba, in favour of the goddess Kaṭāhīpōṭṭi-ḥattārīkā, in order to provide for her offerings, etc., by Yuvārāja Rājendravarmā himself and secondly of Kuṭasaṭṭhira-grāma in Dāpupaṭṭhālī and Arali-grāma in Jāmbōṭṭa-paṭṭhālī in favour of the same deity, by Rājendravarmā's mother Loka-mahādevī. The primary object of the charter was to record the grant of Pāṭṭali-grāma since the order of the Yuvārāja was issued to the inhabitants of that village only. That Loka-mahādevī's grant of the villages of Kuṭasaṭṭhira and



Arali was added to the main charter as a subsidiary issue is further suggested by the fact that the boundaries of the gift land quoted in lines 24 ff. refer to the village of Pāḍali (i.e. Pāṭṭali) only.

The village of Pāṭṭali or Pāḍali was bounded in the east by a *naidhāni-tilā* (probably meaning 'a boundary pillar') and a *bīḷa* tree; in the south by a pit and another *naidhāni-tilā*; in the west by a pit (called Bhūṭṭaka probably after the name of the locality or its owner) and a mango tree; and in the north by a pit (called Kāṣimbi probably after the name of the locality or its owner) and certain forests. The above section of the charter is followed in lines 26 ff. by some of the well-known imprecatory and benedictory verses. The date of the grant, viz. year 313, is quoted in lines 34-35 as the year of the victorious reign of the Gaṅgōya dynasty. The document was written by *Mahāśāhīcīgrahaka* (i.e. the officer in charge of war and peace) Sāmitāja and the plates were engraved by the *śākhāḍālin* (i.e. goldsmith) Dāmachandra.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is one of the few charters issued by a crown-prince, the most well-known instance of this class of documents being the Mayidavolu plates<sup>1</sup> of the Pallava Yuṣamakārāja Śivaskandavarman who flourished in the first half of the fourth century A. D. The circumstances leading to the issue of a charter by the crown-prince instead of the king himself in these cases cannot be determined.

In order to determine the identity of the Gaṅga crown-prince Rājēndravarmān, son of king Anantavarman, we have to take note of the following records of the family: (1) Alamanda plates<sup>2</sup> of Anantavarman son of Mahārāja Rājēndravarmān, dated year 304; (2) Indian Museum plates<sup>3</sup> of Mahārāja Dēvēndravarmān, son of Mahārāja Rājēndravarmān, dated year 303; (3) Tekkali plates<sup>4</sup> of the same king, dated year 310; (4) Nāmpali grant<sup>5</sup> of Yuṣarāja Rājēndravarmān, son of king Anantavarman, dated year 314; and (5) Mandasa plates<sup>6</sup> of Rājēndravarmān, son of Anantavarman, dated year 342. These records show that the Gaṅga king Rājēndravarmān was succeeded by his sons Anantavarman (year 304) and Dēvēndravarmān (years 303 and 310) and that Dēvēndravarmān was succeeded by Rājēndravarmān, son of his elder brother and predecessor Anantavarman. The charter under study, issued by Anantavarman's son Rājēndravarmān as Yuṣarāja in the year 313, is therefore the third of his known records, the other two being his Nāmpali grant issued likewise as Yuṣarāja in the year 314 and his imperfectly deciphered Mandasa plates of the year 342 probably issued as king. The present epigraph mentions Loka-mahādēvī, mother of

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VI, pp. 80 ff. Another such instance is the Urrupalli grant (*Jud. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 5 ff.) of the Pallava Dharmapāṇi-mahārāja Vāṅṅōya; but the record is dated in the regnal year of the reigning monarch Simhavarmān. If, however, the dating would have been in an era, as in the present case, Simhavarmān's name would have been omitted since it is not mentioned in the formal part of the grant. Cf. the Hale plates of the Kōḷambe Yuṣarāja Kāṣanthavarman, probably dated in the Gupta year 80 (*Jour. As.*, p. 334). For a grant issued by a Mahāyūṣarāja, see B. Ch. Chakrav. *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part II, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 12 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 312 ff. As the date is written in this record as *śata-mayā dāi-śharā*, it was not quite certain that the intended reading is really *śata-trayā dāi-śharā* (i.e. in the year 310). No doubt on this point can, however, be entertained after the publication of the Indian Museum plates issued in the year 303. That the two records belong to one and the same Gaṅga king is clear from the fact that the same scribe and engraver are mentioned in both the charters. The Indian Museum epigraph was written by *Baharya* (i.e. *Bahisadāśrīṭra*) Sarrachandra and engraved by *Alekāṣṭha śrī-śāmanā* Khaṇḍimula, while the writer of the Tekkali charter was *śrī-śāmanā* Sarrachandra and its engraver *Alekāṣṭha śrī-śāmanā* Khaṇḍimula. The undated Chiraṇḍa (*Śrī-kakulam*) plates (*JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, 1862, pp. 17E) of the same king were also written and engraved by the said persons, viz. Sarrachandra-śrī-śāmanā and śrī-śāmanā-Khaṇḍimula. The official designation *Baharya* also occurs in the Chiraṇḍa (*Śrī-kakulam*) plates (*Jud. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 11-12 and Plate) of Satyavarman, the first son of Dēvēndravarmān and successor of Rājēndravarmān of our inscription. This record is dated in the Gaṅga year 351 which was at first wrongly read.

<sup>5</sup> *A. S. Ep.*, 1823-24, pp. 97-98; *Journ. Or. Res.*, Vol. IX, 1935, pp. 59-63.

<sup>6</sup> *A. S. Ep.*, 1917-18, Appendix A, No. 12 (cf. p. 137).



Rājēndravarmān and queen of Anantavarman, for the first time. The Nāmpali charter records the grant of Nāmpali-grāma situated in Nidijēru-vishaya in favour of Sāmīrāja, son of Gulāmarāja (wrongly read as *Gupamarāja*) of the Ayana-kula. It was written by *Mahādāśakīrīgana* Raha (i.e. *Rahasya* or *Rahasyādhipāya*) Śeṭi-Sāmanta<sup>1</sup> and engraved by *Alakalālin* Dāmachandra. It will be seen that the name *Alakalālin* Dāmachandra was also the engraver of the charter under study while Sāmīrāja, donee of the Nāmpali grant, seems to be none other than *Mahādāśakīrīgana* Sāmīrāja who was its writer. It is interesting to note that the Mandasa plates, issued by Rājēndravarmān more than quarter of a century later, was written by *Saundhanigraha* Raṇḍuṇya who was the son of the said Sāmīrāja.<sup>2</sup>

An interesting feature of the records of Rājēndravarmān, issued by him as Yuvārāja during the years 313 and 314, is that they do not refer to the rule of his uncle Dēvēndravarmān who is known to have issued charters in the years 308 and 310. It should also be noticed that Yuvārāja Rājēndravarmān's grants dated in the years 313 and 314 and Dēvēndravarmān's charters dated in the years 308 and 310 were all issued from the city of Kalīḡaganagara. In the present state of insufficient information on the point, it is difficult to suggest any hostility between Rājēndravarmān and his uncle only on this ground. We know that the Early Eastern Gāṅga kings generally represented themselves each as the son of his father and not as the successor of his predecessor. As for instance, Dēvēndravarmān's charters describe him as the son of Rājēndravarmān and not as the successor of his elder brother and predecessor Anantavarman. But Yuvārāja Rājēndravarmān's case is somewhat different since he issued the charters in question as a crown-prince when his uncle Dēvēndravarmān may have been on the throne. As, however, the Mayidavolu plates were similarly issued by the Pallava Yuvamohārāja Śrīraṇḍavarman without any reference to the reigning Pallava king who was probably his father, it is not easy to arrive at a conclusion from this fact.

Besides Kalīḡaganagara, the capital of the Eastern Gāṅgas, identified generally with modern Mukhalingam near Sriakulam, and the well-known Mahāniragiri peak on the borders between the Ganjam and Sriakulam Districts, the inscription mentions the following geographical names: the villages of Pūṭṭali or Pādali, Kuḷasaṅkīra and Arali as well as the districts of Kṛishṇamaṭṭamba, Dāpu-paṭchālī and Jāmbhūṭa-paṭchālī. I am not sure about their location. There are other instances of the use of the word *paṭchālī* to indicate a territorial unit in the inscriptions of the area in question.<sup>3</sup>

## TEXT<sup>4</sup>

### First Plate

1 Siddham<sup>5</sup> svamī-[] A\*[maṭaput-ḡu(nu)kārīṇa(b\*) ararvatu<sup>6</sup>-sukha-raṇḍu]nī-

<sup>1</sup> In the records of Dēvēndravarmān the expression *śeṭi-Sāmanta* is used as an epithet of both the scribe and the engraver. In this case, however, Sāmanta looks like the personal name of the scribe unless it is believed that the personal name was omitted after the epithet through oversight. An *Aratiga* Śeṭi-Sāmanta seems to have been the scribe of the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman (second son of Dēvēndravarmān, predecessor of Rājēndravarmān of the inscription under study), dated year 238 (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 344).

<sup>2</sup> The engraver of the record is stated to have been the son of one Mahāchandra who seems to have been related to Dāmachandra. *Mahāchandra* may also be a wrong reading for *Dāmachandra*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kṛishṇadaka-paṭchālī in the Koroṇḍa plates of Viśākṣavarman (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 23 ff.) and the Chitrode (Sriakulam) plates of Indravarmān (*Ind. Ast.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 122 ff.). *Paṭhyagiri-paṭchālī* is called a *śikṣa* in the Saka plates of Dēvēndravarmān (above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 62 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>6</sup> Read *ara-qrīṇa*. There is a trace of a letter, originally incised and later erased, between *ara* and *qrī*.

<sup>7</sup> The sign meant for the letter *ma* has a peculiar form.



- 2 yād-vijayavata[*h*\*] Kaliṅganagara-vāsakā[*t*\*] Mahēndra(ndr-ā)chala(i-ā)ma-  
 3 la-ākhaṛa-pratishṭhitaṣya sa-chaṛ-āchara-gutō[*h*\*] saka'la-bhava-  
 4 na-nirmāṇ-aika-su(sū)traddhā(dhā)ṣya saśikha-ohudāmaṇai<sup>1</sup>-bhagava-  
 5 tō Gōkarṇṇasvāmīnāś-chaṭapa-kamah<sup>2</sup>-yugala-praṇu(pā)-  
 6 ma(mā)dvī(d-vi)gata-Kali-kāla-kalānko-nak-āhavaḥ-sakṛbhāḥ<sup>3</sup>-janita-jaya-  
 7 svyda<sup>4</sup> pratāp-āvanata-samasta-sāmanta-chakra-chuḥḥ-  
 8 maṇi<sup>5</sup>-prabhā-mahjati-puñja-rañjita-vara-cha[ra\*]jō ni-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 9 ja-nistisaddhār<sup>6</sup>-āpārjita-sakala-Kaliṅg-āddhi(dhī)ṣya[*h*\*]  
 10 pravata-sita-kumuda-kunī-āndv-avadāta-vinīrga<sup>7</sup>-  
 11 ta-yaśō(śāḥ) dhvaat-ārāti-kul-āchalō naya-tinaya-daya(yā)-da(dā)-  
 12 na-dākhinyasaandūrya<sup>8</sup>-satya-tyāg-āddi(di)-gupa-sa[*n*\*]pad-ā-  
 13 ddhā(dhā)ra-bh[*h*](ḥ)ō(taḥ) paramamāhāvarō mātā-pātra(tri)-pad-ānadhya(dhyā)-  
 14 tō Gaṅg-āmala-kul-ādbhavō mahārājādhirāja-paramā-  
 15 śvara-paramahma[*p*ā]śaka-āri<sup>9</sup>-Anantavarmanmadēva-su(sū)nu-ya-  
 16 varāja-śri(śrī)-Rājēndravarva(rmā) kuśal(i) Kṛishnamattjamva-a<sup>10</sup>

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 17 nta[*h*\*]pāsi-Pāṭṭali-grāma-nivāsi-kuṭumvi(rubī)na[*h*\*] janapadā[*dhā*-cha\*] sa-  
 18 ma(mā)jñāpayati ob-ānya[*d*\*]-viditana-sata vō bhātām<sup>11</sup> grāmō-ya[*n*\*] śri(śrī)ma-

<sup>1</sup> The original shows an unnecessary *ā*-called with *ai*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *śakṛbhā-chaṭapamā*. The *śakṛbhā* is engraved on an *śakra*.

<sup>3</sup> In this word *la* has an unusual shape, owing to the addition of an unnecessary stroke somewhat resembling *so* *ā*-mātrō, while *h* is incised in an *erased* *ya*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *śava-sakṛbhā* in which *s* and *śa* have peculiar forms.

<sup>5</sup> Read *śakṛbhā*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *śakṛbhā*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *śakṛbhā*.

<sup>8</sup> The *śakṛbhā* is written on an *śakra*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *śakṛbhā-śava-ānārga*.

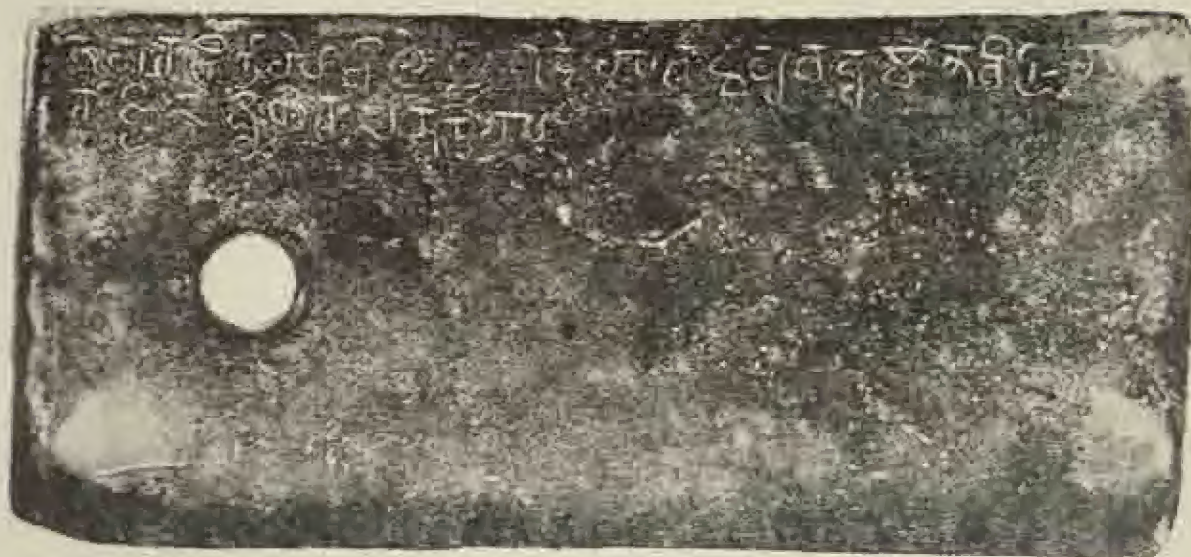
<sup>10</sup> Read *śrī* or *śakṛbhā* *śrī*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *śakṛbhā*.

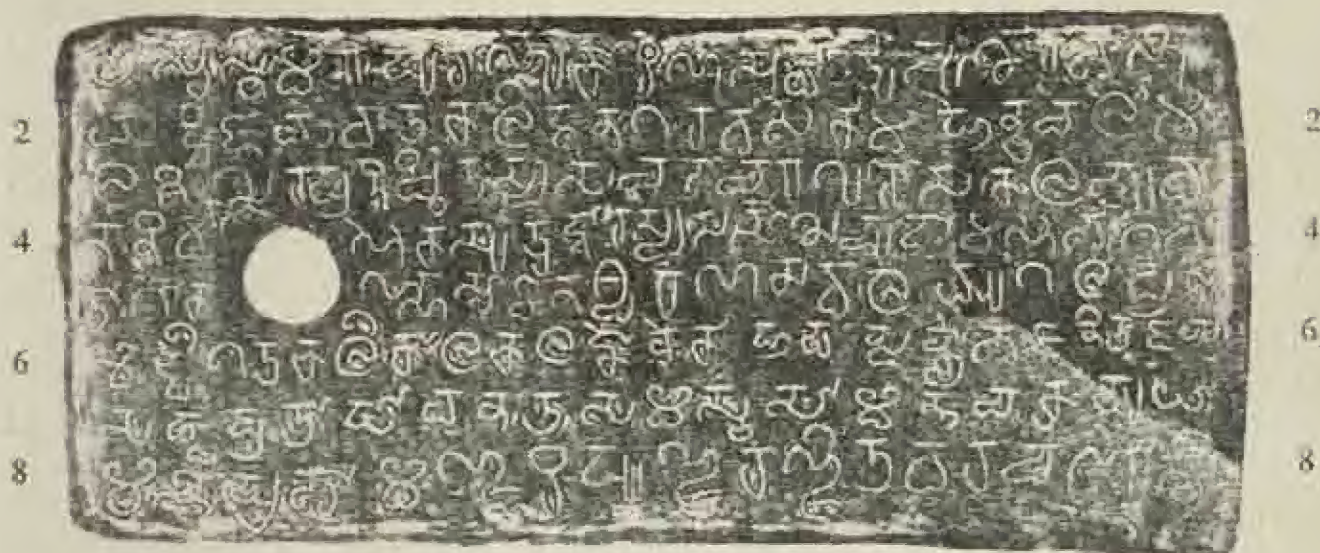
<sup>12</sup> The intended-reading is *śakṛbhā* which is, however, redundant in view of the use of *śa*. Read instead *śakṛbhā*.



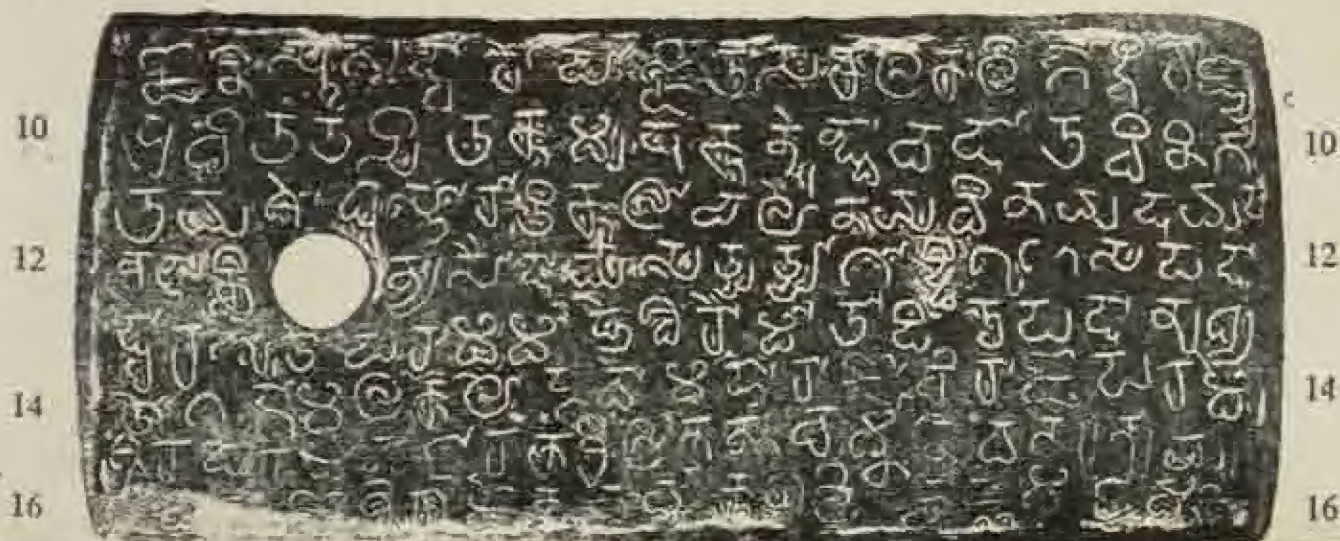
6, a



6, b



ii, a





18  
 20  
 22  
 24

18  
 20  
 22  
 24

26  
 28  
 30  
 32

26  
 28  
 30  
 32

34  
 36

34  
 36



- 19 t-Kañchipōṣi-bhaṭṭārikāyā va(ha)lī-nivōdya-charu-nimittā(ttā)ya.  
 20 pradatanu(ttaḥ | ) aparam-ayā Dāpu-pañchālyāya<sup>1</sup> Kuśasaṅkīra-gā(grā)ma(h\*)  
 21 Jāmvō(mbō)ṭṭa-pañchālyā(m\*) Arali-grāma(m)(maś-cha) tasya mātamyāth<sup>2</sup> ān(ān)-Lō-  
 22 kamahādōvi(vyā) pradatan<sup>3</sup> bhāṭṭārikayāth<sup>4</sup> sarva-kara-bharaiḥ parihṛitya  
 23 chandr-ārica-pratiśhṭhā<sup>5</sup> mātā-pātaraurṭunaneś-cha<sup>6</sup> punya(ay-ā)bhivṛidha(dḍha)-  
 34 [yō |\*] Pādali-grāmasya m(ā)miā-li(h)gā<sup>7</sup>ni bhavanti pu(pā)rva-diśyā(h\*) naidhā-

## Third Plate, First Side\*

- 25 ni<sup>8</sup>-stū(h)lā vi(hi)lva-vriksha(ś-cha |\*) dakṣhiṇēna garta(riā) naidhā(dhā)ni-silā [cha |\*]  
 paśch(i)m[ō]na Bhūṭjaka<sup>9</sup>.  
 26 garta(riā) a(ā)nvra(ma)-vriksha(ś-cha |\*) uta(tta)roṇa<sup>10</sup> Kāṣṇvi(mbi)-garta(riā) vanā(na)-  
 rāji(kā)ś-ek-ēti ||\*] Va(Ba)hu-  
 27 bhāra-vaunddhā(dhā) datā(ttā) rā)akhi(h\*) Sagar-śdibhi(h\*) yaaya-yaaya  
 28 yadā bhu(bhā)mi(e\*)-taaya taaya tadā phala(m |\*) Śva-datā(ttān) para-datāmā<sup>11</sup>  
 29 yō harēti(ta) vaundharā(m |\*) es viśh(hāyō(yān) kṛimibhu(e-bhū)tvā pṭṭibhi(h\*) saha  
 30 paḥyati(tē ||)\*  
 31 Ma bhuya phalaseka<sup>12</sup> va(h\*) para-datā(tt-ā)ti pāṭhiva(vāḥ | ) āva-da(dā)nā(h\*) phalam-  
 ānantya(āi\*) jara-<sup>13</sup>  
 32 dān-ānupālana(mē) ||[\*] iti kamala-dala(ā)nvu(mbu)-vindu-lōla(lān) chapala<sup>14</sup> ān(ya\*)m-  
 ān-  
 33 ahintya manusa(āya)-p(ji)vitam [cha |\*] puruṣa<sup>15</sup>m-adam-udāhita vuidhā<sup>16</sup> na hi parmah-

<sup>1</sup> Read pañchālyāya.<sup>2</sup> Read mātā.<sup>3</sup> Read pradatanu or pradatan.<sup>4</sup> Read bhāṭṭārikayā.<sup>5</sup> Better read ś-chandr-ārica-pratiśhṭhā (than or pratiśhṭhā) hṛitā.<sup>6</sup> Read pātaraurṭunaneś.<sup>7</sup> The superscript of the consonant is written on an erasure.<sup>8</sup> The word naidhāni seems to be derived from Sanskrit naidhāni and to have been used to indicate a boundary pillar. Better read naidhāni for naidhāni here and below. (The correct form would be naidhāni.—Ed.)<sup>9</sup> Read daktiṇā.<sup>10</sup> These letters, engraved between the beginning of the previous and following lines are not in a regular line of writing.<sup>11</sup> Read Mā bhūṭjaka phala-māni.<sup>12</sup> This word is reduplicated.<sup>13</sup> Read naidhāni.<sup>14</sup> Read vāidhāniścha daktiṇā.



*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 34 na<sup>1</sup> para-ti(ki)rtayō vilōpya(pyāb<sup>2</sup> ||) Gaṅgēya-vaśān<sup>3</sup>-pravarddhava(mā)na-vijaya-  
 35 rājya-samvachhara-sala<sup>4</sup>-trayē trayōdaga(ā-ā)dhika(kā) 313 ākhitam-ida[ā<sup>5</sup>]  
 36 mahāsanthirigrahaka-iri<sup>6</sup>-Saminājāna<sup>7</sup> ||\* uti(ki)rtayā[ā<sup>8</sup>] ch-ākhāsāma<sup>9</sup> iri(āri)-  
     Dāmaśandāna(odhāna) i-  
 37 ti |<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The intended reading is *parashka*; but read *parashāh* for the sake of the metre.

<sup>2</sup> Read *śāpāya-māka*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *śāpāya-māka*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *śāpāya-māka*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *śāpāya-māka*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *śāpāya-māka*. Instead of the 4-mātrā of *śā*, the engraver seems to have missed what looks like a second

mate of *ai*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *śāpāya-māka*.

<sup>8</sup> This letter and the punctuation mark are missed below the end of the previous line.



## No. 25—FRAGMENTARY MAURYA INSCRIPTION FROM MATHURA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

A fragment of an inscribed stone slab was discovered in 1954 at Katra Keshavdev within Mathurā city, headquarters of the District of that name in Uttar Pradesh. It was presented by the Shri Krishna Janmabhumi Trust, Mathurā, to the local Archaeological Museum. In April 1955, I received two impressions of the fragmentary inscription from Mr. K. D. Bajpai, Curator of the said Museum. I am thankful to Mr. Bajpai for giving me an opportunity to study the inscription which was found on examination to be of considerable historical importance.

The inscribed fragment measures 22½ inches in height, with a small piece of stone broken away both from the top and from the bottom. The width of the stone is not uniform since it is mutilated at both the sides. The breadth of the upper part is 11 inches while that of the lower portion is only about 8 inches. There are altogether 15 lines of writing in the inscription. But a few letters are noticed in the upper left corner of the stone, although they appear to be scribbles of a slightly later date, having little to do with the original record under study. The letters of the epigraph are carefully engraved but they are not uniform in shape. As for instance, letters in line 1 are considerably smaller in size than those in lines 2-10. The letters in lines 11-15 are also somewhat smaller. The space between the lines is likewise not uniform, that between lines 1 and 2 being more than in any other case. Some letters are broken away from the beginning and end of all these lines. The major part of the record is written in verse and so the number of the lost syllables can be easily determined.

The characters resemble those of such inscriptions of the seventh and eighth centuries belonging to the western parts of Northern India as the Banaskhera plate<sup>1</sup> of Harsha (606-47 A.D.), the Kundaesvar inscription<sup>2</sup> (V.S. 718-561 A.D.) of Aparājita, the Jhalrapatan inscription<sup>3</sup> (V.S. 746-689 A.D.) of Durgagana, the Kudarkot inscription<sup>4</sup> of about the second half of the seventh century, the Nagar inscription<sup>5</sup> (V.S. 741-684 A.D.) of Dhanika, and the Kanawa inscription<sup>6</sup> (V.S. 725-738 A.D.) of Sivagana. Some of the vowel-marks and subscripts are often of the ornamental type. For the ordinary and ornamental types of the medial signs of *i*, *ī* and *ē*, see respectively *śiṛā* and *śiṛātum* in line 2, *śiṛi* in lines 3 and 4, and *śiṛayā* in line 3 and *mūlyena* in line 8; while, for subscript *ṛ*, see *śiṛi-Chandra* in line 4. The difference between the ornamental forms of medial *i* and medial *ē* is that the former is extended towards the left after a sharp curve in the middle. The form of *rī* in line 2 is interesting. In many cases, the letter *d* has a marked protrusion at the back as in the modern Śāradā and Gurumukhī alphabets (cf. *dyutayā* in line 1, *d=Arpa* and *Chandra* in line 4, *dinā* in line 13). In some cases, the globular limb of *n* is not joined with the vertical hanging from the top *mātrā* (e.g. in *nripatī* in line 4). The letter *k* shows

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 208 ff. and Plate.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 29 ff. and Plate.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. V, p. 181 and Plate.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 180 ff. and Plate.

<sup>5</sup> *Abanta Kausika*, Part I, pp. 267 ff. and Plate.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 57 and Plate.



the older type only when it is the superscript in a conjunct or a vowel-mark is added to its bottom (cf. *Krishna* in line 3, *Karkka* in line 4). The letter *h* is indicated by the sign for *e*. On palaeographical consideration, the inscription may be assigned to the latter half of the seventh century or the first half of the eighth, preferably to the former period.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the invocatory passage at the beginning and the sentence mentioning the engraver in line 15, the whole epigraph is written in verse. As regards orthography, the inscription resembles contemporary records of Northern India. Final *m* is changed to *um* at the end of the second and fourth feet of stanzas. The extant part of the inscription bears no date.

The inscription contains a *prastāva* in five stanzas in all. The composer offers his adoration to a god in verse 1. Verse 2 introduces the royal personage, the recording of one of whose pious activities was the object of the inscription, while verse 3 speaks of the particular meritorious deed performed by him. Verse 4 prays for the permanency of the object made and verse 5 mentions the author of the *prastāva*. A passage in prose at the end of the record mentions the engraver. It is not possible to determine whether the date in figures was incised at the end of the line and is now broken away.

The first *akṣara* in the extant part of line 1 seems to be a damaged *jyē* which is followed by a double *daṁḍa* and a symbol for *Siddham*. It is not possible to restore the word ending in *jyē* unless it is believed that the scribbles above the beginning of the line were meant to write the same. These scribbled letters appear to read *Yadu-m(rā)jyē* which follow what looks like a damaged *Siddham* symbol. But it has to be admitted that such a passage at the beginning of an inscription is rather unusual. The *Siddham* symbol in line 1 is followed by a passage which appears to read *namaḥ* | and what follows in lines 1-2 is a stanza in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre in adoration of a god whose epithets *kāl-āṅgana-rajah-panja-dyuti*, [*ma*]hāvārāha-rāja and *jaiṅgama* have only been preserved. There is no doubt that the reference is to the god Viṣṇu since the expression *mahāvārāha-rāja* certainly speaks of the Boar incarnation of that deity.

Verse 2 in lines 3 ff., while introducing the hero of the *prastāva*, speaks, in the first foot, of a king named *Krishnarāja* who is stated to have belonged to the royal family of the **Mauryas**. The second foot of the stanza mentions another king, apparently named *Āryarāja*, who is described as the son of **Chandragupta**. The words indicating the relationship between *Krishnarāja* and *Āryarāja* are lost; but the intention of the *prastāvikāra* appears to have been to represent **Chandragupta's** son *Āryarāja* as born in the family of *Krishnarāja* of the Maurya lineage. The second half of the stanza speaks of a person known by two names, viz. *Pinḍirāja* and *Karka*, one of which was given to him [by the people] in recognition of what he did with reference to the invincible *Kānyakubja*. This *Pinḍirāja* also *Karka* was no doubt a ruler who was probably the son or successor of *Āryarāja*, although the words indicating their relationship cannot be traced in the extant part of the verse. The verb indicating the nature of the achievement of *Karka* *Pinḍirāja* with reference to the city of *Kānyakubja* is also imperfectly preserved, but the idea may have been to represent him as one who burnt the city. This seems to be suggested by the preserved last *akṣara* of the verb (viz. *dyo* which may be the remnant of *śirodyo*) as well as the fact that the word *karka* has 'fire' as one of its meanings. *Pinḍirāja* may thus have well been called *Karka* or 'the Fire' because of his success in burning the city of *Kānyakubja*.

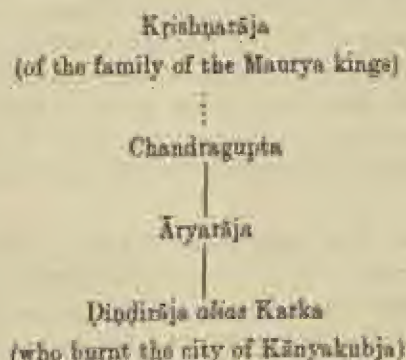
Verse 3 describing the meritorious deed performed apparently by *Pinḍirāja* *Karka*, which was the subject of the *prastāva*, is damaged and its purport is not quite clear. The first half of the stanza has, however, the expression *paṇy-śreyasachchintā* and the passage *mahatā mālyetan gat-kāritam(tam)* and the latter half the letters [*Sau*]rāś dīva vāṣṭipatā mālakā...lavḥa(bāha)-*egam-angāhataṁ(tam)*. It therefore seems that the king performed the deed in question in the



chain of many other pious works and at the cost of a large sum of money. The purpose seems to have been to put garlands around the head of a deity whose name seems to read *Sauri* (i.e. Vishnu; cf. the Vaishnavite adoration in verse 1). The *akṣharas mālīkā* may suggest *mālīkāra-nikāya*, i.e. a guild of florists. In that case, it is possible to think that the king deposited a good sum of money with a guild of florists as a permanent endowment for the supply of garlands regularly for adorning the head of the deity he worshipped. The next stanza (verse 4) contains the prayer [*pra*]tidinaṁ tārāt-samāro[ha]tu which, together with the preserved parts of certain other passages, suggests that the garlands were meant to be placed on the deity's head every day so long as the sun and the moon would shine. In this context, the passage ra(ba)[ndha]naṁ mahad-idaṁ eva-īryasā would show that the pious work of Diddirāja Karka related to *bandhana* (possibly *mastaka-bandhana* of the deity) and that it was done for his own merit.

According to verse 5, the eulogy (a word of this import is lost) was composed by a person whose name seems to be Bālasēna and whose father's name ended in the *akṣharas lakṣ* (cf. names like *Mallaka*, *Gollaka*, etc.). The prose passage following this stanza was meant for mentioning the name of the engraver of the record; but the name is lost. The word *karāṇika* qualifying the lost name is, however, clear on the impression.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it mentions certain hitherto unknown rulers of the Maurya family, who flourished in the early medieval period. The genealogical information supplied by the present record may be tentatively tabulated as follows:



None of these rulers is known from any other source. The name of Chandragupta seems to suggest that the tradition of the mighty Chandragupta (c. 324-300 B.C.), the great founder of the Maurya dynasty of Magadha, was not totally forgotten in the family as late as the early medieval period. The reference to Kānyakubja, which is modern Kanoj in the Farrukhabad District of Uttar Pradesh, probably suggests that the territory over which these early medieval Mauryas held sway included, as is also indicated by the findspot of the record, some of the south-western areas of Uttar Pradesh.

It is interesting to note in this connection that three early medieval branches of the Maurya dynasty are so far known.<sup>1</sup> The first of these are the Mauryas of the Konkan, who are represented in the inscriptions of the Chālukyas as having been subdued by the Early Chālukya king Kirtivarman I (506-98 A.D.) and Pulakēśin II (610-42 A.D.) of Bādāmi.<sup>2</sup> An inscription<sup>3</sup> from Kanaśwa in the old Kotah State of Rajasthan, dated in the Mālava year (i.e. V.S.) 795-738 A.D., belongs to the Brāhmaṇa prince Śivagaṇa who was a feudatory of king Dhavala or Dhavalātman

<sup>1</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 282-84.

<sup>2</sup> *Ahore*, Vol. VI, pp. 4-5 (text line 4, verse 9) ; p. 6 (text lines 10-11, verses 20-21).

<sup>3</sup> *Jed. As.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 56-2.

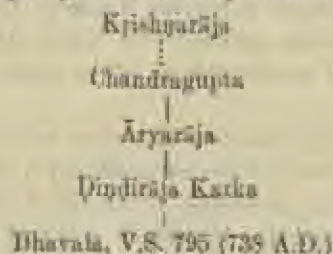


of the Maurya lineage. Another inscription<sup>1</sup> from Waghli near Chalisgaon in West Khandesh mentions the Maurya chief Gōvindarāja who was the twenty-first descendant of the chief Kikata of the Maurya dynasty of Valabhi (i.e. modern Wala in Kathiawar) and ruled in Śaka 991-1069 A.D. as a subordinate of the Yādava Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara Śaṅgachandra II of the Sērupa country (i.e. modern Khandesh). But the facts that the palaeography of the inscription under study closely resembles that of the Kanawda inscription and that the Malwa-Rajasthan region is much closer to Mathurā than the Konkani and Rhandesh appear to connect the Mauryas mentioned in our epigraph with the Maurya king Dhavala of the Kanawda inscription. It was probably these Mauryas who are referred to in the Nausari plates<sup>2</sup> of the Gujarat Chālukya chief Pulakōśin Avāntjanāśraya, dated in the Kalāchuri year 490-738 A.D. It is stated in that record that the Chālukya chief repulsed a Tājika (i.e. Arab) army which, after destroying the Saindhava, Kauchhella, Śarśahtra, Chāvōtaka (i.e. Chāpākuta), Maurya and Garjara kings and wishing to penetrate the Dakṣiṇāpātha country, came to reduce the Navasārikā territory under his rule. It was probably the Maurya king Dhavala who was defeated by the Arabs then in occupation of Sind.

D. R. Bhandarkar<sup>3</sup> was inclined to identify Maurya Dhavala of the Kanawda inscription with *Paramabhaṭṭānaka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Dhavalappa*, overlord of Guhilaputra Dhanika of Dhavagartā, mentioned in the Dhod inscription probably dated in the Gupta year 407-726 A.D. Dhavalappa, however, appears to be a South Indian (probably Kānada) name and the king may have been related to Rāshtrakūṭa Nappappa, bearing a similar *appa*-ending name, of the Indragarh (Mandlaur District, Madhya Pradesh) inscription<sup>4</sup> of the Mālava year (i.e. V.S.) 767-710 A.D. It has, however, to be admitted that the Maurya king's name is given in the Kanawda inscription as *Dhavalātman* which may be a Sanskritisation of *Dhavalappa*. If Bhandarkar's identification is accepted, the southern name of a Maurya king of the Malwa-Rajasthan region may be explained by supposing that these Mauryas were related to the Mauryas of the Konkani in the south.

As already indicated above, it is very probable that Maurya Dhavala of the Kanawda inscription belonged to the family referred to in the inscription under study. It also seems that the Mauryas of the Malwa-Rajasthan region were descendants of one of the Kumāra viceroys of the western province of the ancient Maurya empire, which had its headquarters at the city of Ujjayinī. Since the Kanawda inscription of V.S. 795 (735 A.D.) appears to be slightly later than the present record, king Dhavala may be tentatively regarded as one of the successors of Dindirāja Karka of our epigraph. The genealogy of these Mauryas would thus stand as follows:

*Mauryas of the Malwa-Rajasthan Region*



<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. II, pp. 321 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Bhandarkar's *Ins.* No. 1229.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, No. 1271 and note.

<sup>4</sup> The inscription has been published (under the name 'Dahok inscription') above, Vol. XX, pp. 322 ff. where the date has been read as the year 307 of the Hephthalite era corresponding to 812 A.D.

<sup>5</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1934-55, No. 158 of App. B; above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 112 ff.







# FRAGMENTARY MAURYA INSCRIPTION FROM MATHURA



Scale : Four tenths







- 11 ॐ ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ — — —<sup>1</sup> śirō bhūtir-bhūṣhayitum bhavaty-ati-sitā y(ā) — ॐ — — ॐ  
 12 — — — — — ॐ ॐ ॐ va(ba)(ndha)\*nath mahad-ida(rā) eva-śrēya)sē ni ॐ — — —  
 13 — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ [ti]dinath<sup>2</sup> tāt-śamārō ॐ — — — — —<sup>3</sup> [|| 4\*] . . .  
 14 . . . . . Ilakā<sup>4</sup>-s[ā]n[nā [|| 5\*] raohitā Vā(Bā)h[ā]s[ā]<sup>5</sup> . . .  
 15 . . . . . [|| 6\*] [utkīrṇā] karāṇika . . . . .<sup>6</sup> [|| 7\*]

<sup>1</sup> These two alsharas may be conjecturally restored as *śambhā*.

<sup>2</sup> We may suggest the restoration *śamāraśamāraśamāra*.

<sup>3</sup> The superscript in this conjunct appears to be *ś*; but the subscript is doubtful. Can the reference be to *śamāraśamāra*?

<sup>4</sup> This is a conjunct. The superscript seems to be *ś*; but the subscript is doubtful. Can the intended reading of the expression be *śamāraśamāra* or *śamāra*?

<sup>5</sup> The expression is no doubt *śamāraśamāra*.

<sup>6</sup> The intended word is apparently *śamāraśamāra*.

<sup>7</sup> The name was something like *Maṇḍaka*, *Geṇḍaka*, etc.

<sup>8</sup> The name seems to have been *Bāṇaka* and the expression *Vā(Bā)h[ā]s[ā]*.

<sup>9</sup> The name seems to have been written in three alsharas with an *ś*-mark attached to the second of them. The traces suggest *śamāraśamāra*.



## No. 26—NELKUNDA GRANT OF CHALUKYA ABHINAVADITYA

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, DHARWAR

As a contributor of an article on the antiquity of Bellary, I received a complimentary copy of the September (1953) issue of the Kannada journal *Śaṣṭha Sāhitya*, Bangalore, in October 1953. This issue also contained an article on a copper-plate record of Chālukya Abhinavāditya<sup>1</sup> by the late Shri Hullūru Shrinivasa Joyis of Chitradurg,<sup>2</sup> Mysore State. The importance of the charter at once arrested my attention and I requested the Government Epigraphist for India to secure the original plates for examination and study. The plates were received in January 1954 through the Director of Archaeology, Mysore, and returned soon after. I edit the inscription on these plates here with the kind permission of the above authority from the set of impressions preserved in his office<sup>3</sup> at Ootacamund.

According to the information contained in the above-mentioned article of Shri Joyis, the plates were the ancestral property in the possession of the family of Pājāri Bhīmappa, a resident of the village of Gañjagaṭṭi in the Holalkere Taluk, Chitradurg District, Mysore State. They were obtained by S. Kenavayya, a relative of the owner, and handed over to Shri Joyis for decipherment and study. The plates appear to have been later deposited in the local archaeological museum at Chitradurg.

This is a set of **three** copper-plates held together by a circular ring. The first and third plates are engraved on one side only while the second contains writing on both the sides. There is a ring-hole about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch in diameter, in the left margin of each plate for the ring to pass through. The plates measure almost uniformly  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in breadth. The thickness of each plate is about  $\frac{1}{16}$  inch. The ring is fastened to the bottom of a circular seal. The diameter of the ring is 3 inches and its thickness  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch. The seal is about one inch in diameter. In the counter-sunk surface of the seal is the emblem of what looks like a boar facing left. The plates along with the ring and seal weigh 70 tolas, while the ring and seal weigh 18 $\frac{1}{2}$  tolas.

The charter comprises 28 lines of writing, which are distributed evenly on all the four sides of the plates. The **characters** are Telugu-Kannada of the 7th century, being normal for the period. They may be compared with those of the Karnul plates<sup>4</sup> of Ādityavarman and, allowing some margin of difference, with other cognate records such as the Talamañchi plates<sup>5</sup> of Vikramāditya I.

Some of the letters exhibit cursive forms: for instance, *ya* in *Nārāyaṇa* (line 7), and *i* in *Uśākhana* (line 8) and *vallabha* (line 13). Initial *u* occurs twice, in *udita* in line 2 and *uchchaḍḍiṣṭha* in line 25. Medial *i* and *ī* are distinguished, the former being indicated by a circle and the latter by a spiral at the top of the letter, e.g., *Hārī* in line 4. Except in one or two cases, *anuvāḍa* is generally retained. In *udita-mā*<sup>6</sup> in line 2, it is turned into nasal in *uṇḍhi* with the following letter.

<sup>1</sup> The facsimiles of the plates are not reproduced along with the article, although it gives the text of the record, which needs improvement in certain places.

<sup>2</sup> This name was formerly spelt as Chitaldroog.

<sup>3</sup> The inscription is registered as U. P. No. 22 of 1953-54 and noticed briefly in the Report for the year.

<sup>4</sup> *JBBNAS*, Vol. XVI, plate facing p. 233.

<sup>5</sup> *Aberre*, Vol. IX, plate facing p. 100.



In regard to **orthography**, the consonant following *r* in a conjunct is doubled. This rule which is optional is wrongly applied even in the case of an exceptional letter *śh*, e.g., in *Harshaha* (line 10).

The **language** is Sanskrit and except for two verses, one at the beginning and another at the end, the composition is in prose throughout. The text is accurate excepting a few scribal errors.

The inscription commences with the expression *svasti*. This is followed by a verse in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre in praise of a foot of the god Hari, described as lustrous like the rising sun, and stated to have been raised to measure the earth and to crush the darkness in the form of the demon (Bali). The composer of the record has deliberately used the expression *abhinavāditya* meaning the 'new sun' in the above description to convey through *double entendre* an allusion to the ruling king Abhinavāditya who issued the charter. Next are recounted the usual *janāśa* of the Chalukya or Chālukya house and the genealogy of the rulers belonging to it. In the genealogy are mentioned only three kings, viz., *Paramēśvara* Satyāśraya-prithivīvallabha who vanquished Harshavardhana, i.e. Pulakēśin II, his son Ādityavarman, and the latter's son **Satyāśraya-prithivīvallabha** *alias* **Abhinavāditya** who issued the present charter. As in the case of Pulakēśin II, both Ādityavarman and Abhinavāditya are endowed with the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*.

King Abhinavāditya is stated to have issued an order to the concerned persons announcing the gift of the village Nelkunda, situated in the Uchchaspīṅga *raṣṭra*, free of all imposts to the Brāhmaṇa Kuppasārman of the Dēvarāṭa-Kaṇṇika *gṛha*, who was well-versed in the Vēdas along with the Vēdāṅgas and engaged in performing the six-fold *karma*. The grant was made on the full-moon day of Bhādrapada in the increasingly victorious reign of the king, the specific year of the reign, however, not being mentioned. The epigraph concludes with the usual imprecatory *varṇa*.

The inscription is of **great historical importance**, as it not only reveals for the first time the existence of a **hitherto unknown prince of the early Chālukya house of Bādāmi**, but seems also to let in some new light on the dark period of its history following the defeat of Pulakēśin II at the hands of his adversary, Pallava Narasiṃha I. Pulakēśin II vanishes from the political scene in 642 A.D. and his son Vikramāditya I emerges as a victor who re-established Chālukya supremacy in 655 A.D. About 13 years that intervened between these two events are characterised by paucity of historical information. It has been surmised that during this period a part of the Chālukya kingdom was under the occupation of the Pallavas and that although several sons of Pulakēśin II aspiring for the Chālukya throne were ruling in different areas, none of them was powerful enough to drive away the enemy and assert his authority over the feudatories.<sup>1</sup>

An elder son of Pulakēśin II, who seems to have claimed sovereignty over the Chālukya empire during this period of anarchy, although in fact, his sway was apparently confined to the region of the Kurnool District, was Ādityavarman.<sup>2</sup> That the area under his authority might have also included parts of the adjacent Districts of Bellary and Chitradurg is indicated by the present plates.<sup>3</sup> This Ādityavarman<sup>4</sup> must no doubt be identical with his namesake whom

<sup>1</sup> *The Classical Age* (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. III), p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> See the discussion on the geographical names below.

<sup>4</sup> A tradition, apparently wrong, seems to have grown after a lapse of centuries that Ādityavarman was father of Vikramāditya, being himself not the son but grandson of Pulakēśin II. According to the Kauthe grant of 1000 A.D., e.g., Ādityavarman was the son of Neḷamari and grandson of Pulakēśin II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 17). A Dhyasagara inscription of 1123 A.D. substitutes the name Tīḷamari for Neḷamari (*Ep. Cora.*, Vol. XI, Pg. 1), showing thereby the unreliable nature of the tradition (cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 361, n. 2). It may, however, be noted that no such name intervenes between Pulakēśin II and Ādityavarman in the account given by the Kannada poet Ranna (982 A.D.) in his *Gadāyodhā* (II, 8).



son Abhinavāditya issued the charter under study. **Abhinavāditya** who was also called **Satyāśraya-prithivivallabha**, evidently after his grandfather Pulakēśin II, is known for the first time through our record. It is noteworthy that like his father Ādityavarman, Abhinavāditya also claimed the imperial titles, *Mahārājapūhriya* and *Paramāvara*, which imply his right over the Chālukya empire. As it is reasonable to assume that no other prince of the Chālukya house claiming sovereign status was permitted to rule in any part of the kingdom after the accession of Vikramāditya I in 655 A.D., we may assign the rules both of Ādityavarman and his son Abhinavāditya within the span of 13 years, 642 to 655 A.D. With the ascendancy of Vikramāditya I, Abhinavāditya, a rival as he was, might have been dislodged from his position and reduced to a state of vassalage.

Only two geographical names are mentioned in the record. **Uchchaśringa-vishaya** wherein the gift village was situated, must evidently have taken the name after its chief town Uchchaśringa. This place is identical with the present village of **Uchchaśringidurga** in the Harapanahalli Taluk, Bellary District. On account of its well-fortified and strategic situation, it played a conspicuous role in the history of the region during the early and medieval period. A copper-plate charter of the Early Kadamba king Harivarman was issued in the fourth year of his reign from Uchchaśringi.<sup>1</sup> This place appears to have been made their headquarters by a few more members of the Early Kadamba line.<sup>2</sup> It was one of the capitals of the Nolamba-Pallava rulers.<sup>3</sup> A later line of the Kadamba feudatories<sup>4</sup> and chiefs of Pāṇḍya extraction also ruled here.<sup>5</sup> It was one of the strongholds subjugated by Hoysala Viśṇuvardhana in the course of his northern expedition.<sup>6</sup>

An inscription at Uchchaśringidurga itself,<sup>7</sup> dated 1064 A.D., describes the place as having been situated in the district of Kadambavādi. Indulging in a legendary account of its different names, it further states that it was known as *Māghanāda*, *Vira-Kanakagiri*, *Uttuṅga-parvata* and *Uchchaśringi-parvata*, respectively in the Kṛta, Trūtā, Dvāpara and Kali ages. The gift village **Nelkunda** has to be identified with the modern village of **Nalkunda** situated in the Dāvāpatera Taluk, Chitradurg District. It thus appears that Uchchaśringa-vishaya embraced areas in the adjacent Districts of Bellary and Chitradurg.

### TEXT\*

#### First Plate

- 1 Svasti || Jayaty-abhinav-ādī<sup>[\*]</sup>tya-mukhī pādū-tala[m] Harōb [1\*]
- 2 udizam-mātum-avanī<sup>[\*]</sup> sur-ārā<sup>[\*]</sup>-tāmū-pahā[m] [11] [1\*] Śrīma-
- 3 tī<sup>[\*]</sup> askala-bhuvana-saristūyanāna-Mānavya-sagā-
- 4 trūṣām Hārīti-putrāgām sapta-lōka-
- 5 mātṛbhīḥ Sapta-mātṛbhīr-abhivandhitānām Kārtikē-
- 6 ya-parirakṣaṣa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-paramaṣa-

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *CE. Kadamba Kula*, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 271.

<sup>4</sup> *CE. Kadamba Kula*, pp. 232 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Hid. Ins. S. Ind. op. cit.*, p. 373.

<sup>6</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 496.

<sup>7</sup> *SI.*, Vol. IX, Part I, Ins. No. 126.

\* From impressions.

\* Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

<sup>11</sup> On account of defect in the engraving, the medial *i* sign on the top of this letter is detached.

<sup>12</sup> This punctation mark is shown by two curves, one above the other, the upper one looking like the top of a bowl.

<sup>13</sup> That *śrī* is shifted to the top of the following *m*.



*Second Plate, First Side*

- 7 [pā]<sup>1</sup>[m\*] bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa\*-prasaśla-samā-  
 8 samā<sup>2</sup>sādita-Varāha-lāñchhan-śkshaya-kahaya-vāh-  
 9 [kpit-ā\*]āra(śā)sha-mahābhīṭāṁ **Chakukyānām**-anvayam=alati-  
 10 karī[shpu\*]h sakai-Ōttarāpa[thē]<sup>3</sup>[v]am-āṭṭi-Harisha(raha)-  
 11 va[riddha\*]ṇu-parājaṇy-āpalabha-Paramēśvar-āpa-  
 12 ra-nānuadhēyasya āṭṭi-Satyāśraya-prithivī-  
 13 vallabha-ma<sup>4</sup>hārājādhirāja-paramēśva-  
 14 sasya paṇṭrah śrīmad-Ādityavarma.<sup>10</sup>

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 15 prithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva-  
 16 sasya tanaya(yah) [māya-vimay-ādi-sāpra]ṇa<sup>11</sup>-ga-  
 17 ṇa-saṭṭannaḥ Pannagapati-bhōga-sadriśa-līhuja-  
 18 parigla-yugalaḥ śrīmad-**Abhinavāditya**-āpara-  
 19 nānuadhēyah āṭṭi-Satyāśraya-prithivīvallare(bha)-  
 20 mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvataḥ sarvān-āva-  
 21 m-āṇā<sup>12</sup>payatā viditam=astu vō-mā<sup>13</sup>bhūḥ satata-

*Third Plate*

- 22 pravartidhamāna-rājya-sa[ṇ]vatsarē **Bhādrapada**-[pau]ṇṇamāsa-  
 23 **śyām** Dēvatāta-Kauṣṭha-sagōṭṭrāya Vāla-Vādānga-  
 24 pāmagāya śaṭ-karṇa-niratāya Kuppasārmunagē  
 25 Uchthaśrīṅgu-vishayē **Nelkunda**-nāma-grāmam(mah) sarva-  
 26 parihārāḥ dattaḥ ||<sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup>Sva-dattā[m\*] para-dattāni vā yō  
 27 harēṣa vacundharāṁ(rām) ||<sup>16</sup> shushṭi-varaṇa(raha)-sahasrāṇi  
 28 viśṭā(abhā)yā<sup>17</sup>[m\*] jāyatē trī(kri)mih ||<sup>18</sup> [2\*]

<sup>1</sup> The shape of this letter is peculiar, the nail-like mark above, possibly indicating its length.

<sup>2</sup> This and the following are not properly shaped.

<sup>3</sup> Omit these two letters as they are unnecessarily repeated.

<sup>4</sup> The letters "āra" are engraved separately and do not bear the usual form.

<sup>5</sup> The superscript ā looks more like ma.

<sup>6</sup> The right curve of this letter being omitted it looks like ṇ.

<sup>7</sup> As the bottom of the superscript v is left open it looks like g.

<sup>8</sup> This letter is partially cut off on account of the incision of the ring-hole.

<sup>9</sup> This ma is not properly engraved.

<sup>10</sup> There is some narrow space after this, sufficient for engraving about three letters; but it is left blank.

<sup>11</sup> The wrong word may be restored possibly as śaṭṭāṇya or śaṭṭāṇi.

<sup>12</sup> The ensive form of this letter is noteworthy.

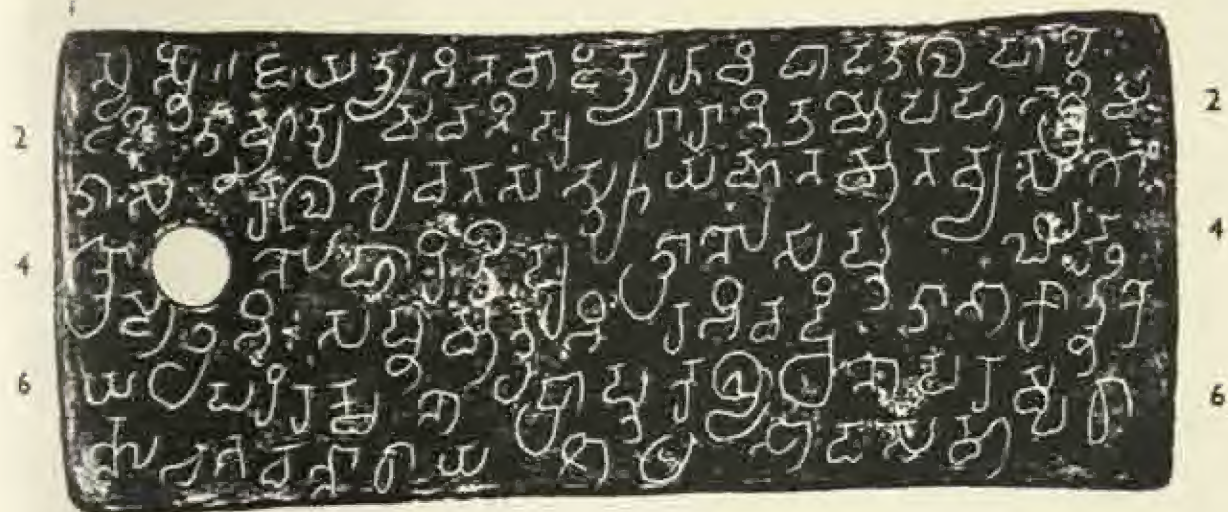
<sup>13</sup> This punctuation mark is indicated by a sign looking like the letter ga.

<sup>14</sup> Metre: Anuṣṭup.

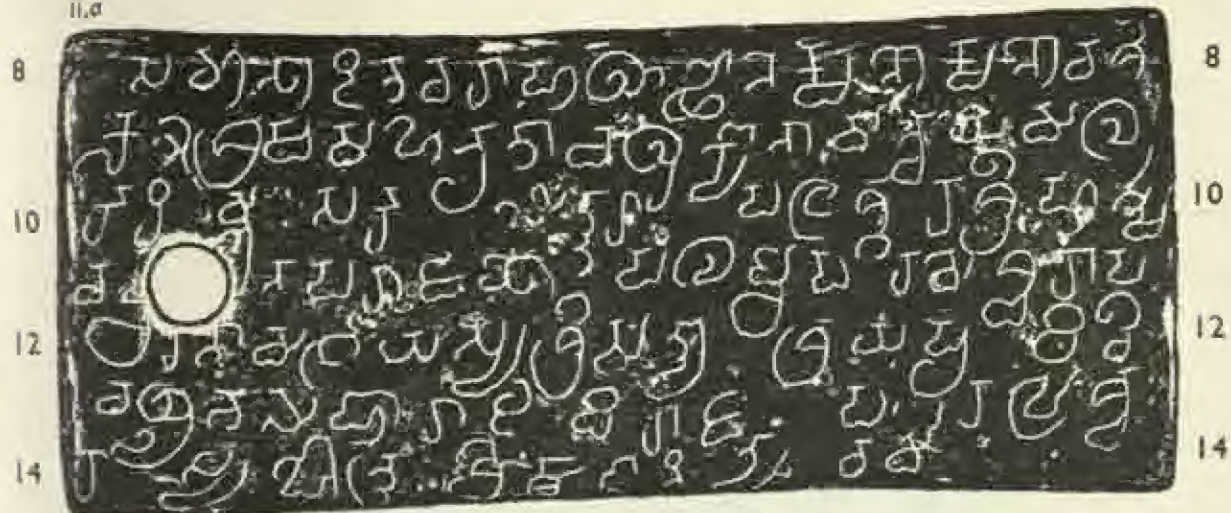
<sup>15</sup> There is a hook-like mark above this letter.

<sup>16</sup> This punctuation mark engraved after some blank space, is indicated by a sign looking like the letter i followed by a small curve.

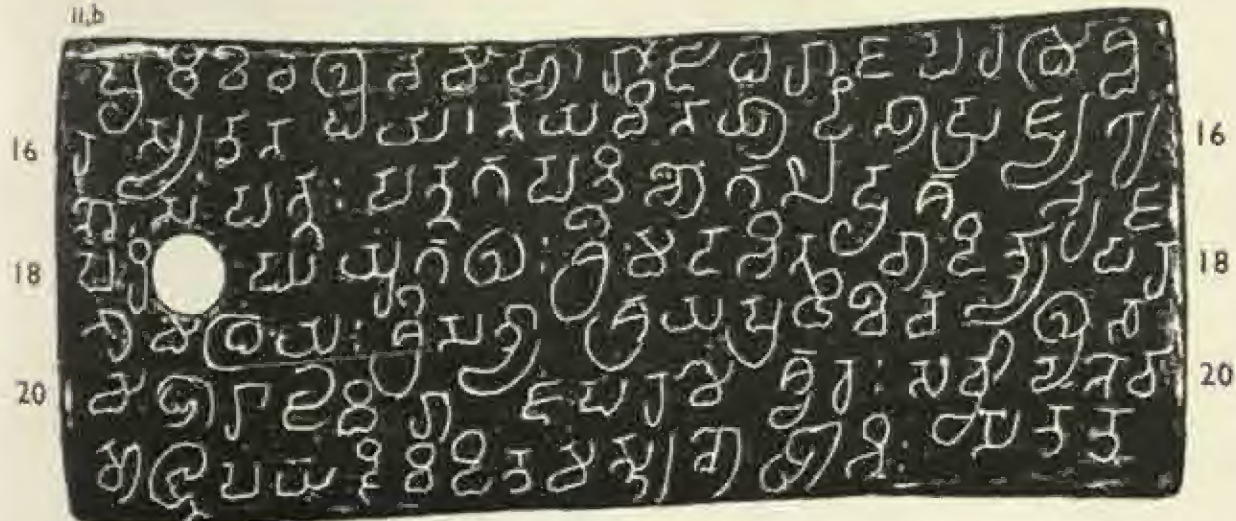




11.4

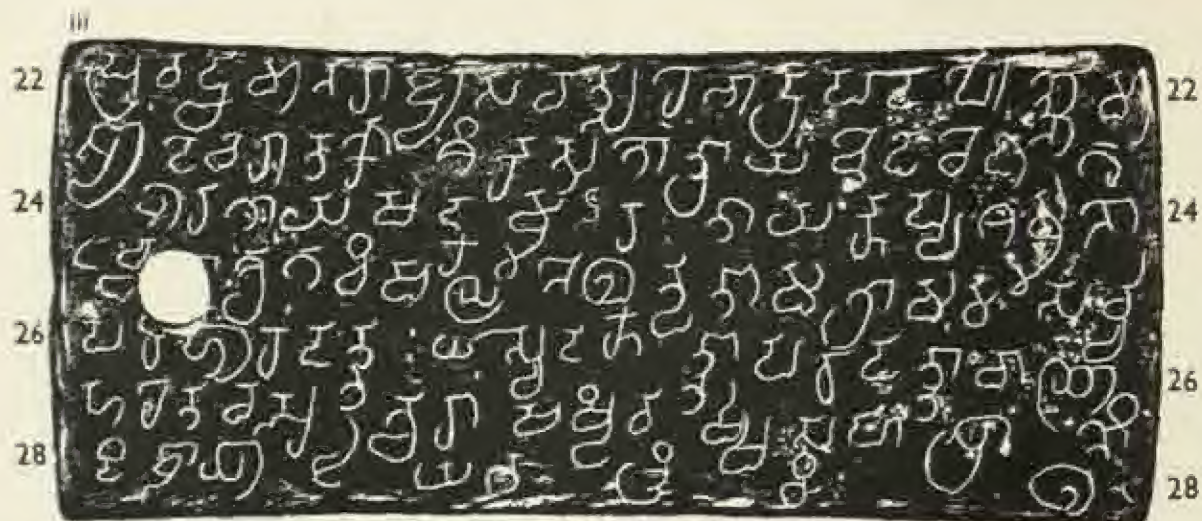


113



Scale: Three-fourths





SEAL



(from a Photograph)



# No. 27—KUNTAGANI PLATES OF KADAMBA RAVIVARMAN, YEAR 12

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAL, OOTACAMUND

These plates were published about fifteen years ago by Dr. H. D. Sankalia in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV (1941-42), pp. 178-81 (Plate opposite page 220). As I felt that the reading of the text and its interpretation could be improved, I requested Dr. Sankalia to send me the original plates which were in the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona. Dr. Sankalia very kindly arranged to send the plates to me and also permitted me to re-edit them. Accordingly, the inscription<sup>1</sup> is edited in the pages of this journal with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The plates are known to have been found at Kuntaganī, a village about 50 miles north-west of Banavasi in the Sirsi Taluk of North Kanara District in the present Mysore State.<sup>2</sup> This village is included in the Ankola Taluk of the same District. The set consists of three copper-plates, each measuring 6.1 inches by 1.0 inches. There is a hole, about .5 inch in diameter, on the left side of each plate, through which passes the ring with the seal. The ring is about 2 inches in diameter, while the seal which is oval in shape, measures 1.2 inches by 1 inch. In the counter-sunk surface of the seal is a figure which is rather difficult to make out. Possibly it represents the standing figure of an animal. The first and the third plates are inscribed on the inner side only while the second plate has writing on both sides. The first and the second plates contain 3 lines of writing each and the third plate has 4 lines. Each line contains about 20 *akṣaras*, except the last line of the third plate which has about 12 *akṣaras*. As some portions of the plates have flaked off, the letters are damaged in these portions. The plates, together with the ring and the seal, weigh 45 *tolas*.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and are regular for the period to which the record belongs. They resemble the alphabet of the Sirsi<sup>3</sup> and Halsi<sup>4</sup> plates of the same king. As regards individual letters, *l* is written throughout without the loop, whether used as single or in conjunction. The closed or box-type of *b* is found in lines 3, 4, and 11. Attention may be drawn to the form of *ṣ* in line 5, the sign for *ph* is found in lines 9 and 12 and that for *upadhāniga* in line 2. As regards orthography, it may be observed that the consonant following *r* is reduplicated<sup>5</sup> while the sibilant *śh* is correctly not so reduplicated.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and, except the two imprecatory verses at the end, the text is in prose.

The inscription belongs to the reign of the Kadamba Mahārāja Ravivarmaṇ of the Early Kadamba dynasty. It records that, on the full-moon day of the month of Śrāvana in the twelfth year of his reign, the king granted 24 *niśantanas* of land situated on either side of a tank-bund which he caused to be constructed in the village of Variyakū. The donee of the grant was one Bhavaśvāmin of the Dharmīya *gōtra*, who was well-versed in the Vēdas.

<sup>1</sup> It is registered as No. 25 of A. R. Ep., 1955-56, App. A.

<sup>2</sup> *N. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> *Above*, Vol. XVI, Plate opposite p. 270.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, Plates between pp. 26-29.

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion on this feature, see *above*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 148-47.



The inscription does not supply any new historical information either with regard to the king or to his date. As many as seven inscriptions belonging to his time have been discovered so far and the present record will be the eighth. Two of his copper-plate grants have been already published in the pages of this journal.<sup>1</sup> His Sira plates are dated in his 35th year showing that he ruled at least for 35 years. According to the revised chronology of the Kadamba dynasty, Ravivarman has been assigned to the period *circa* 484-519 A. D.<sup>2</sup>

The grant was issued from Vijaya-Paṅktipura. The other known grants of this king have been issued either from Vaijayanṭi or Palāśikā.<sup>3</sup> So the present inscription is the only one known so far, which is issued from Paṅktipura. I have shown elsewhere<sup>4</sup> that this Paṅktipura should be identified with modern Hangal in the Dharwar District of Mysore State and that it is not another name of Vaijayanṭi as supposed by Dr. Sankalia. Paṅktipura is also mentioned as Pāṅktipura in the Kinkuppattūr grant of Kadamba Krishnavarman II.<sup>5</sup> Here it occurs as Pāṅktipura-vishaya which is evidently the region round about Hangal. In later records the place-name appears as Pāntipura or Pānthipura<sup>6</sup> and is subsequently replaced by Pānṁṁgal which is the earlier name of modern Hangal.

In connection with the gift of the land the following expression occurs in the record : *Kārppaṭṭēvara[m=ṣi chaturveśa]ṣi-śivasthmanā pukkōḷi kshētram...*

The portion given in brackets is damaged as a chip of the copper has peeled off there. However the traces of the letters can be seen and the reading *chaturveśaṣi* can be restored without difficulty. But it is difficult to make out the two *akṣaras* after *Kārppaṭṭēvara* which I have proposed to read as *\*m=ṣi*. If this reading is accepted, then *Kārppaṭṭēvara* may be the name of the land granted. Probably the land belonged originally to a person or god called *Kārppaṭṭēvara*. The meaning of *pukkōḷi* is also not clear to me. It might suggest the variety or kind of land granted. This expression occurs also in the Sira plates referred to above and in a copperplate grant of the Bhōja king Kāpāliyarman.<sup>7</sup> At the end of the record, there is an endorsement referring to a house-site and some land in the village. The purport of this endorsement is not clear.

The village Variyakā may be modern Bargi about 14 miles to the south-west of Kanagalagi.

## TEXT\*

### First Plate

- 1 Svasti ([\*] Vijaya-Paṅktipurē Svāmi-Mah[āśa-mā]\*rigaṇ-ānu-
- 2 [dḍb]\*yāt-4bbhishiktō Mānavya-[sagō]\*trō Hārītī-[putra]\*h=pratikṛita-śvā-
- 3 dḍhyāya-charchehim<sup>10</sup> Kadambānām-mahārāja-śrī-Ravi[va]rmanā Variyakā-

<sup>1</sup> Nilambūr plates, above, Vol. VIII, pp. 146 ff.; Sira plates, *ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 204 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *JOR*, Vol. XVII, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Vaijayanṭi was the capital of this Kadamba dynasty and is identified with modern Bonavāsi in the North Kanare District while Palāśikā is identical with modern Hāsi in the Khanapur Taluk of the Belgaum District.

<sup>4</sup> *JOR*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 188-89.

<sup>5</sup> *Karnahat Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 1; for the correct reading of the place-name, see *JOR*, Vol. XVIII, p. 188.

<sup>6</sup> *Iod. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 251.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 235 and note 7. The actual forms in these records are *pukkōḷi* and *pukkōḷi*.

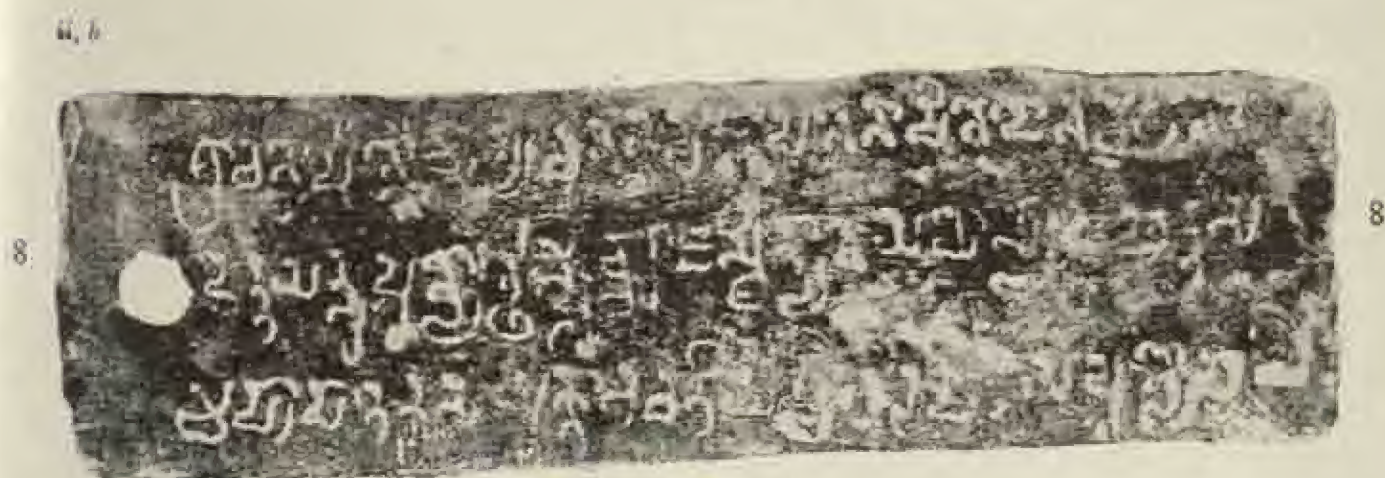
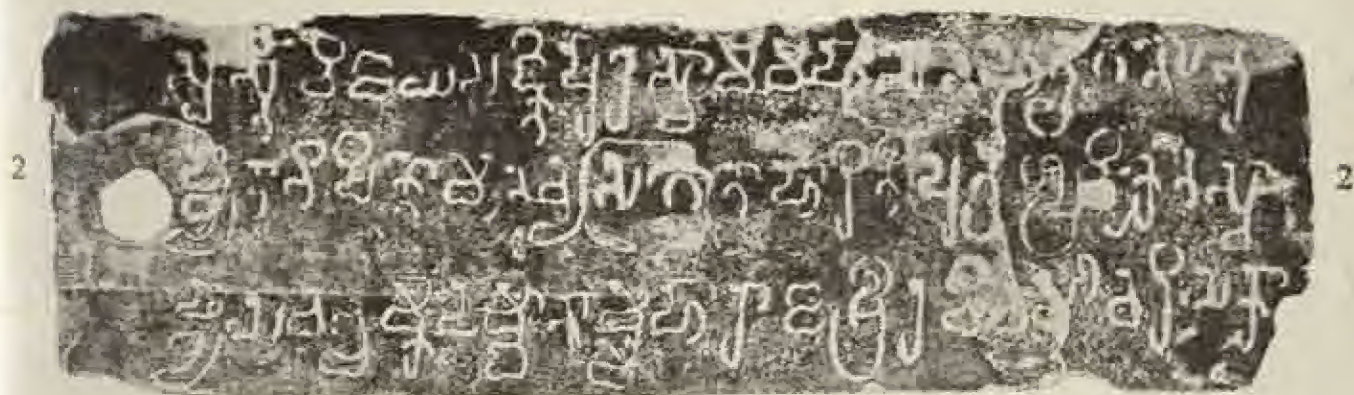
<sup>8</sup> From the original plates and impressions.

<sup>9</sup> The portion covering letters given in the brackets has peeled off; but still traces of the letters are seen on the plates, since the engraving is fairly deep.

<sup>10</sup> Read *charchāḥ-parāṇām*.



KUNTAGANI PLATES OF KADAMBA RAVIVARMAN, YEAR 12

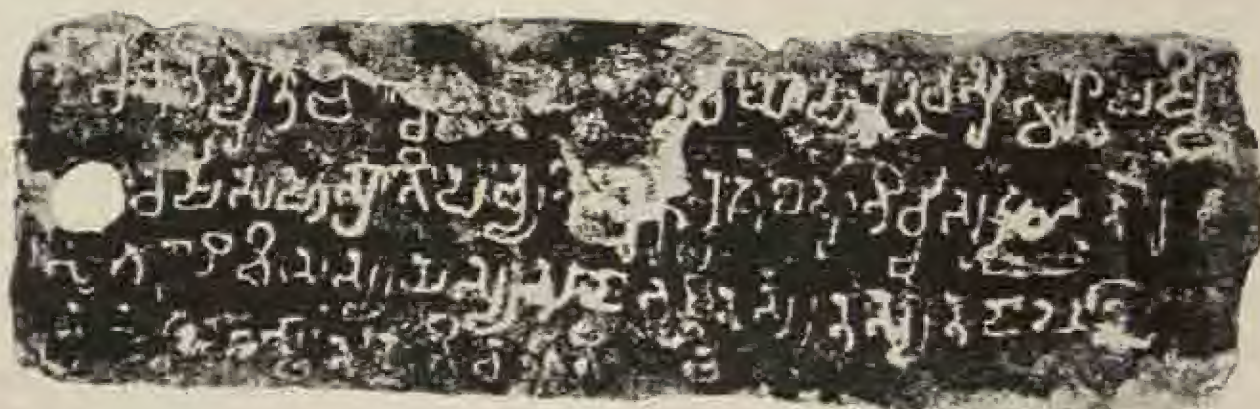


Scale : Actual



10

12



10

12

SEAL



( from a Photograph )



*Second Plate, First Side*

- 4 grāmē tāṭāka-bandhanā kīrayitvā tasy-ōbhaya-pārīvayō[<sup>1</sup>] Kārppatēśva[ram-iti] cha-  
turvvih[<sup>2</sup>ati].
- 5 nirvarttanam pukkō[<sup>3</sup>i-kahētram] Dhaumya-sagōtrāya Bhavaśvāmi-
- 6 nā vēda-pāragāya sva-variddhamāna-vijaya-sa(sam)vatara<sup>4</sup> dvādaśē

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 7 Śrāvāṇa-paurṇamāsyā[m-anēka]<sup>5</sup>-vijñāpanēn-āśhī(kahī)pa-dāna-vidhinā
- 8 dattayan=au<sup>6</sup>-puṇy-ārtham=pūrvva-rā[<sup>7</sup>o-sthity-ānaya(yāl) yō=sy-āpahartt[ā] sa
- 9 mahāpātaka-sadyuktō bhavati [i]<sup>8</sup>] yaś=ch=ābhīrakshitā sa puṇya-phala-

*Third Plate*

- 10 [bhāg]-bhavati-ity=uktaś=cha [i]<sup>9</sup>] [Sva-dattām para-dattām vā] yō harōta vasundharām  
(rām) [i]<sup>10</sup>] āśhīti-
- 11 varaha-sahasrāṇi pachyatē [nara]<sup>11</sup>kō bhīśān(sam) [i]<sup>12</sup>] Bahubhir=vasundhā bhuktā rā[<sup>13</sup>o-
- 12 [bhi]=Sagar-ālibhi[h] [i]<sup>14</sup>] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phala[m] [i]<sup>15</sup>]
- 13 grām[<sup>16</sup>a grī]hasthāna[<sup>17</sup>ā] ulvarttana[<sup>18</sup>ā] chu]

<sup>1</sup> In this portion which has also peeled off, the lower part of ra is preserved and the trace of its upper part can be seen on the plate. The next two letters which are read as "am" are not clear. In the next word, the vowel a of bi and the subscript a of "vira" are preserved and the letters can be read as *chaturvira*.

<sup>2</sup> This portion is very much defaced.

<sup>3</sup> Read *dattadānata*.



# No. 28—GRANT OF MAHARAJAKULA JAITRASIMHADEVA, V. S. 1347

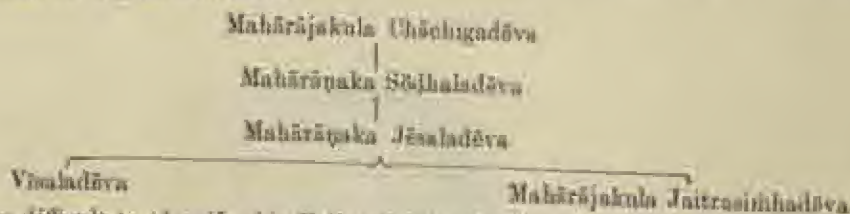
(2 Plates)

SADHU RAM, NEW DELHI

The present inscription<sup>1</sup> is engraved on a set of two copper plates measuring 18.5" x 12" each and weighing both together 497 *tolas*. They are preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. The first plate is engraved on one side only, while the second bears writing on both the sides. There are two holes,  $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, along the longer side on both the plates, evidently meant for the rings to keep them together. The rings seem to have been lost.

The record is composed in Sanskrit verse and prose, of which the panegyrical portion is in verse and the documentary part in prose. The poetry is laboured and highly artificial, and abounds in alliterations. The record is written in the Nāgarī script of the 13th century A. D. The execution of engraving on the first plate is better and contains fewer errors than that on the two sides of the second plate, which appears to have been done by an apprentice. As regards orthography, there is *no* *for* *h* except in some words. The medial vowels *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au* are formed with a *prishṭha-mūlā* stroke. There is a good deal of confusion between the execution of the letters *ś* and *ṣ*, *y* and *p*, *m* and *z*, etc. I have avoided to make the transcribed text cumbersome by inserting too many such corrections within brackets, and have often given the correct readings as they should have been.

The record is dated in the year 1347 of the Vikrama era, which corresponds to 1290 A. D. It records of the grant of the village of Takāri by Mahārājakula Jaitrasimhadēva to twenty-six Brāhmanas of the Śrīmālī caste,<sup>2</sup> whose names, along with the *gotra* and the name of each one's father, are given from line 33 to 44. Takāri is described as situated in the jurisdiction of Nandapadma, which is probably identical with Nandapura on the bank of the Rāvā (v. 10), and was the capital of the kingdom during the reign of Visaladēva, the elder brother of Jaitrasimhadēva. The genealogy of this ruling family (*rāja-vaṃśa*), called Vaijavāpāyana in v. 2 and merely Vijapāyana in line 31, is given as follows.



It is rather difficult to identify this Vaijavāpāyana family. We have a reference to a Vaijavāpa *gotra* in the *Rāsikapriyā*, a commentary on Jayadēva's *Gitagōvindā* by Rāṇa Kumbhakarna, in which Bajpa (V. S. 1342), the founder of Gōhila-vaṃśa is referred to as *drīja-puṅgava* and belonging to the Vaijavāpa *gotra*. In view of this, all that we can hazard is that this Vaijavāpāyana family may have been a branch of the same Gōhila stock.

The problem of identification is also complicated by the fact that the names occurring in this genealogy were very common among the Rājput families of that period. For instance, one

<sup>1</sup> The inscription was published by Śrī Amṛt V. Pandya in his *New Dynasties of Gujarat History*, 1960 pp. 15 ff. and Plates.

<sup>2</sup> The caste derives its name from the district of Śrīmālā and the town situated in it.



Jatthasimha is mentioned in the Balvân (Kotah District) inscription of the Chāhamāna Hammira of Raṣṭasamblapura, dated V. S. 1345, almost contemporaneous with the present grant which is dated V. S. 1347. Similarly, there are a number of Chāchigadēvas and Viśaladēvas, but none of them belonged to the Vajjavāpyana or Vījavāpyana family.

We shall, therefore, try to locate the family from whatever historical information we can glean from the text of the inscription. We know that Mahārājakula and Mahārājaka are not royal titles, but only feudatory epithets, notwithstanding the extravagant praise the panegyrist has lavished on their owners. Mahārājakula Chāchigadēva, the founder of the family, is called *eripa*. Being the great-grandfather of Jatthasimhadēva, the donor of the present grant, dated V. S. 1347, he must have lived somewhere about V. S. 1270, and was most probably a feudatory of the Chaulukya king Bhīma of Gujārāt. In the inscription he is described as the extirpator of the Mālavas. The possible explanation of this feat of his valour that we can offer is that he might have helped Lavaprasāda and his son Viradhayala, the faithful Vāghēla adherents of Bhīma, in defeating Dēvapāla, the Paramāra king of Mālava in a battle fought at Āba in V. S. 1238. The panegyrist may have made a big boast of it in order to please his patron.

Chāchigadēva's son Sōjhalā is said to have been described as *Maṇḍalēśa-jayā-kṛtāra* by the minstrel tribes in their songs (v.5). He may have put down some *Maṇḍalēśvaras*, the feudatory chiefs or provincial governors, who had often rebelled against the kingdom of Gujārāt during the reign of Bhīma or even later during the reign of the Vāghēlas who supplanted the Chaulukyas in Gujārāt. Among the offsprings of Sōjhalā, was one Jēma who proved himself to be the jewel of a ruler by bringing happiness and prosperity to his subjects. Unfortunately, he lost his life in a fierce battle against certain enemies whose names are not mentioned. Both Sōjhalā and Jēma bore the title of Mahārājaka, and were, therefore, the feudatories of the king of Gujārāt like their ancestor.

The name of Jēmaladēva's son Viśaladēva is omitted altogether from the genealogy repeated in the documentary prose portion of the record. While still a youngster, he is said to have pleased Arjuna, the king of the Gīrjaras by his courage in the battles. This Arjuna was probably no other than the Chaulukya Vāgḍēśa king of Gujārāt of that name who fought against the Viśayavas in order to foil their repeated attacks to capture Bhṛigukacchihā. He might have entrusted the sole command of these military expeditions to Viśaladēva, his faithful feudatory, and, being pleased with his valorous achievements, given him the territory of Nandapadma as a reward for his services (verse 10). This would justify the encomium bestowed on Viśaladēva by the panegyrist in verse 14. Viśaladēva ruled over Nandapura (his capital) very benevolently as a semi-independent ruler. This Nandapura was near Bhṛigukacchihā (modern Broach) in the Narmadā vata *maṇḍala*. Later on, Viśaladēva dared an attack on a Muhammadan ruler who had a very powerful army, and was killed in action. No clue is given as to the identity of this Muhammadan ruler. It is interesting to note that the names of more than one Viśaladēvas are associated with the extirpation of the Mīchehhas or Turushkas (both terms indiscriminately applied to Muhammadans or even other foreigners). On the Alōka pillar at Kotla Fīroz Shāh, Delhi, we have an inscription of the Śāhambhārī king Viśaladēva, also called Vīgraharāja (V. S. 1220), who is described as the exterminator of the Mīchehhas.<sup>1</sup> Again, in the Pattanāśrāyana inscription<sup>2</sup> of Paramāra Pratāpāsūnha (V. S. 1344), we find Viśala, the son of Bhāladēva and the ruler of Mālava, extolled as the sole conqueror of the Turushka hosts (cf. verse 12).

This Viśaladēva was, however, alive in 1344 V. S., and may have been a representative of Sāraḍgadēva, the son and successor of Arjuna on the throne of Gujārāt. Evidently, he was a

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, pp. 215 ff. The verse is quoted in the *Śāloapillars of Delhi*.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 76.



different person from Visalādēva of this grant, though he appears to have been his contemporary. Visalādēva of our grant does not seem to have ruled for a long time. After his premature death, he was succeeded by his younger brother Jaitrasimhadēva, the donor of this grant, who, we learn from verse 25, was a feudatory chief, owing allegiance to the king of Gujarat like his older brother.

Unless the vague allusions in the record, such as (i) the extirpation of the Mālavas (v. 3) by Chahigādēva, (ii) the fierce battle of Jīvalādēva with unnamed enemies (v. 8), and (iii) the unnamed powerful Muhammadan ruler (Mīchchhāsvara) who was attacked by Visalādēva (v. 10), are understood with some sort of certainty, it is difficult to identify the family under question and fix its place in history. Let us hope more literary or inscriptional evidence might be discovered to shed some light on the problem.

Among the geographical names in the inscription, Nandapadma or Nandapura is modern Rājipāl which name was introduced in the place of Nāndōd about 1920 in order to avoid its confusion with Nāndōd and Nāndōl (near Ahmedabad) and Nāndōl (in Marwar). It is still popularly called Nāndōd and people remember its ancient names Nandapura and Nandapadmā. It is mentioned in early epigraphs as Nāndipuri and Nāndipura and in medieval inscriptions as Nandupadra. The village Takāri (modern Tūdkāri) is situated about 8 miles to the west of Saharāvi (modern Sāhrāv opposite Tilakrājā) and about 25 miles to the east of the village of Rājipāl. The word *shādā* (line 42) corresponds to Prakrit *khādā*, meaning 'a nullah'. *Aldokt* and *Dhāmni* were the local names of the nullah. The second of the two nullahs is still extant under the name of Dhāmni Khādī.<sup>1</sup>

In line 48, we have *trivṛtṣyān* (for *trivṛtṣyān* or *trivṛtṣyām*) which appears to be derived from Sanskrit *tri-vṛttima* and may mean 'near a place where three roads meet'. Or, like *Tribhuvani*, *Trivṛt* may be the name of a place where there was a group of three banyan trees. *Ekakula-kabālikarpat* (*kālikarpat*) probably means 'of the farmer possessing only one plough'. In *Bhāndābhūṭiyā* (line 50), *bhūṭiyā* is a Gujarati word meaning 'a knoll or small mound'. *Bhāndā* may have been its local name.<sup>2</sup>

### TEXT

[Metres: Verses 1-4, 9, 11-42, 22 *Uṇjārī*; verses 5-8, 17-21 *Rathōddhata*; verse 10 *Indravajrī*; verses 13-14 *Āryā*; verses 15-16, 25-27 *Vasantattilāṭā*; verses 23-24 *Sāndālavakṛīṭā*.]

#### First Plate

- 1 ॥ ८० ॥ विधेविधेयान्करायसंगी मुने पयपात्रमयो मरातः । यत्कठनाला-  
ध्य(द)वला मुनेती मंगा जगहे वि(वि)-
- 2 ॥ मतंतुहेनां ॥ १ ॥ श्रीवैजवापायनराजवंशे कवीद्रवदेविहितप्रशंसे । सासीश्रुप-  
श्चाचिमदेवनामा नामाद्यशो वास्य जगत्त्र-
- 3 ॥ मेऽपि ॥ २ ॥ उत्पातरूपो रिपुभूतनीनां गो माद्वोन्मूतघूमकेतुः । [वातः]  
पुनर्भूतलभानुभतां विभ्रान्ति तान्वाब महास-

<sup>1</sup> For the location of these places, I am indebted to Shri A. V. Pandya, Director, Institute of Archaeology, Vallabh Vithalagar, Bombay State, who originally discovered the upper plates from the palace store at Rājipāl.

<sup>2</sup> For these suggestions, I am indebted to Prof. H. C. Bhayana of the Bhāratiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.

<sup>3</sup> From representations.

<sup>4</sup> Every line begins with two such vertical strokes.

<sup>5</sup> This may be intended for a symbol for *Om*.

<sup>6</sup> This stroke is redundant.



॥ ५० ॥ वाचं धेनुमुपासीत

वलाचुनतीगजजालदिव

2

॥ ५१ ॥ तत्रैव हलायुधो देवतायां यन्मया दत्तं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं

2

4

॥ ५२ ॥ तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं

4

6

॥ ५३ ॥ तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं

6

8

॥ ५४ ॥ तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं

8

10

॥ ५५ ॥ तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं

10

12

॥ ५६ ॥ तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं

12

14

॥ ५७ ॥ तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं

14

16

॥ ५८ ॥ तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं

16

18

॥ ५९ ॥ तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं तत्रैव विदितं

18



[illegible]



- 4 ॥ ह्रींभि ॥३॥<sup>\*</sup> ततोऽभवद्देरिविनाशकालः सुधीरधीः सोढलभूमिपालः । यस्य प्रताप-  
प्रसरादरातिवशप्ररोहो न [कदाचिदा-]
- 5 ॥ सीत् ॥४॥<sup>\*</sup> शूरसैनिकसमूहसमेतं दृप्तवैरिभटभञ्जिभुजंग(गं) ॥<sup>\*</sup> मंडलेशमजकेसरि-  
नामा(म्ना) यं भणति भुवि भट्टकुलाति ॥५॥<sup>\*</sup> [तद्ध-]
- 6 ॥ वै(वी)ऽय नृपतिर्भवभाजा भूषणं किमपि असल घासीत् । येन घन्य-  
सहसा सहसाऽभूद्भास्वती वसुमती सकलापि ॥६॥<sup>\*</sup> येन सर्व-
- 7 ॥ विभूता कलुषात्मस्वास्वतासिरसितः कुटिलेषु । निष्कलंकरजनीकरकल्पं  
सज्जनेषु च यशो विजयेषु ॥७॥<sup>\*</sup> युद्धदुर्दर-
- 8 ॥ घराधिपतीना संगरे यममुद्धृत्व(स्व)मिहंतो । वत्सरैः कतिभिरुत्थिकेच्छुर्वै-  
देवमुद्धृदेव स जातः ॥८॥<sup>\*</sup> श्रीजैसेले जंगम- ।
- 9 ॥ कल्पवृक्षे मरुन्महीमंडलमंडनेऽस्मिन् । [नृपो]ऽभवद्दीप्तलदेवनामा कामाभिरामाकृति-  
रस्य पुत्रः ॥९॥<sup>\*</sup> यो गूर्जे- ॥
- 10 ॥ राधीश्वरमज्जंता(ज्जंता)ब्धं संतोष्य बाल्येऽपि मूषेषु भास्वान् । रेवा-  
न्(भु)धो भूषणरत्नभूतमानंदयत्नं(त्र)दत्तुं रराज ॥१०॥<sup>\*</sup> तमो ह- ॥
- 11 ॥ रन् जेसलदेवजन्मा सन्मागेलन्नं जनयत्(न्) जने च । विपक्षपक्षशयकालराधो  
रेमे स भूमीतलशीतलाशुः ॥११॥<sup>\*</sup> स्मितं वि-
- 12 ॥ तन्वस्रजडास्वपद्यं यः सर्ववा(वी)रप्रभुतामुपति । अशून्यचेष्टाततुरोऽय  
मश्री चित्रं स रेजे विजयाकंदेवः ॥१२॥<sup>\*</sup> वीरस्य स-
- 13 ॥ ज्जनस्य च लक्ष्म्याश्च त्रितिमितस्व मूलेन । यस्य प्रतापविनयश्रियां भवो  
भाति सातिशयः ॥१३॥<sup>\*</sup> एकीजेकसनीकं
- 14 ॥ मादवराजस्य वारयन् बहुशः । कीर्तिं स(च) यां जगत्या(त्या) यो दक्षिण-  
भट्टकवापुः ॥<sup>\*</sup> ॥१४॥<sup>\*</sup> श्रीवीमलः सुकुशील<sup>१</sup> सनीलमय-
- 15 ॥ मंडवर्पभागमनुभूय स एवमुभ्यां । भ्लेच्छे<sup>२</sup>श्वरं सकलराजकदपदारिदुर्वार-  
भूरिभटभीषणमभ्यधावन् ॥१५॥<sup>\*</sup> दुर्मत्सरा[तु]-
- 16 ॥ रतुर(र)ष्वङ्गपाणबाणकोदकयशकलाकुलितां धरित्री । कृत्वा तटद्वटभयंकरभंगूर-  
भ्रूभाजिणुरेव च विमेश सुरे-
- 17 ॥ शघाम ॥१६॥<sup>\*</sup> वीसले मुरसरागामुदरीपाणिपल्लवनिवारितश्रमे । जैर्जसिह इति  
तत्सहोदरः प्राञ्ज्यराज्यभवभोजा-

<sup>१</sup> This stroke as well as two such strokes occurring at the end of lines 9-10, are redundant.

<sup>२</sup> It should be *śaṅkha-shikhā*. The *śaṅkha* is dropped either for the exigency of metres or by an unconscious *śandhi*.



- 18 ॥ भागभूत् ॥१७॥<sup>\*</sup> [यस्य] सौवसविवाहमातलक्षोदमेदुरितकायकृतयः । दासका  
इव तमन्मदा । सदा शत्रवो विनाय-  
19 ॥ मेव तन्वते ॥१८॥<sup>\*</sup> येन तेन सुर(?) शौर्यशोभिना निर्ममेभिनक्कौत्तिकौमुदी ।  
या द्विपद्विगमदाहृन्तज्ञां हन्मूक्षा-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 20 ॥ वू(वू)जदलं अकामवत् ॥१९॥<sup>\*</sup> यम्मनः सहकमुदरोदयं जातसज्जन(न)श्रुति  
अपराजत । प्रोदपुत्रमहिधीम-  
21 ॥ तल्लिका उग्रमाप्त्र(प्त)मिष शकैरानुणं ॥२०॥<sup>\*</sup> यो भुजाव(व)तदलन्महादुमं  
खड्गमुद्रमिहंकमुद्रहन् । खड्गाराज  
22 ॥ इति राजसंगमे गीयते विदवाविद्वदिति (मिः) ॥२१॥<sup>\*</sup> ऐल्वयंयोगाद्रूवि मा(भा)-  
ति वैश्वपन्नानो(ऽ)नो वि(कि)मिवाञ्चित्रं । न(सं)तो यदे-  
23 ॥ तद्गुणवण्ण(णं)ताय शताननाः सति शतं पुरस्तात् ॥२२॥<sup>\*</sup> एकोऽयं रणरंगमल्ल-  
मुभट्टे(श्रे)णीमणीमंडत्(त्) गज्वंहु(हु)स्त्रंयदोर्युगो  
24 ॥ विजयते श्रीजैत्रसिंहो नृपः । यस्वामिः प्रतिपक्षवक्षति यमन्नाभत नि(नि)त्यज(ज्व)-  
नच्छोकाविष्मदमद(विष्कृतमद)धुमलतिकाली-  
25 ॥ लामलिश्यामलः ॥२३॥<sup>\*</sup> एकैकं यदगोकासुरिचक्षां विभ्रातिविच्छेदकत्(द)  
वैस्वैरविहारहारि हरितामतेषु यत्वेन-  
26 ॥ ति । यदगंजाजलसि(नि)मलं स(म)प्लिनतामाभत दुरचेतनां श्रीमाज्जैजमही-  
भुजो विजयते चारित्रमस्त्येव तत् ॥२४॥<sup>\*</sup> एतेन वीमल-  
27 ॥ [क<sup>\*</sup>मात्पितृ] प्रमृतां(भूत)श्रेयःकृते स्वपतिनं(म)तिमाप्य दत्तः । श्रीमालवद्-  
(वद्)द्विमितविप्रकरे टकारी धामः समं गवति(नि)वानसरोव-  
28 ॥ राज्यैः(वैः) ॥२५॥<sup>\*</sup> यावच्च कांतशशिदर्शनजातलज्जास्ताराः स्फुरति नितरां  
गगनांगणे तयः<sup>\*</sup> । यावच्च कृष्णपदं सेवतकृदि-  
29 ॥ नेष्टो ग्रामे द्विजा गतभियः प्रसव(वसं)तु तावत् ॥२६॥<sup>\*</sup> श्रीमालनालमणिवल्लणदेव-  
सूतो(नो) सर्वाधिपत्यमन्त्रिवे विजया- ॥<sup>\*</sup>  
30 ॥ कौद(कंदे)वे । संवत्सरे तुरगवेदगुणंदुसंख्ये जैवेण शासनमिदं मसृजे द्विजेभ्यः  
॥२७॥<sup>\*</sup> श्रीमत्(द)विज्रमादित्यराज्यका-  
31 ॥ लात्(द) प्रतिक्रातेषु सप्तचत्वारिंशद्विकेषु त्रयोदशसु संवत्सरगतेषु ॥ १६४७ एवंविधे  
काते(ले) वि(वै)जावा<sup>\*</sup> ज्ञाप्रतमगोत्रे

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. *Int. Pāṇi-mūlā-pāṇi-jedpād* in lines 45-46 below.

<sup>\*</sup> I. e. *Vishvayada*.

<sup>\*</sup> These strokes are redundant.







[illegible]

Scale: One-half"



- 32 ॥ महाराजकुलश्रीचाचिगदेवः तस्य पुत्रो म(म)हाराणकः श्रीमोडनदेवः तस्य पुत्रो महाराणकः श्रीजैसलदेवः त-
- 33 ॥ स्य पुत्रो महाराजकुल(नः) श्रीजैजसिहदेवः । एतेन काश्यपसगोत्रः जोजनपु(सु)-  
न।\*] त्रिवां वीधः गौतमसगोत्रः वि-
- 34 ॥ जयादित्य(रत्न)मुतः] त्रिवां सालङ्कः पराशरसगोत्रः विजयादित्यमुतः त्रिवां वासलः सनग-  
सगोत्रः पैमडमुतः त्रिवां
- 35 ॥ विजयादित्यः जानन्युसगोत्रः रत्नमुतः त्रिवां धीधाः उपमन्युसगोत्रः रत्नमुतः त्रिवां  
हृष्यादित्यः सनग- ॥
- 36 ॥ सगोत्रः नागशर्मेमुतः त्रिवां देवशर्मा सततसगोत्रः वामुदेवमुतः त्रिवां केशवः  
भारद्वाजसगोत्रः नाग- ॥

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 37 ॥ सूरमुतः त्रिवां चावाः गौतमसगोत्रः चातसूरमुतः दुवे वाडमूरः गौतमसगोत्रः  
देवादित्यमुतः
- 38 ॥ दुवे पछनामः गौतमसगोत्रः तरङ्ग(ब)हामुतः दुवे नगरादित्यः गौतमसगोत्रः  
केशवादित्यमुतः
- 39 ॥ दुवे हरसूरः हारीतसगोत्रः केशवादित्यमुतः दुवे देवादित्यः भारद्वाजसगोत्रः  
मुनयमुतः दुवे
- 40 ॥ राजलः काश्यपसगोत्रः देवधरमुतः त्रिवां हरिणर्मा भरद्वाजसगोत्रः  
देवादित्यमुतः त्रिवां महाणर्मा सनग-
- 41 ॥ गोत्रः केशवमुतः त्रिवां श्रीधरः वत्ससगोत्रः पैवामुतः त्रिवां मोक्षेश्वरः जाडित्य-  
सगोत्रः उड्डरणमुतः उपां प्रो(परी?)
- 42 ॥ छरविः भारद्वाजसगोत्रः सूर्यादित्यमुतः चं (वं?) चाधः भारद्वाजसगोत्रः  
विजय(ग)सूरमुतः दुवे हरिदेवः उपमन्युसगो-
- 43 ॥ वः गोममुतः दुवे म(न)हादेवः लवंधायनसगोत्रः केलामुतः दुवे धीमाः  
लवंधायनसगोत्रः जालाकुल
- 44 ॥ ठं वाडडुः कश्यपसगोत्रः जेमजमुतः त्रिवां सूरः एभ्यः सर्वेभ्यः श्रीमालोजातीयेभ्यः  
पड्विशितित्वेभ्यः
- 45 ॥ २६ द्रा(वा)हणेभ्यः श्रुतिस्मृत्युदितनित्यनेमित्तिकादिसकलधर्मकर्मप्रवर्तनाय ज्येष्ठ(ष्ठ)-  
भ्रातृमहाराजकुल(न)श्रीधीमलमातु-<sup>१</sup>

\* These symbols are redinked.

\* See foot-note 1 at p. 224.



- 46 ॥ पितृभ्यसे चतुःसीमापर्वतः चतुःसीमातर्गतममस्ततर्जनिधानादिबस्तुसहितः पुत्र-  
पौत्रान्वयपरंपरया आचंद्रार्कं पा-
- 47 ॥ वत्(द्) भोक्तव्यो नम्मंदातटमुकुटभूतमंदपट्टीयदेशावर्त्ती टकारीनामग्रामः सकलकर-  
विरहित उदकातिगम्येण
- 48 ॥ प्रवतः ॥ अस्म्य च ग्रामस्य चतस्रः सीमाः । यथा । उत्तरस्यां दिशि  
त्रिवटीयां क्षेत्राणां परतः सीमा । पूर्वस्यां दिशि आकुली-
- 49 ॥ पट्टडा(खड्वा)यां सीमा । तथा दिशि सहिराविग्रामपक्षे वटपरतः आघाट-  
सीमा । दक्षिणस्यां दिशि धामणी पट्टडा(खड्वा)यां सीमा । पश्चि-
- 50 ॥ मस्यां दिशि रुद्रपरत एकहलहर्लकस्य ऊजाणे सीमा । तथा पश्चिमस्यां  
दिशि कोणे भांभीबूटीयाक्षेत्रस्य प-
- 51 ॥ रत आघाटसीमा । इति चतुःसीमापर्वतोऽयं ग्रामः एभिर्द्वा(त्रि)ह्यर्णः  
समविभागेन भोक्तव्यः । असीयां वा(त्रा)ह्यणा-
- 52 ॥ नां निबग्नुह्योग्यानि निजवस्तुन्यातयतां नयतां च नंदपदप्रतिवध्वे(वडे)पु सर्व-  
ध्वपि देहेषु दानं दानमंडपिका'

## TRANSLATION

V.1. Om<sup>1</sup>. May the swan-shaped water-jar, ever held in the lotus-like hand of Brahman, dispense happiness—the jar, from whose neck-spout the fair Gāṅgā, gushing forth, imitates the grace of the lotus-fibre.

V.2. In the illustrious royal family of Vaijaraṇāyana, lauded by hosts of eminent poets, there was a king, Chāchigādēva by name, whose fame could not be contained in the three worlds.

V.3. He was a portent for (the destruction of) the hostile kings and a comet (i.e. evil star) for the extirpation of the Mālavas. Resplendent, he shone (as his *body*) and by his great prowess as a life-sustainer like the very sun on the face of the earth.

V.4. To him was born the king Śōḍhala of a strong mind, who was the very death for the annihilation of his enemies, and, before the advancing tide of whose valour the families of his foes could never take root.

V.5. Him, who had a host of brave soldiers and was like a serpent, in putting to rout the warriors of his arrogant foes, the minster clame described as a lion overpowering the elephants that were the other Maṇḍalīśvaras (i.e. feudatory chiefs) on this earth.

V.6. His son, King Jēśala, with whom, possessed of benign splendour, the whole earth became luminous at once, was a rare gem among the mortals.

V.7. By him, the all powerful one, his blue-steel sword was flung on the crooked persons of impure mind, and his fame, as bright as the spotless moon, among the noble persons of pure mind.

<sup>1</sup> The concluding portion of the sentence is completely worn out.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 222, note 5.



V.8. Having played the role of Yama in a war with the kings who were irresistible in fighting, he, with higher ambition, became the friend of the lord of the gods (i.e. Indra) within a few years (i.e. died).

V.9. When the illustrious Jēśala, the moving tree of paradise, had become the ornament of the land of the gods (i.e. attained heaven), then his son, Visala by name, who was of as lovely a form as Kāma himself, became the king.

V.10. Who, the resplendent one, even as a youngster, having pleased in battles Arjuna, the king of the Gūrjarae, shone brilliantly, spreading cheer in the city of Nandapura, which was a gem set in the ornament of the land on (the banks of) the Rēvā (i.e. Narmadā).

V.11. The offspring of Jēśaladeva, dispelling the darkness and setting the people on the path of virtue, shone as if he were the moon on the earth's surface in the dark night of the destruction of his enemies.

V.12. With a smile that made his lotus-face bloom, who could assume the leadership of the tribe of the brave, no wonder! (that the name) Vijayāśhadeva, his minister, who was clever at devising offshoot plans, too, shone brilliantly.

V.13. In him, who was fashioned (as it were) from the same stuff as that of the Brave, the Noble and the goddess Lakṣmī, the inheritance of (the qualities of) prowess, modesty and majesty shone out most conspicuously.

V.14. Who, all alone, having stemmed repeatedly the numerous hordes of the king of the Yādavas, makes his very fame in the country, the (barren) door to the soldiers of the South.

V.15. The illustrious Visala of virtuous disposition, having thus enjoyed with facility the highest prosperity on this earth, made an assault on a Muhammadan (Mishakīn) ruler who was formidable with his large troops which were irresistible and had broken the pride of all the princes.

V.16. Making the battle-field strewn with the broken pieces of the swords, arrows, bows and the bodies of the ransomed Muhammadans (Turushkas), he entered the abode of Indra (i.e. was killed) while the frogs still glowed over his brow, striking terror into (the hearts of) the scampering soldiers (of the enemy).

V.17. As the fatigue of Visala was being removed by the apron-like hands of the amorous belles of heaven (i.e. after his death), Jaitrasīnha, his brother, came to share the enjoyment of the prosperity of a large kingdom.

V.18. With the skin of their bodies thickly covered with the dust of the ground close to his palace, his enemies, with their pride lowered like the slaves, always display nothing but humility.

V.19. By that very person (i.e. Jaitrasīnha), radiant with happiness and valour, a unique moon-light<sup>1</sup> was created in the form of his glory, which caused burning affliction to his enemies and made the hearts and faces of the noble to expand like the petals of the lotuses.

V.20. Whose mind, having associated with the noble people, was radiant with a natural and charming elevation: his grown up son and excellent queen.

V.21. He, who, wielding here a singularly heavy sword, capable of felling a big tree when plied with the might of his arm, was excelled as *Khaṇḍaprāja* (sword-king) by the bards singing laudatory poems in the assemblage of the kings.

V.22. What wonder, if he shines as Jaitra-paśāhmanas (the victorious lion-Jaitra-sīnha) on this earth, when there are a hundred of noble persons to praise his virtues before him with a hundred mouths!

<sup>1</sup> Note that it was of a contrary nature to the ordinary moonlight which is cool in its effect and causes the lotuses to close.

<sup>2</sup> The sense of the second hemistich of this verse is obscure.



V.23. This illustrious king Jaitrasimha, thundering with his irresistible arms, alone is victorious over the circle of the excellent soldiers who are like a chaplet of gems and are the champions of the battle-field; and his bee-black sword, thrust into the heart of the enemy, wears the semblance of a slender column of smoke rising up from his (i.e. the enemy's) over-burning aurush.

V.24. It is the good conduct of this very Jaitrasimha, pure as the waters of Ganga, that triumphs as it washes away the moral impurities of the wicked, and which, being capable of removing severally the errors of many a learned man and of putting an end to the unrestrained movements of the enemies, pervades throughout the ends of the quarters.

V.25. By him has been given away, after getting the approval of his overlord, the village of Takāṭ into the hands of twenty-six Brāhmanas of the Śrīmāla caste, along with its nine treasures, ponds, etc., for the great bliss of final emancipation of Yśala and his mother and father.

V.26. Let these Brāhmanas live in this village free from fear as long as these stars, shy at the sight of the bright moon, their spouses, continue to gambol on the wide expanse of the sky, and as long as the sun continues to occupy its place in the heaven.

V.27. While Vijayāśadēva, the son of Vallagadēva who was the great-jewel of the Śrīmāla family, was the minister with supreme powers, this grant was bestowed upon the Brāhmanas by Jaitra in the year reckoned by the (Sun's) horses (7), the Vēdas (4), the primary qualities (*guṇas*—3), and the moon (1) :

Lines 30-33. (That is to say) when thirteen hundred years increased by forty-seven had elapsed since the reign of the illustrious Vikramāditya. At such a time, viz. (the year) 1347, there had been the illustrious Mahārājaka Uśohagadēva of the Vija(Vaijāvā)pyana family; his son the illustrious Mahārājaka Sōḥaladēva; his son the illustrious Mahārājaka Jyāśadēva; his son the illustrious Mahārājaka Jaitrasimhadēva :

Line 33. By him,—

Lines 44-48. for the bliss of final emancipation of his elder brother the illustrious Mahārājaka Yśala, and his mother and father, and for the continuous performance of all the obligatory as well as accidental religious rites prescribed by the Vēdas and the Smṛitis has been donated, with libations of water, the village of the name of Takāṭ up to its boundaries on four sides, situated in the jurisdiction of Nandapaṭra which is the pride of the banks of the Narmadā, free from all taxes and along with all the property like the nine treasures existing within its four bounds, to all those Brāhmanas of Śrīmāla family, 26 in number,\* to be enjoyed in an uninterrupted succession of their sons and sons' sons for the same time as the moon and the sun endure.

Lines 48-51. The four boundaries of this village are, for instance :—the boundary on the northern side is beyond the Trivā(?) fields; on the eastern side the boundary is along the Āṅkall nullah and in the same (?) direction the Āḥhāṭa-boundary extends beyond the banyan tree by the side of the Sahiravi village; on the southern side the boundary is along the Dēhāṅgi nullah; on the western side the boundary is in the Ujāṇa (garden ?) of the Ekahala-kalaka (?) beyond the village Rāṇḍha; and on the western side in a corner, the Āḥhāṭa-boundary extends beyond the fields of Bhāmbhī-bāḥyā.

Lines 54-55. This village should be enjoyed by these Brāhmanas up to its four bounds, in equal shares. While these Brāhmanas carry their personal effects useful for their household to and from (the village), the gifts should be free from all taxes at the toll-booth (*Dharmapāṭṭhā*)<sup>†</sup> in all the territories adjoining Nandapaṭra.

\* The names of these Brāhmanas, along with the gifts and the names of every one's father (lines 33-44) are not included in the translation. They may be seen from the text.

† The word *dāma* is of frequent occurrence in the *Lakṣyabhedā*. For *mandapikā*, see 85thaka's inscription of A.S. 1247.



## No. 29—BHUBANESWAR INSCRIPTION OF GANGA NARASIMHA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR AND K. G. KRISHNAN, OOTACAMUND

The inscription<sup>1</sup> under study is engraved on a stone tablet which was discovered in the course of an excavation of a site for the foundation of a monastery near the Gauri-Kedāra temple at **Bhubaneswar**, Orissa. The inscribed stone was made over to Mr. Ganapati Sircar of Calcutta by His Holiness Swami Kṛṣṇānanda Brahmachari who had arranged for the excavation of the site in July 1916. Recently the stone was secured for the Asiatisk Museum of Indian Arts attached to the University of Calcutta. The inscription was published by Sircar with a good illustration in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XX, 1924, pp. 41 ff. Since the text has not been properly read and interpreted, it is re-edited here.

The inscribed slab measures about 26½" in height, 23" in breadth and 5½" in thickness. About the middle of the top part, there is an image of Gaṇeśa measuring 8½" in length, 6" in breadth and 1½" in depth, engraved in bas-relief. The whole stone is stated to weigh nearly five maunds (about 400 pounds). The space in the right side of the surface of the stone is occupied by an **Oriya** inscription in **Gaudīya** characters, the first 16 lines of which cover an area 8½ inches wide by the side of the figure of Gaṇeśa while the width of the area covered by the remaining 22 lines below the above is 11 inches. The height of the area covered by the record in 34 lines is 24 inches. The space in the left half of the stone is similarly occupied by an inscription in the **Tamil** language in **Tamil** and **Grantha** characters, the lower part of which, lying below the figure, is separated from the Oriya epigraph by a space about 1" broad. The letters vary in size from ½" to ¾" in height as well as in breadth. They are thicker in shape in the Oriya part than in the Tamil section. The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation although a layer of stone has broken away from the left hand side of the top part with the result that a few letters at the right end of the first three lines in the Tamil portion are lost. But the lost letters can be confidently restored with the help of the excellent photograph of the slab published along with Sircar's article referred to above.

As already indicated, the inscription consists of two parts, one engraved in Tamil occupying the left hand side and the other in Oriya engraved in the right side. The last three lines of the Tamil portion are, strangely enough, engraved in three vertical columns on the left face of the slab exactly in the Chinese fashion. The letters have to be read in these lines from top to bottom while the lines have to be read from right to left. Both the Oriya and Tamil sections of the inscription refer to a transaction between a debtor and a creditor, the former being the pontiff of a *Maṭha* of Tamillian Śaivas at Bhubaneswar and the latter a local Oriya moneyed man. That is why the document is written in two different versions, Oriya and Tamil.

The characters of the Oriya part of the record belong to the Gaudīya class, some of them resembling either their modern Bengali or Oriya forms. The record may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to a date not much earlier than the fourteenth century. Letters like *ḥ*, *bh* and *ḷ* and the signs of medial *u* and *ū* exhibit Gaudīya forms, while *u*, *ā*, *āch*, *m*, *r*, *i(-ō)* and *s*, as found in the inscription, are the same as in Gaudīya and in Bengali. Similarly, letters like *ṛ*, *ak*, *agh*, *p* and *ph* in the record are found in the medieval Gaudīya epigraphs found in Orissa and resemble their Oriya forms, although the letter *k* (cf. also the peculiar form of *hi* in line 3) has a

<sup>1</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1955-56, App. B, No. 117.



cursive form which appears to be the origin of the modern Kanyā (i.e. pertaining to the writer caste) form of the letter.<sup>1</sup> But the most interesting letter is j which is found only in Oriya and not in Bengali. This letter has not been traced in Orissan epigraphs earlier than the thirteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Medial *ā*, which has been only once used in line 29, is of the Oriya type. Of initial vowels, the inscription uses *a* (lines 16, 18, 24), *ā* (lines 10, 20-21, 24, 26-27, 31), *i* (lines 15-16, 20, 23, 25, 28, 31-32), *u* (lines 11, 15-16, 27) and *e* (lines 7, 10, 12-14, 16, 20, 22-23, 26, 28-30, 33). The numeral figures 1, 2, 5, 7, 8 and 9 are found in the record (cf. lines 3, 11, 18). Of these, 1 is of the Telugu, 2 of the Oriya, 5 of the Telugu-Oriya and 8 of the Gauḍiya-Oriya type. The *Siddham* symbol at the beginning and the two punctuation marks (mean for a double *daḍa*) at the end look like the figure for 2.

The **language** is Oriya though there is a little influence of Sanskrit at the beginning of the epigraph. The composition exhibits carelessness on the part of the scribe. Some of the expressions used in the record are not found in modern Oriya. The **orthography** is characterised by a tendency to use the medial forms of *i* and *ā* instead of medial *i* and *a* respectively. Indeed medial *i* has been used only once in *bhikṣā* (line 29, the word being elsewhere spelt as *bhikṣhā*) and medial *a* once in *ajya* (line 33) for Sanskrit *śrīya*. We know that *y*, when it is initial or the component of certain conjuncts, is pronounced as *j* in the East Indian dialects in which *u* is pronounced as *b* and *ku* as *kū*. The inscription uses *y* for *j* in *vijāyā* (line 2) for Sanskrit *vijaya* (cf. *jūtā kālā* for Sanskrit *yut-kālā* in lines 32-33) and represents the original sound of *y* by *ia* as in *aiā* (line 24) for Sanskrit *aiśā*. Interesting are the following modifications of Sanskrit words: *aiāgha* for *aiśāgha*, *dāyā* for *dāyāga*, *pravarāhamāna* for *pravarāhamāna*, *vijāyā-rājā* for *vijaya-rājā*, *Kārtika-kṛishya* for *Kārtika-kṛishya*, *Ravi* for *Ravi*, *Kārtika* for *Kṛitika* (or *Kṛitika*), *Siddhāra* for *Siddhāra*, *maḍha* for *maḥa*, *ān* and *ānā* for *ānā*, *Tapaṛāja-mahāmuni* for *Tapaṛāja-mahāmuni*, *Laggābhāṭā-āchāya* for *Durgābhāṭā-āchāya*, *Uttāra-sūka* for *Uttāra-sūka*, *trīpāṭā* for *trīpāṭā*, *vānā* for *vānā*, *kaṭantara* for *kaṭ-āntara*, *Siva* for *Śiva*, *Tapaḥchakravartī* for *Tapaḥchakravartī*, *sthānā-patī* for *sthānā-patī*, *vānā* for *vānā*, *Pāṇā* for *Pāṇā*, etc. The expressions *aiśā kārī* (line 31), *āchāra* (line 31), *tapasānā* (line 32) and *chandra* (line 33) are defective, standing respectively for *aiśā lāhā kārī*, *āchāra*, *tapasānā* (or *tapasānānā*) and *chandra*. There are several other errors of this kind in the epigraph. The case-endings added to bases in *a* are: *i* for both nominative singular (as in *Durgābhāṭā* in line 15, *Āchāya* in line 31) and locative singular or plural (as in *vijāyā*-Sanskrit *vijāyā* in line 2, *dāyā*-Sanskrit *dāyā* in line 30), *ā* (as in *Chakravartī* in line 25) and *ānā* or *ānā* (as in *āchāra* in lines 5-6, *āchāra* in line 12, *tapasānā* for *tapasānā* in line 32, *kaṭantara* in line 24) for genitive singular or plural; *ānā* or *ānā* for dative singular (as in *kaṭantara* in line 24, *āchāra* in line 10); *ānā* (for *ānā* in modern Oriya) for locative singular or plural (as in *āchāra*-*āchāra*); *ānā*-*ānā* for ablative (as in *āchāra*-*āchāra* in line 12). Among verbal derivatives, the following forms of the gerund occur in the epigraph: *ānā* (i.e. having given) in line 10, *vānā* (i.e. having heard) and *ānā* (literally 'having spoken' but used in the sense of 'because') in line 29, *ānā* (i.e. having been) in lines 30-31, *ānā* (i.e. having done) in line 31. The following are verbs in the Past Tense: *ānā* (i.e. did or made) in lines 10 and 10, *gānā* (i.e. took or borrowed) in line 12, *ānā* (i.e. became) in lines 19-20, 22-23, *ānā* for *ānā* (i.e. gave) in line 26. For the verbal forms *ānā* in line 8 and *ānā* in lines 28-29, see *ānā* in Plate VI B, lines 5 and 11 of the Purī Plates (B) of Narasimha IV.<sup>3</sup> The expression *vānā* *ānā* (i.e. gave in mortgage) in line 10, *ānā* *ānā* (i.e. calculated the sum) in line 16, *ānā*-*kaṭantara* *ānā* (i.e. on the capital and interest having

<sup>1</sup> See *JPRS*, Vol. X, pp. 165 ff., Chart XIII.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXI, p. 110; p. 127 and note 1. Originally *i* seems to have been distinguished from *i* by the addition of a diacritical mark; but this diacritically marked form was later employed to indicate *i* while the ordinary form of the letter indicated *i*.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 302 ff.



been done-calculated) in line 17, *Śrīra-jyēpātē* (i.e. on having obtained Śrīra after death) in lines 18-19, *janīta ha* (i.e. having been born) in lines 30-31, *āchāra-janata hāilā kṛpasādhā* (i.e. of the ascetics who have been [devoted] followers of the rules of conduct) in lines 31-32, *jāt kāla-śa* (i.e. as long as the sun and the moon exist) in lines 32-33, *itāśa lāluśa vira cañi-rāka* (i.e. to exist for this much time) in lines 33-34, etc., are interesting.

The expression *śāntā* (line 16) seems to mean the same thing as Sanskrit *śānta* or *śāntā* (i.e. brought together) while *asīa-satāśa kīlāka* (line 24) appears to mean 'in respect of a written [document] involving one hundred and eighty [gold coins]'. The word *madāmadā* in the locative in line 31 seems to stand for *madh-madha* in the sense of 'in various madhas', i.e. in any madha in the three countries mentioned in the context, viz., Chōla-dēśa, Pāṇḍya-dēśa and Kāñchi-dēśa. But Sanskrit *madha* is modified to *madhu* in line 5.

The Tamil section of the record exhibits some palaeographical and linguistic features which are apparently due to the inscription being written in Oriya. Grantha characters have often been used in Sanskrit words. The use of medial *i* exhibiting a tendency towards the formation of a loop at its right, which distinguishes it from medial *e*, is clear in *Kīrti* (line 6), *pe* (line 12) and *ai* (line 29). The sign for medial *i* in *vasūā* in line 32 is indicated by projecting the top *mātrā* of the letter *a* almost making a loop of it. This may be compared with the slightly different form of the same *akṣara* in *tanūa* in lines 15-16. The letter *ṛ* (*ṛ*) in the word *māṛa* is written in two different ways. In lines 23 and 27 it is written in the usual Tamil form, while in lines 19 and 17 it is written with a downward curve as in Grantha, the latter form being comparable with *ṛ* in *bhattar* in lines 8 and 21 and in *peṭṭa* in line 27. It is possible that the pronunciation of the word *māṛa* was not clear to the person who drafted the Tamil section of the epigraph. The *repha* is indicated by a vertical stroke even where the Tamil forms of the Sanskrit words are used, e.g., *Kārttikā* in line 3 and *Kīrttiśāntā* in line 6, though the corresponding sign in Tamil was not unknown to the engraver (cf. *vārtta* in line 29).

The use of the expressions *nāśa-santam* (lines 21-22) and *śānta* (line 24) is interesting. *Nāśa-santam* means the friendship arising from two persons being born under the same *nāśa* or zodiacal sign. This interpretation is made clear in the Oriya part (lines 20-23) of the record. The other expression *śānta* seems to have been used in the sense of 'having written off'. The significance of the expression *madāmadā* (line 31) is not clear, though the context seems to suggest the meaning 'in various monasteries'.

Both the Oriya and Tamil parts of the inscription bear the same date and refer to the same transaction, though with slight differences in the details. The inscription is dated in the 22nd year of Śrī-Vīra-Narānārasimhadēva or Śrī-Vīra-Nārasimhadēva and the details of the date are quoted as **Kārttika-ba. 7, Sunday**. The reigning Gaṅga monarch is called Narānārasimha in the Oriya part (lines 1, 27) and Nārasimha in the Tamil section (lines 1-2, 30); but in line 5 of the former and lines 10-11 of the latter a king named Narasimha is mentioned with the distinguishing epithets *vaḍa* in Oriya and *periya* in Tamil, both meaning 'big'. Apparently the elder Narasimha was one of the predecessors of Nārasimha or Narasimha during whose reign the inscription under study was incised. A Telugu inscription<sup>1</sup> from the Simhachalam temple, dated Śaka 1205, Chaitra-ba. 6, Wednesday, corresponding to the 25th March 1383 A.D., records the gifts of the queens of Gajapati Pedā-Narasimharāja and Vīra-Bhānudevārāja. The word *peda* or *pedda* means 'big' in Telugu exactly as Oriya *vaḍa* and Tamil *periya*.<sup>2</sup> The Simhachalam epigraph belongs to the reign of Gaṅga Narasimha IV (1378-1402 A.D.) and king Bhānu mentioned in it can be none other than his father Bhānu III (c. 1353-78 A.D.). Pedā-Narasimha seems

<sup>1</sup> *III*, Vol. VI, No. 732 (pp. 283-84).

<sup>2</sup> In medieval Tamil inscriptions of the Chōlas, a post king is often mentioned as *periya-dēva*. Cf. above, Vol. XXI, p. 189, text lines 7 and 10; Vol. XXIV, p. 139; Vol. XXV, p. 84.



to be his grandfather Narasimha III (c. 1327-53 A.D.) who was apparently distinguished from his reigning grandson bearing his own name by the said distinguishing epithet. There is thus some evidence to show that the Gaṅga king Narasimha III was referred to as the 'big' Narasimha in the records of the time of his grandson Narasimha IV. Although this does not preclude the possibility of an earlier Narasimha being distinguished from one of his predecessors of the same name in a similar way, we are inclined to identify the king, during whose reign the inscription under review was engraved, with **Narasimha IV** as the palaeography of the record seems to support this identification. Moreover the details of the date quoted in the inscription do not appear to suit the reign of Narasimha II or Narasimha III.

Mammohan Chakravarti, in his account of the chronology of the Eastern Gaṅga kings,<sup>1</sup> fixed 1378-79 A.D. as the initial year of Narasimha IV. The details of the date in our record, viz., **Aṅka 22** (i.e. 18th regnal year), **Kārttika** (Pūrṇimānta)-**ba. 7, Sunday**, would thus correspond regularly to **September 24, 1396 A.D.**

The Oriya part records that an area of 12 *Vāṭis* of land called **Vāghamarā** (situated at Vāghamarā according to the Tamil version) was granted as *Ēkādāśa-Rudra-bhikṣū* in favour of the Siddhāśvata-maṭha at the illustrious Kṛttivāsa-kṣhētra (modern Bhubaneswar) for the longevity and fulfilment of the desires of the elder **Narasimhadēva** who was apparently one of the past kings of the country. The significance of the expression *Ēkādāśa-Rudra-bhikṣū* is clear from the Tamil part which states that the grant was meant for the feeding of Śaiva ascetics for the favour of the eleven Rudras. Some time after the creation of the endowment, Tapōrāja-mahāmuni, the pontiff of the Maṭha, mortgaged the land to Durgābhāṭṭa-āchārya from whom he borrowed 150 [gold] *Māḍhas*. He also borrowed ten [gold] *Māḍhas* and 30 *Pauṣis* of paddy from Uttarāśvata-nāyaka. *Pauṣi* is a measure of capacity prevalent in Orissa, which is equal to ten maunds. The word is probably derived from Sanskrit *pravarṣi* or *pravarṣikā* which was equal to five *kūṛis* according to Saccānanda's *Tikāsarvasva* on the *Amarakōśa*, II, 9, 89. The same measure is possibly mentioned in certain inscriptions from Bengal and Orissa.<sup>2</sup>

Durgābhāṭṭa-āchārya paid up Tapōrāja-mahāmuni's debt to Uttarāśvata-nāyaka and calculated the total amount including interest, payable to him by Tapōrāja-mahāmuni, to be altogether 180 [gold] *Māḍhas*. This no doubt included 150 *Māḍhas* lent by himself and 30 [gold] *Māḍhas* paid by him to Uttarāśvata-nāyaka as well as the interest accruing to these amounts and the price of the paddy with interest. Meanwhile Tapōrāja-mahāmuni passed away and he was succeeded in the pontificate by Tapośchakravartin. Since Durgābhāṭṭa-āchārya and Tapośchakravartin were born under the same *rāśi* or zodiacal sign, the former became a friend of the latter. Hence Durgābhāṭṭa-āchārya wrote off the debt of 180 [gold] *Māḍhas*, due to him from the head of the monastery, for the continuance of the *Ēkādāśa-Rudra-bhikṣū* for the longevity and the fulfilment of the desires of the reigning monarch **Vira-Naranārasimhadēva**.

The Tamil version of these transactions while giving some additional information also differs in some details. The purpose of the original grant is stated to have been the feeding of the *Māhāśravas* (i.e. devotees of Mahāśvara or Śiva) for the propitiation of the eleven Rudras. The amount borrowed by Taparāja-muniḡa is stated to be 148 *Māḍhas* only as against 150 *Māḍhas* mentioned in the Oriya part. The reason of this discrepancy seems to be that 2 out of the 150 *Māḍhas* were paid to the writer and engraver of the document concerned. Thus while the creditor's version of the transaction in the Oriya part refers to the gross amount, the debtor's version puts the net amount he received after deducting the amount paid to the writer and the engraver. After the

<sup>1</sup> *JASS*, Vol. XXII, 1903, pp. 87 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *pravarṣi*-*śloka* in the sense of a land measure, several of which made a *kuṭpa-śloka*, in the Faridpur plate of Dharmāditya (*Solel Inscriptions*, p. 358) and *pravarṣi* in the Alagum inscription of the time of Anantavarman Chāḍagaṅga (above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 43, 48). The word *pravarṣi* also occurs in the Govindapur inscription (A. R. Ep., 1908-09, No. B 357).



death of Tapātāja-mūmūṣa [Tapachakravartin] became the head of the *Maṭha*. The next stage of the transaction as mentioned in the Tamil section is the writing off of 148 *Māḍais* by Durgābhāṭṭar since he was a *rāḍi-mitra* of Tapachakravartin. Durgābhāṭṭar also undertook to repay the 10 *Māḍais* and 30 *Pallais* of paddy which had been additionally borrowed (by Tapātāja-mahāmuni according to the Oriya version) from Uttarśivara-nāyaka who was Durgābhāṭṭar's father-in-law (or maternal uncle).

In the final portion of the Tamil section, the land is stated to have been re-dedicated for the purpose of the training of the ascetics, who hailed from the three *Maṇḍalas* (i.e. the Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kāñchi *dēśas* according to the Oriya section) and were trained in the conventional code of conduct in the various *Maṭhas* (apparently of the three *Maṇḍalas*), no doubt in the Śaṭṭhōṣvara-maṭha at Bhubaneswar for the long life, health and prosperity of Vira-Nārasimhadēva. The Oriya part records the re-dedication of the land for the continuance of the *Ēkkōḍa-Ituba-Śikṣaka* which was meant for the ascetics who were born in the three countries, viz., Chōḷa-dēśa, Pāṇḍya-dēśa and Kāñchi-dēśa, and became devout followers of *āchāra* as a result of their initiation in the various *Maṭhas*. The word *āchāra* has been used in the Tamil part in connection with *saṃpradāyas* no doubt referring to the conventions of a particular Śaiva school that flourished in the Tamil country. The reference to the three *Maṇḍalas* in the Tamil section is clearly explained in the Oriya part. It is interesting to note that the third of the three divisions of the Tamil country is mentioned as Kāñchī-dēśa, i.e. Tondaimaṇḍalam, which ceased to be a political unit after the fall of the Pallavas about the beginning of the tenth century but continued as a geographical and social unit. The Śaṭṭhōṣvara-maṭha at Kṣetravās-kāñchīra (i.e. Bhubaneswar) apparently owed its origin to a religious school hailing from the Tamil country, though we have no means at present of tracing its history. It may be noted that the names of the pontiffs of the monastery, viz., Tapātāja-mahāmuni and Tapachakravartin, were only titles. They were no doubt Tamilians in origin. Durgābhāṭṭa-charya and Uttarśivara-nāyaka appear to have been residents of Bhubaneswar and were apparently Oriyas.

The location of some of the geographical names mentioned in the records has already been indicated above. The village called Vāghmarā or Vāghmarā, where the gift land was situated, may be identified with the modern village of Bāghmārī which lies about 24 miles due west of Bhubaneswar.<sup>1</sup>

### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

#### Oriya Part<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Siddham<sup>4</sup> ||<sup>5</sup> | Svastya(ā) | | śrī-Vira-Narāṇāśī(ṅha)dēva-
- 2 ā<sup>6</sup> pravarthamānā<sup>7</sup> vā(vi)ṣṭ-rā||<sup>8</sup> ā-
- 3 mvyāta<sup>9</sup> 22 śrāṅhī<sup>10</sup> Kātrika-kṛt(śha) 7 Ravī<sup>11</sup>-vā-

<sup>1</sup> Index and Adjunct/Corrections Series, Sheet No. 72.

<sup>2</sup> From *Uṇṇasūtra*.

<sup>3</sup> The letters *g*, *v* and *ṣ* had been to be pronounced as *ḡ*, *ḥ* and *ṣṣ* respectively.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>5</sup> Sanskrit *Śrī* (śrī) (śrī) (śrī).

<sup>6</sup> Sanskrit *pravarthamānā* (pravarthamānā).

<sup>7</sup> Sanskrit *vā(vi)ṣṭ-rā* (vā(vi)ṣṭ-rā).

<sup>8</sup> Sanskrit *ā* (ā) (ā) (ā). The letter *ā* had been at first omitted and was later inserted in a smaller form.

<sup>9</sup> The letter *h* is written in a cursive form. The word is derived from Sanskrit *śrāṅhī* through Prakrit *śrāṅhī*.

<sup>10</sup> Sanskrit *Kātrika*.

<sup>11</sup> Sanskrit *Ravī*.



- 4 *cā* [ ] *śrī-Kittī-vāsa-khētram*<sup>2</sup> *śodhā-*  
 5 *svare-maḍham*<sup>3</sup> *Vaḍa-Narasīnghadēva-*  
 6 *śkara*<sup>4</sup> *śā-kām-ārtha*<sup>5</sup> *pūrvakā*<sup>6</sup>  
 7 *Vāghamarā vāra*<sup>7</sup> *vāṭi bhūmi śkādā-*  
 8 *śa-Rudra-bhikṣhā*<sup>8</sup> *dāvā* [ ] *bhūmi samas-*  
 9 *dhā*<sup>9</sup> *Taparāja-māhāmuni*<sup>10</sup> *Dāggā-*  
 10 *bhāṭa-śchāyāṅka*<sup>11</sup> *varidhā kalā* [ ]<sup>12</sup>  
 11 *māḍha śata dōḍha 100* [ ] *Utrēsva-*  
 12 *ra-nāśkāṅkara*<sup>13</sup> *taḥū ghōtalā* [ ]<sup>14</sup>  
 13 *ś māḍha dōsa*<sup>15</sup> *dhānya-paṭi(pau)ṭi iriḥ-*  
 14 *śka*<sup>16</sup> [ ] *Taparāja-māhi(hā)niṇi*<sup>17</sup> *ś dh-*  
 15 *dhānya sūnā Dāggābhāṭa*<sup>18</sup> *Utrēsva-*  
 16 *ra-nāśkāṅka*<sup>19</sup> *dōi śka kalā* [ ] *śkadūti ś*  
 17 *dhāra sūnā*<sup>20</sup> *mōḷa-kāṅtara*<sup>21</sup> *karantē māḍha-*  
 18 *śatāka*<sup>22</sup> *śat*<sup>23</sup> *180* [ ] *Taparāja-māhi Śr-*  
 19 *va*<sup>24</sup> *prāphā*<sup>25</sup> *Tapachakravartī*<sup>26</sup> *sthānā-paṭi*<sup>27</sup> *hō-*  
 20 *ḷā* [ ] *Tapachakravartīśkara Dāggābhāṭa-ś-*  
 21 *chāyāṅkara śat*<sup>28</sup> [ ] *Dāggābhāṭa-śchāṭi*<sup>29</sup> *yō*  
 22 *sūni śka-śat vōḷi matre pakṣha hō-*  
 23 *ḷā* [ ] *Vāghamarā bhūmi vāra-vāṭi pha-*

<sup>1</sup> Sanskrit *Kittī*, although in Orissa the name was often written as *Kittī*.

<sup>2</sup> Sanskrit *śodhāsa*, though the intended word is *śikṣhā*.

<sup>3</sup> Sanskrit *Śikṣhāntara māhānta*, the intended expression being *śaṅkhānta*.

<sup>4</sup> Sanskrit *Irishan-Narasīnghadēva*.

<sup>5</sup> Sanskrit *śyāt-śāka-ārtham*.

<sup>6</sup> Traces after this show that the engraver had begun to make a letter here but gave it up.

<sup>7</sup> Sanskrit *śodhā*.

<sup>8</sup> Sanskrit *bhikṣhā*.

<sup>9</sup> Sanskrit *samādhā*.

<sup>10</sup> Sanskrit *Taparāja-māhāmuni*.

<sup>11</sup> Sanskrit *Dāggābhāṭa-śchāyāṅka*.

<sup>12</sup> Sanskrit *Varidhāntara māhānta* but *Varidhāntara māhā* stands for Sanskrit *Varidhānta*.

<sup>13</sup> Sanskrit *dōsa*.

<sup>14</sup> Sanskrit *ghōṭalā*.

<sup>15</sup> The addition of a word like *ghōṭalā* here would have made the sense clear.

<sup>16</sup> Sanskrit *śchāyāṅka*.

<sup>17</sup> Sanskrit *Utrēsva-śchāyāṅka*.

<sup>18</sup> Sanskrit *dhānya-sūnā*.

<sup>19</sup> Sanskrit *dhānya-paṭi*.

<sup>20</sup> Sanskrit *dhānya-paṭi*.

<sup>21</sup> Sanskrit *dhānya-paṭi*.

<sup>22</sup> Sanskrit *dhānya-paṭi*.

<sup>23</sup> Sanskrit *dhānya-paṭi*.

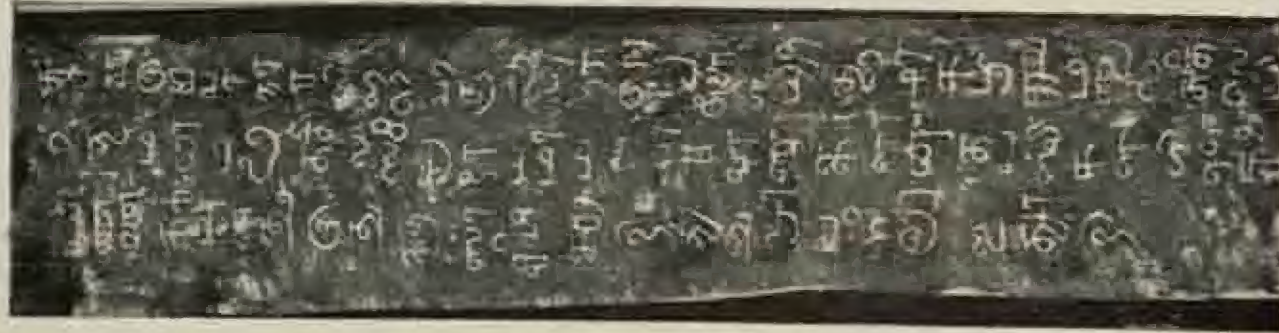
<sup>24</sup> Sanskrit *dhānya-paṭi*.

<sup>25</sup> Sanskrit *dhānya-paṭi*. The addition of a word like *dhānya-paṭi* would have made the sense clear.

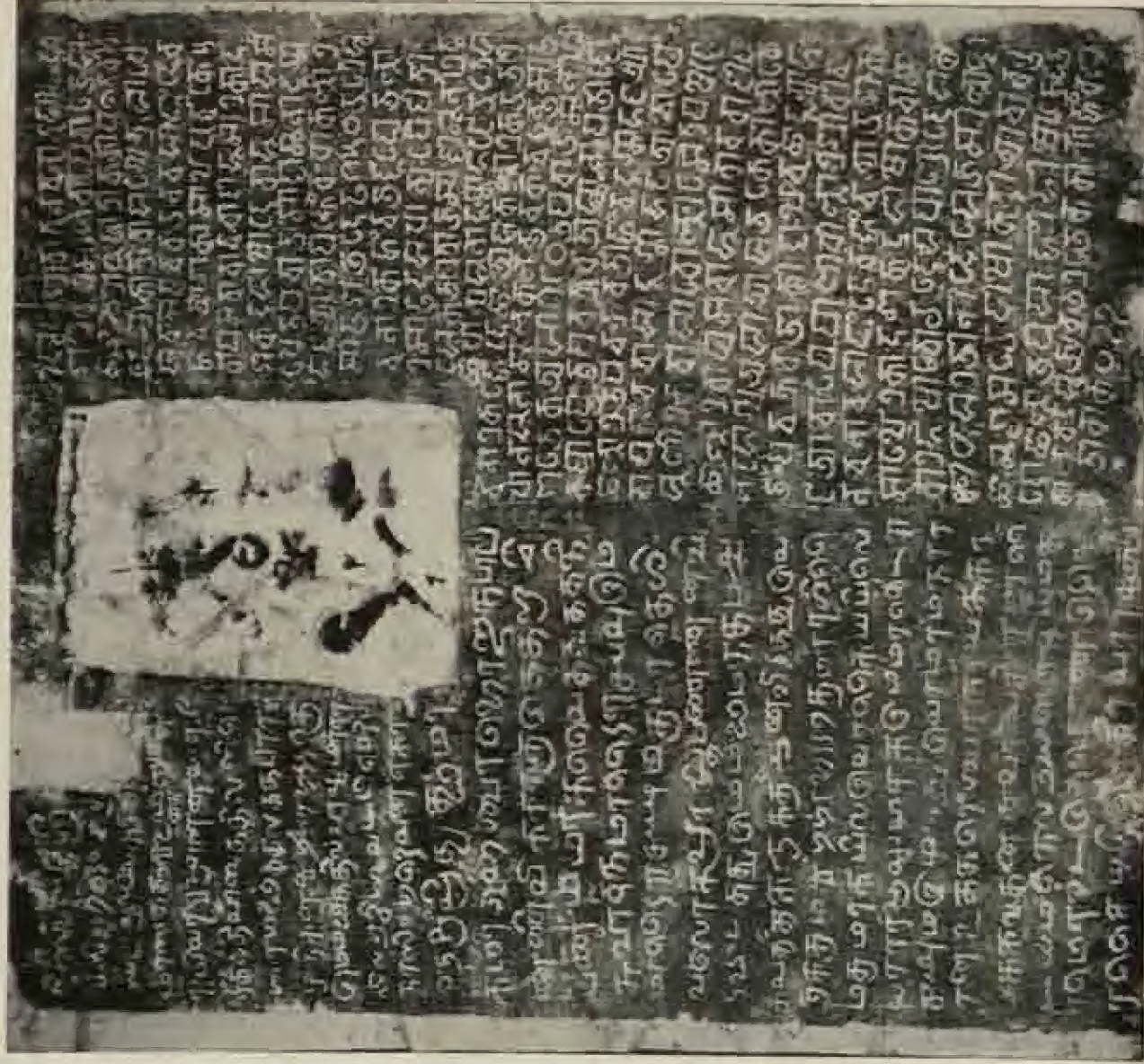


# BIUBANESWAR INSCRIPTION OF GANGANARASIMHA

Left

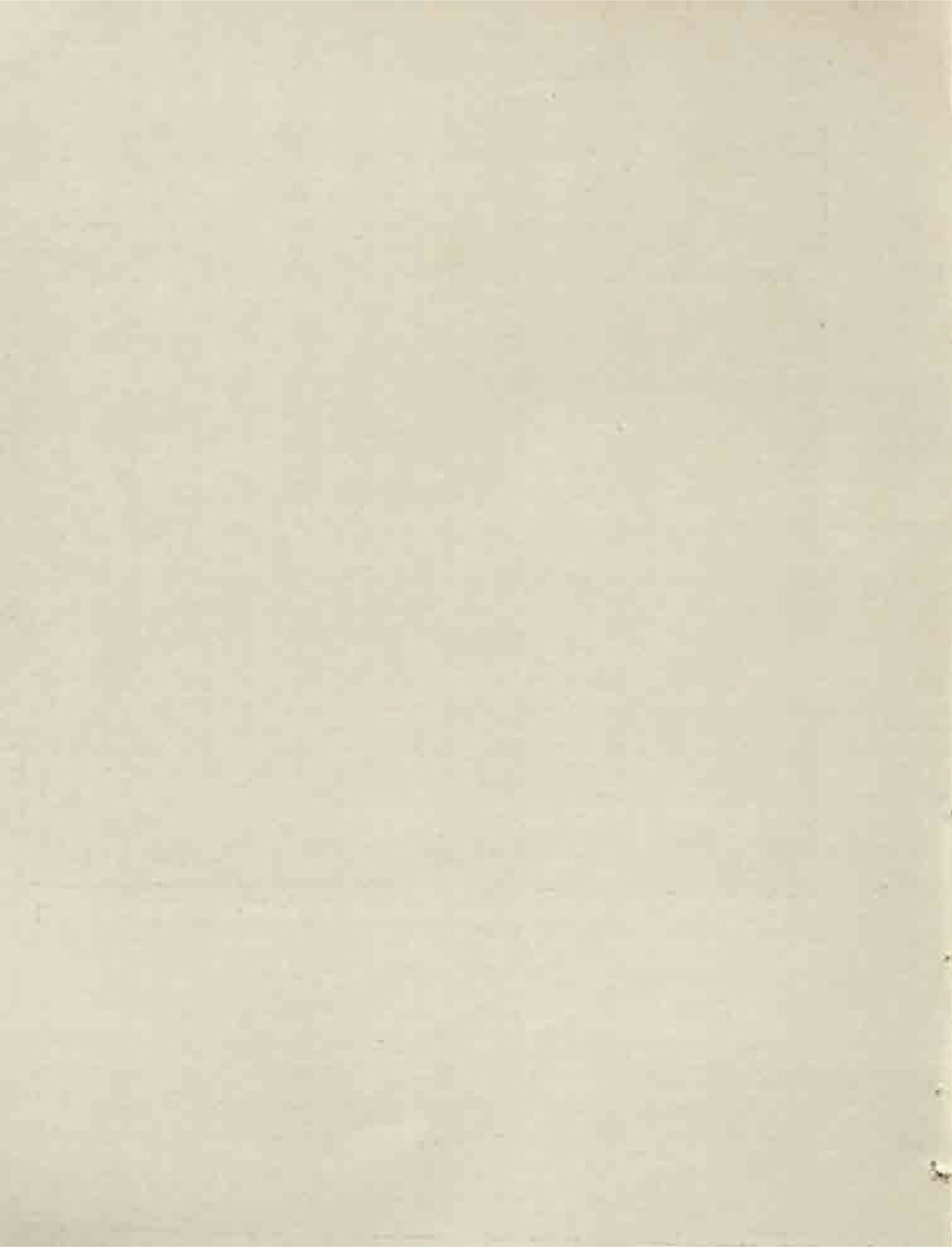


Front



Scale : One-fourth







- 21 ja-bhūgya aśā-sataka<sup>2</sup> kilāka<sup>3</sup>  
 22 Tapachakravatikī hāthara<sup>4</sup> Dūggābha-  
 23 ja-āchāyē pāṇi dhūlā ||\*|| 3 śrī-Vira-  
 24 Naranārasā(si)ṅghadēvaśkara āsa-kā-  
 25 m-āsthā śkāśāśa-Rudra-bhīkshā karā-  
 26 va ||\*|| 2 bhīkshā Chōḍa-dēsa<sup>5</sup> Pāṇḍī-dēsa Kā-  
 27 āchī-dēsa ē tīnī dēsa<sup>6</sup> jamūlā hō  
 28 i Maḍamāḍē dīkshā<sup>7</sup> karī āchā[ra\*]vanta  
 29 hōlā tapasāṅkā<sup>8</sup> (|\*|) bhīkshā jātē  
 30 kāla chandra-sujya<sup>9</sup> vrata<sup>10</sup> ētōka kālāka<sup>11</sup> vasa<sup>12</sup>  
 31 vrativāka<sup>13</sup> tba 22<sup>14</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-4) May there be success ! In the increasingly victorious reign of the illustrious Vira-Naranārasimhadēva—Year 22, Kārttika-kṛishṇa 7, Sunday.

(Lines 1-18) Formerly (an area of) 12 Vāṇis of land (at) Vāghamarā was granted as Śkāśāśa-Rudra-bhīkshā in favour of the Siddhēśvara-maṭha at the illustrious Kṛittivāsa-kahōtra (i.e. Bhubaneswar) for the longevity and (fulfilment of) the desires of the elder Naranāsimhadēva. As to (this) land, (it) was mortgaged by Tapōrāja-mahāmuni to Durgābhāṭṭa-āchārya. The (amount borrowed) was one hundred and fifty (gold) Māḍhas—150. (He also) borrowed from Uttarēśvara-nāyaka. (In) this (case), ten (gold) Māḍhas and thirty Paṇḍis of paddy. Having deposited them two (items, viz.,) paddy (and) gold (that had been borrowed by) Tapōrāja-mahāmuni, to Uttarēśvara-nāyaka, Durgābhāṭṭa-āchārya calculated the sum (payable to him by Tapōrāja-mahāmuni). On the paddy and gold being considered together (and) the capital and interest being calculated, (the whole amount was found to be) one hundred and eighty (gold) Māḍhas—180.

<sup>1</sup> Sanskrit aśā-sataka-sataka.

<sup>2</sup> Sanskrit Tapachakravartika-karta.

<sup>3</sup> Sanskrit dhūlā.

<sup>4</sup> Sanskrit Pāṇḍya.

<sup>5</sup> Sanskrit śkāśāśaśa śkāśāśa.

<sup>6</sup> The expression śkāśāśaśa would suit the context better.

<sup>7</sup> The intended word is āpāsāśaśa or āpāsāśaśa-Sanskrit āpāsāśaśa.

<sup>8</sup> Sanskrit chandra-sujya.

<sup>9</sup> Sanskrit vrata.

<sup>10</sup> Traces between ja and āsa show that the engraver had begun to inscribe a letter which was later given up.

<sup>11</sup> Sanskrit vasa. The word paripala would have been more suitable to the context.

<sup>12</sup> Sanskrit vāṇi-samantapada.

<sup>13</sup> The last three signs indicate the end of the writing, the second and third probably standing for a double dash. For the first, cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 218 and note 2.



(Lines 18-26) When Tapōrāja-muni obtained Śiva (i.e. died), Tapaschakravartin became the *sthāna-pati* (i.e. head of the *Maṭha*). This Tapaschakravartin's *rāśi* (i.e. the constellation under which he was born) was the same as that of Durgābhāṭṭa-āchārya. Having learnt (this), Durgābhāṭṭa-āchārya became a friendly party (to Tapaschakravartin) because (both of them) belonged to the same *rāśi*. Durgābhāṭṭa-āchārya poured water in the hands of (i.e. made a ceremonial offering in favour of) Tapaschakravartin in respect of the written (document) involving one hundred and eighty (gold coins and) entitling (him) to enjoy the said twelve *Vāṭis* of land (at) Vāghamarā.

(Lines 26-34) (He declares that) the said (land) he made *Ēkādaśa-Rudra-bhikṣhā* for the longevity and (fulfilment of) the desires of the illustrious *Vīra-Naranārasimhadēva*. This *Bhikṣhā* is meant for the ascetics who are born in the three countries, viz., *Chōḍa-dēśa*, *Pāṇḍya-dēśa* and *Kāśchī-dēśa*, and who have obtained initiation in the various *Maṭhas* (of those countries) and become (strict) followers of the *āchāras* (prescribed for the *Māhēśvaras*). (This) *Bhikṣhā* is to last for so long a time as the sun and moon will exist.<sup>1</sup>

#### Tamil Part

- 1 Svaati Śri [||] [Vīra-Nā]<sup>2</sup>-
- 2 rasimhadēvaṅku [yāṇḍu]<sup>3</sup>
- 3 22 āvaṇu Kārttigai<sup>4</sup>
- 4 māṇattu kṛṣṇa-saptami
- 5 Ravi-vāram-um-āpav-aṅgu
- 6 Śri-Kṛtīcāṣattil<sup>5</sup> Siddhē-
- 7 āvara-maḍattil Tta(Ta)parāja-
- 8 munniga] Durgā-bhāṭṭaṅku
- 9 m-maḍattil Vārga(gha)mārā-
- 10 vi] bhūmi 12 vaṭṭi Periya-
- 11 Naranārasimhadēvaṅ Ēkāda-
- 12 śa-Rudra-prīyartham-ā-
- 13 ga māhēśvara-bhōjama[m] pa-
- 14 ōpi(pu)vikka-kkuḍutta bhūmi
- 15 paṇayam-āga vaittu ttani

<sup>1</sup> For the signs after this, see p. 233, note 13.

<sup>2</sup> A layer of the stone here has peeled off. The letters have been restored from the photograph of the inscription published in *J.P.S.B.*, Vol. XX, Plate facing p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> The word is written in Tamil characters; but the *vēḷu* is of the Grantha type as in some other cases below.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Kṛtīcāṣa*.



16 āu vāṅg(āg)ina māḍhai 148 im-

17 māḍai 148 m kuḍādā Śi-

18 vālōka-prāpti paṇṇiṇa v-i

19 ja<sup>1</sup> viḍattu im-maḍam Tis(Ta)pachcha-

20 kravatti(riti)gaḷukku āṇa = viḍattu iṇa-

21 riḷḷum Durgā-bhaṭṭarḷḷum rāṇi-

22 maitram<sup>2</sup> āga(gai)tyl iṇa kaiyyi(yi)lē

23 dhārā-pūrvam-āga im-māḍai 1-

24 48 m iḷandu iṇa māmanār-

25 āṇa Uttarēm(rē)śvara-nāyakkar

26 pakkaḷ taṇa(ni)ṇ vāṅgina-mā-

27 ḍai 10 m nel 30 poṭṭiyum t-

28 ānā ēraṭṭu-kkoṇḍu iṇa-

29 r kaiyyi(yi)lē nṛ-vārttu-

30 [k<sup>3</sup>]kuḍattu<sup>4</sup> iṇ-Va(Vi)ra-Nārasimhadēvaṇḷu āyurā(r-ā)rōgya-yō(ai)śvarya-ā[r]-  
tṭikam-āga māṇṇu maḍalattilē pā-

31 paṇḍu maḍāmaḍattil sanipadāyam-āy āchāravāṅgal-āṇa tapasvigaḷ śikṣhai

32 paṇṇakkaḍavadu<sup>5</sup> [u<sup>6</sup>] Iduḷḷu sākṣi Aditya-chandrā-vanilā riyādi<sup>7</sup> [ ] [ ]<sup>8</sup>

### TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-5) Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 22nd (regnal) year of Vira-Nārasimhadēva, on Sunday, the seventh of the dark fortnight of the month of Kārttikā.

(Lines 6-19) Taparājamunigaḷ of the Siddhēśvara-maḍa at the illustrious Kṛttivāsa (i.e. Kṛttivāsa or Kṛttivāsa-kṣētra) after having mortgaged land to Durgā-bhaṭṭar—the land (consisting) of 12 *Vaṭṭis* at Vāghamārā, given for feeding the *Māhēśvaras* in this monastery for the propitiation of the eleven Rudras by the elder Nārasimhadēva—and taken a loan of 148 *Māḍhais*, obtained *Śira-lōka* (i.e. died) without repaying those 148 *Māḍhais*.

(Lines 19-29) This *Maḍa* having (then) come (under the control of) Tapachchakravartigaḷ and this (Tapachchakravartigaḷ) and Durgā-bhaṭṭar being friends owing to their birth under the same

<sup>1</sup> The *sanisāra* and the letter *ka* appear to have been engraved one upon the other. The *sanisāra* above *ca* is to be ignored.

<sup>2</sup> The expression *vida* is redundant.

<sup>3</sup> The sign for *ai* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

<sup>4</sup> This and the next two lines are engraved vertically. The letters have to be read from top to bottom and the lines from right to left.

<sup>5</sup> The construction of the sentence is here imperfect, though its import is clear.

<sup>6</sup> This expression seems to suggest that the author wanted the usual imprecatory passage at the end of such records to be understood here. Cf. the imprecatory stanza *Aditya-chandrā-māḍānāḷa*, etc., in *Ny. Cora.*, Vol. I (revised.), pp. 35 ff.



*rāsi*; this (latter) gave back 148 *Māḍas* in the hands of this (former) with the libation of water (i.e. relieved the former from the debt) and himself paid off 10 *Māḍas* and 30 *Poḍis* of paddy that had been (additionally) borrowed from his (i.e. Durgābhāṭṭar's) father-in-law (or, maternal uncle) Uttarēśvara-nāyaka, and gave (the land) in his (i.e. Tapachchakravattiga's) hands with libation of water.

(Lines 30-32) Let the ascetics who have become well-disciplined in the convention (of the *Mā-śāśtras*) in various *Māḍas* and have been born in the three *Maraḍalas* be trained (here) for the long life, health and prosperity of this **Vīra-Nārasimhadēva**. Let the Sun, the Moon, the Wind, etc. bear witness to this (transaction).

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# No. 30—VILASA GRANT OF PROLAYA-NAYAKA

(I Plate)

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA AND M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA, MADRAS

This grant was originally discovered long ago, nearly a century back, in the village of Kandaraṣa, near Pithapuram in the East Godavari District, by Sri Hundi Venkata Rao Pantulu Garu. He and his partner in business, a Vaidya whose name is said to have been forgotten, heard a metallic sound one morning while digging the earth for a brick-kiln of joint enterprise, when they further dug deep having been curious to know the cause of that sound. Then they found fourteen copper plates attached to a ring. Since it was a joint enterprise Sri Venkata Rao and his Vaidya partner both divided this new property equally between themselves, and got seven plates each. The ring also went to the share of the Vaidya partner who had copper vessels made out of the plates and the ring. The plates which went to the share of Sri Venkata Rao were preserved in his family with superstitious care as a unique treasure. Two generations after, their existence was revealed to Sri Sālinayya Satyakama Rao Pantulu Garu, a public worker and scholar of repute, who was connected with that family by marital ties, and who, being educated in English, knew the value of copper-plate grants in general to history. Much interested in history, he made the discovery public, and was curious to know the contents of the plates. Some two decades back, when Sri M. Somasekhara Sarma, one of the editors of the grant under study, had gone to Visakhapatnam, Sri Hundi Venkata Rao Pantulu, the owner of the plates and the great grandson of their original discoverer, was good enough to place them in the hands of Sri Sarma for decipherment and publication.<sup>1</sup> Sri Somasekhara Sarma takes this opportunity to convey his grateful thanks to all those concerned for placing this record in his hands. The inscription is very valuable specially for the history of the Andhra, and throws a flood of light on the political conditions of the Andhra country subsequent to the fall of Warangal in 1323 A. D. The plates are now preserved in the Government Museum, Madras. It is fortunate that the seven plates that went to the share of Sri Venkata Rao Pantulu Garu, record a grant complete in itself, as the other seven plates probably do another one, and that these plates of one grant had not got mixed up with those of the other.

When these plates were with Sri Somasekhara Sarma they were sent to the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy for being reviewed in his Annual Report. This set is marked as No. 5 of Appendix A in the Report for 1938-39 and finds a comprehensive notice in Part II. The inscription on the plates is now edited with the help of a set of excellent inked impressions, kindly placed at the disposal of the editors by Sri N. Lakshminarayana Rao, retired Government Epigraphist for India.

The following is an extract from the description of the plates, given in the Annual Report:—

"This is a set of seven thick copper-plates the first and last of which are slightly bigger than the others measuring about 10½" long by 4½" broad, while the others (plates 2 to 5) measure about 9½" by 4½". Their writing, which is engraved on the inner side of the 1st plate and on both sides of the other six, is well preserved and protected by broad and raised rims covering their

<sup>1</sup> The following friends, the late renowned patriot and scholar, Sri Manupalli Ramachandra Kavi Garu, President of the Kavitha Samithi, Visakhapatnam, Sri Gubburi Venkataswami Baghera Rao Pantulu Garu, whose researches in Hindu astronomical lore are very widely known throughout the Andhra country and the young poet and philanthropist, Sri Parijanya Appalarao Garu, Secretary of the above mentioned Samithi, all of whom were interested in having this charter published, deserve mention in this connection. See *Blasphemy*, Vol. XIX, pp. 307 ff.



edges on three sides, while the right margin is left plain. This rim is about  $\frac{3}{8}$ " broad and is also as much in thickness. The plates are numbered in serial order on their inner sides in the breadth of this rim. They have ring holes about 1" in diameter near their left margin but the ring which must have passed through them and held them together is now missing. The plates weigh 510 tolas. In the right margin of the 2nd and 4th plates there is a slight knob-like projection, the purpose of which is not clear.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription on the plates is neatly executed and is in a good state of preservation. The letters, almost all of which attained their modern forms by the date of this record, are deeply incised and are very beautiful. Very rarely do we come across such specimen of handsome Telugu writing in the grants issued in the early post-Kakatiya period. The script is Telugu which was current in the first half of the fourteenth century A. D. in the Andhra country and is akin to that found in the Dārapūṇi grant of Nārayaṇa-yaśa.<sup>2</sup>

No distinction is made between the vowels short and long *r* (ll. 113, 125 and 126), the letters *b* and *bh*, *d* and *dh*, and the secondary forms of the vowels *e* and *i* and *o* and *u*. The sign for the aspirate, seen in the grant in a few cases in *dha*, *pha* and *bho*, resembles a small inverted crescent attached below the right arm of the letter. It definitely came into use by the first quarter of the thirteenth century. It can clearly be seen in *ratna-garbhāyāḥ* (l. 8), "*śāśā* *vibhāṣā*" and *vibhakti* (l. 11), *vāḥ* (l. 33), "*śāśā*" (l. 90), "*paṇḍita*" (l. 137) etc. This however, is not always used uniformly. The remaining aspirated letters have quite distinct forms to differentiate them from their unaspirated counterparts. Superscript *z*, resembling the modern *anagha* in a diagonal position, is attached at the right top of the letter. The final forms of *z* and *u* occur frequently, as in ll. 30, 31 and 33. In almost all cases the *anagha* has taken the place of final *m*. The only letters in the record that differ from those of the present day are *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *ṣ* and *ṣh*. The only difference between *ṭ* and *ḍ* lies in the top stroke. The letter *ḍ* exactly resembles *ḍ* of the present day, but without the loop inside in the right arm and *ḍh* resembles the present day *ḍ*. *N* can easily be identified even though it differs slightly from its present form. Among orthographical peculiarities, a superfluous *anagha* is sometimes inserted before double *n*, or before *n* followed by a consonant as in "*ratnavāṇa*" (l. 61), "*paṇḍita*" (l. 132), "*śāśā*" (l. 151, 153). *dhāḥ* is written instead of *dhā* if the letter *dh* is doubled after *r* (ll. 70, 140, 141, and 141); the consonants, *g*, *ch*, *j*, *v*, *ṭ* and *ḍ* sometimes and *y* invariably are doubled after *r*; the palatal *ṣ* is often used in the names of the donors for the dental *ṣ* as in *Śāṣṭhā* (l. 110), *Śāṣṭhā* (l. 117) and so on.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit with the exception of the passage in Telugu describing the boundaries of the village granted. The language, excepting the passage describing the boundaries, is chaste and is entirely in verse. This is a beautiful inscriptional *Adya* in Sanskrit replete with *anubhāṣa*, the like of which is rarely seen in the grants of the medieval period. Unfortunately the name of the composer is not given. Another noteworthy feature of this grant is the absence in it of the usual imprecatory verses that are generally found at the close of the inscriptions. The inscription ends with the signature of the donor which reads as *Prōḍa-śāśa* (the signature of *Prōḍa-śāśa*).

The passage describing the boundaries is shabbily inscribed, quite in contrast with the preceding Sanskrit part. The Telugu forms *kūḍi* and *kūḍa* are both used to denote a canal, of these the former form has gone out of use now. *Kroḍhaṇa-pūṇa* (l. 147) means a canal that was dug. This is a compound of *kroḍhaṇa* and *pūṇa*, of which the former is a verbal adjective. *Kroḍhaṇa* is the root. It means 'to make a low depression, to dig with an iron cross-bar or other instru-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 226 ff.



ment'. This expression is also used in inscriptions in the sense of inscribing. *Kara* (l. 119, 124, 156) means an earthen bank. The form *śakṣika* (l. 147) meaning a little, is obviously the older form of *śakṣika*. The expression *asura-bāḍa* (l. 154) is really made up of two words *asura* and *bāḍa*. The latter means 'a swamp or marsh'. *Asura-bāḍa* is a compound of *asura*, (a kind of grass) and *bāḍa*. In the passage *māṇḍ-ūḥa-mutala-Māṇḍāpa-panta* (l. 157) *mutala* is a compound of *maṇḍa* and *tala*; *māṇḍ-ūḥa-mutala* means at the junction of the three villages. *Māṇḍāpa-panta* is the narrow way (*panta*) belonging to the village of *Māṇḍāpa*, the parents *Māṇa*, a boundary village.

The inscription begins with the invocation of the god Viṣṇu and his *Varāha* incarnation (ll. 1-4). This is followed by an account of the creation. It is stated that at first the whole world was submerged under waters; that on perceiving this, the god *Sārayana*, assuming the form of *Brahmā*, created all the worlds, in the midst of which was the earth adorned by the Golden Mountain and surrounded by the islands and the seas; that in the centre of the earth and encircled by the salt seas was the *Jambūdvīpa* divided into nine *Maṇḍa*, or continents, of which that extending from the Himalayas to the Southern Ocean was known as *Bhāratavarṣa* comprising many countries, where different languages and customs prevailed; and that one of them named *Tiliga*, through which flowed many holy rivers, contained several rich towns and cities, beautiful mountains, impenetrable forests, deep tanks, and unassailable fortresses (ll. 4-15).

Several kings of both the Solar and Lunar families held sway over this country extending from the sea, without swerving from the path of righteousness. During the *Kali* Age, the kings of the *Rākṣa* family ruled over *Tiliga* from their capital *Ekastika*, like the *Maheśvāra* from *Ayāthyā*. When several rulers of the dynasty passed away, *Pratāparudra*, a monarch famous for his prowess, ascended the throne and ruled the country with truth and justice so that such famous monarchs of yore as *Yayāti*, *Nābhāga* and *Ilimgirita* were completely forgotten. While king *Pratāparudra* was ruling the kingdom in this manner, bitter hostility arose between him and *Akasmada* *Suraśraja*, the lord of the *Turushka*s. The *Suraśraja*, who was the *Yama* (Death) to the kings, stampeded out the remnants of the royal families left undestroyed by *Jambūlagava* (*Parasurama*). Although *Pratāparudra* vanquished that *Suraśraja* who had an army of 900,000 horses seven times, he had to submit to that *Turushka* at last, despite his military strength and univalled skill in diplomacy, owing to the decrease of the good fortunes of the people of the earth. While being carried away as a prisoner by the *Turushka* monarch to his capital *Delhi*, *Pratāparudra* departed, by the decree of the Providence, to the world of the gods on the banks of the river *Samudbhārā*, i.e. *Narmadā* (ll. 15-28). When the sun, viz. *Pratāparudra* set, the world was enveloped in the *Turushka* darkness. The evil (*adharma*), which he had up to that time kept under check, flourished under them, as the conditions were very favourable for its growth. The cruel wretches subjected the rich to torture for the sake of their wealth. Many of their victims died of terror at the very sight of their voracious countenances; the *Brāhmanas* were compelled to abandon their religious practices; the images of the gods were overturned and broken; the agrarians of the farmers were confiscated; the cultivators were despoiled of the fruits of their labour, and their families were impoverished and ruined. None dared to lay claim to anything, whether it was a piece of property or one's own wife. To those despicable wretches wine was the ordinary drink, beef the staple food, and the slaying of the *Brāhmanas* the favourite pastime. The land of *Tiliga*, left without a protector, suffered destruction from the *Yavanas* like a forest subjected to devastating wild fire (ll. 28-39). Then was born, as if an order of the god *Viṣṇu*, who took pity on the sufferings of the people, had descended from heaven, king *Phola* of the *Marmāri* family of the fourth caste, who assumed the sovereignty of the earth. He destroyed the power of the *Yavanas*, who abandoned their forts and fled to unknown places unable to resist his might. The very people who suffered at the hands of the *Yavanas* sought protection under him, and turned against them



and put them to death. Having overcome the Yavanas in this fashion, he restored to Brāhmanas their ancient *agrahāras* confiscated by them, and revived the performance of the sacrifices, the smoke issuing from the firepits of which spreading over the countryside cleaned it of the pollution caused by the movements of those evil-doers. The agriculturists surrendered willingly a sixth of the produce of the soil to the king; and he set his hand to the task of repairing the damages caused by the Pārasikas. King Prōla established himself at Rākupallī on the Gōdāvari at the foot of the Mālyavanta mountain; and having entrusted the administration to his younger brothers such as Kāpaya-nāyaka, he devoted himself to the performance of charitable and meritorious deeds. He granted many *agrahāras* and large sums of money to deserving scholars (II. 32-75). In the *gōtra* of the famous sage Bhāradvāja was born a Brāhmana scholar of the name of Annaya, son of Vennaya, and grandson of Annaya, devoted to the study of the *Ṛgveda*. He had two sons, Vennaya and Gagasaya, who were distinguished by their learning, lofty character, wealth and liberality. Considering that of the two brothers, the former was worthy of honour, Prōlaya-nāyaka requested him to accept the gift of an *agrahāra*. Vennaya who was accustomed to make gifts rather than take them, complied with the king's request somewhat reluctantly (II. 78-98). King Prōlaya granted to Vennaya on the occasion of a lunar eclipse the fertile village of Vilasa in Kōna-maṇḍala which lay on the bank of the Gōdāvari as an *agrahāra*. Having divided it into one hundred and eight shares, Vennaya changed its name into Prōlavaram after king Prōlaya-nāyaka and gave it in turn to several learned Brāhmanas of good lineage and excellent character, proficient in the *śāstras* and the *śāstra*, with all the rights of possession, enjoyment, etc. (II. 98-105). There were in all 22 donces including the two deities Gaṇiśaśvara and Kṛṣṇa of the village. The names of the donces and the distribution of shares among them are given in a table in the sequel.

The charter under review throws a flood of light on the history of Āndhra in the years immediately following the Muslim conquest and the downfall of the Kātastya dynasty. While describing the circumstances in which the gift registered in the charter came to be made, the political changes through which the country had just then passed are briefly recounted. The following points which are therein touched upon call for a few words of elucidation — (1) The history of Pratāparadīpa, his enmity with Aḥammadu Suratrāpa of Delhi, his early victories over the Muhammadans, and his ultimate defeat, captivity and death; (2) the character of the Muslim rule; (3) the rise of the Musunūri family and the formation of the Confederacy of Āndhra Nāyakas under the leadership of Prōlaya-nāyaka; (4) the conquest of Tilinga by Prōlaya-nāyaka and the re-establishment of the Hindu *dharma*; and (5) his benefactions, especially the gift of the village of Vilasa in Kōna-maṇḍala to the Brāhmana scholar Vennaya of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*.

The problem that deserves consideration first is the hostility between Pratāparadīpa and Aḥammadu Suratrāpa, the lord of the Turushkī, who is described as the *śaśa-kāla* (death) of kings and the destroyer of the remnants of the royal families that were left undestroyed by Jāma-dagnya (Parikṣit). The identity of Aḥammadu Suratrāpa is not difficult to discover; for, his final victory over Pratāparadīpa whom he despatched to Delhi as a prisoner and the latter's death on the way to the imperial capital clearly show that he could have been none other than Muḥammad Bin Tughluq. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to assume that Aḥammadu is a mistake for Muḥammad due either to the remissness of the engraver, or to the confusion in the mind of the composer of the inscription himself.<sup>1</sup> The statement that Sultān Muḥammad suffered defeat no less than seven times at the hands of Pratāparadīpa before he could ultimately vanquish him furnishes interesting information on the history of Muslim invasions of Tiling and demands careful examination. The Muslim histories of the period refer to a number of expeditions, which the

<sup>1</sup> A similar mistake is found in a Sanskrit work of a miscellaneous character called the *Pratāparadīpa* composed in 1465 A. D. (Madras Government Or. Mus. 156. 5.3.5, D. No. 12073).



Sultān of Delhi despatched against Tiling. According to Barani, Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khwājā planned an invasion of Tiling as early as 1301 A. D. 'Four or five months after the Sultān left Bantambhōr', says he, 'Ulugh Khān collected a large force with the intention of attacking Tiling and Ma'abar, but his time was come, and the angel of destiny took him to the blessed city. His corpse was conveyed to Delhi and buried in his own house'.<sup>1</sup> The expedition to Tiling did not obviously proceed. The idea was not, however, abandoned. Some two years later, 'at the time when the Sultān was engaged in the siege of Chitor, Malik Fakhr-ud-dīn Jūna, *dāstak-i-Hazara* and Malik Jhānu of Karra, nephew of Nasrat Khān, had been sent with all the forces of Hindustan against Arangal'. On their arrival there the rainy season began and proved such a hindrance that the army could do nothing and in the beginning of the winter returned, greatly reduced in numbers, to Hindustan.<sup>2</sup> The expedition thus ended in disaster. Although the Muslim historians attribute the failure to the outbreak of rains, it is not unlikely that they came into conflict with the Tilingas and were worsted by them in the fight.

The failure of the expedition rankled in the mind of 'Alā-ud-dīn; and in 1309-10 A. D., he despatched another expedition under the famous Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr and Khwāja Hūjl, the *'Arāz-i-Mamlik*. This expedition, according to the unanimous testimony of Muslim historians, was a resounding success of Muslim arms. The details of it are far too well known to need description. The Muslim armies marched to Warangal by way of Devagiri without meeting serious opposition on the way; defeated the Kākatya forces, laid siege to and captured the outside mud fort, and invested the inner stone fort. Pratāparudra sued for peace. Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr agreed to accede to his request on condition that he surrendered all his wealth, together with his elephants and horses, jewels and valuables and promised to send every year a certain amount of treasure and a certain number of elephants by way of tribute to Delhi. Pratāparudra who had no alternative accepted the conditions and Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr raised the siege, and marched away to Delhi laden with booty.<sup>3</sup>

Of the next invasion, which was sent from Devagiri in 1318 A. D. by Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn Mabārak Shāh, two conflicting accounts have come down to us. The cause of the expedition was the failure of Pratāparudra to pay the annual tribute for some years. To collect the arrears of this tribute, the Sultān sent Khusrū Khān at the head of an army to Tiling. According to Amir Khusrū, Pratāparudra offered resistance, but was defeated and had to purchase peace at a very heavy price. Amir Khusrū's account of Khusrū Khān's expedition to Tiling reads like another version of Nā'ib Kāfūr's invasion in 1310 A. D. The encounter with Pratāparudra's forces, their defeat, the investment and capture of the mud fort, the attack on the stone fort, and Pratāparudra's surrender of all his wealth besides elephants and horses, follow the same pattern.<sup>4</sup> Jalmy, who also describes Khusrū Khān's expedition to Tiling, narrates the events differently; he does not refer to hostilities. Pratāparudra, on the contrary, is said to have received Khusrū Khān with respect, paid the tribute due to the Sultān readily and sent him back to Devagiri well satisfied.<sup>5</sup> Which of these two accounts is true is not easy to decide.

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 180. Nizam-ud-dīn Ahmad makes a casual reference to this expedition. 'The flower of the Sultān's army had, however, marched to the extreme south of the Dakin, to conquer Arangal' (*Tabaqat-i-Albārī*, Eng. trans., Vol. I, p. 173). Ferishta also states that owing to the absence of his army, which went on an expedition to Warangal, 'Alā-ud-dīn was in no position to face the Moghal invader Targil on equal terms. (Bryce, *Ferishta*, Vol. I., p. 234).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 202-03.

<sup>4</sup> A few variations, no doubt, occur. Pratāparudra is said to have ceded five districts of his kingdom to the Sultān; these were, however, given back, excepting the last of Badliya (Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 228-27).

<sup>5</sup> *Futūḥ-us-Salāsīn* (Madras edn.), pp. 261-63.



Two more expeditions came during the time of the Tughlaqs, who succeeded the Khaljis on the throne of Delhi. Both were despatched by Sultan Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughlaq Shāh (1320-25 A. D.), under the command of his son, Ulugh Khān (the later Muhammad bin Tughlaq) in 1323 A. D. The first of these ended in disaster. Ulugh Khān suffered defeat, partly due to dissensions in his camp and the treachery of his officers, under the walls of Warangal, and was compelled to retreat at first to Dēvāgiri and thence to Delhi. He returned, however, within four months at the head of a fresh and powerful army, and succeeded after a siege of six or seven months in capturing not only Warangal but also Pratāparudra, whom he sent to Delhi as a prisoner of war.

The Muslim historians thus enumerate five expeditions between 1323 and 1328 against Tiling, of which three were successful and the rest abortive. The Hindu records on the other hand refer to several Muslim expeditions—eight according to the present grant—not of which all, excepting the very last, ended in the defeat of the Muslim armies and their expulsion from Tiling. Although these are said to have taken place in the reign of Pratāparudra, the exact time of their arrival and the circumstances in which they suffered defeat are not known. There is reason to believe that the Kakatiyas came into conflict with the Mussalmans long before 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khiljī's attack on Dēvāgiri in 1296 A. D. An epigraph in the temple of Chināyā Somanātha at Pāmgalla in the Nalgonda District of Andhra Pradesh, dated 1267 A. D. describes the exploits of Prince Śārngapādājīva, the son of the Śaṅga king Singhaṇḍa and a subordinate of Mahamandālitaśvara Maṇḍa-Rudradēva-vīrahārāja, i. e. the Kakatiya queen Rudrāmbā or Rudramadevī. Among his exploits enumerated in the inscription, his victory over the Mussalmans deserves particular mention. Śārngapādājīva is spoken of in this record as the *Prinival Boar* who rescued the earth from the Turkish calamity.<sup>1</sup>

The Mussalmans also seem to have descended upon the Deccan a little later from another quarter. In an epigraph at the Kallāvarādēva temple at Mahāvāgla in the Bellary District dated Ś. 1304, Chitrabhānu (1282 A. D.), the Yādava king Rāmachandra, that is, Rāmadēva, the adversary of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khiljī, is described as a rescuer of earth from the depredation of Turkish.<sup>2</sup>

The circumstances in which these Turkish invasions took place are not on record. Some of the expeditions sent by Sultan against the Central Indian Hindu kingdoms probably penetrated into the Deccan, but being worsted in the fight by the Kakatiyas and the Yādavas they were compelled to retreat homewards.

The Muslim invasions of Tiling began in right earnest after Pratāparudra's accession in 1296 A. D. According to the present grant, which was issued within a decade of the Muslim conquest, the Muslims attacked Tiling no less than eight times. Pratāparudra is said to have defeated the garrison of Delhi seven times, but was vanquished, owing to the misfortune of the earth, on the last occasion by that Turkish sovereign, and while being carried away as a prisoner to Delhi, died by the decree of Providence on the bank of the Sāmāḍbhavā (Narmadā) river. This is not the only record that refers to the defeat of the Mahamondals. An inscription, written by the Mackenzie Surveyors in the fort of Warangal, refers to a victory of Mahārājagodarirāja and Jayāgaya-dēva over the Turks in Sāmāḍ 1302 (1304-05 A. D.).<sup>3</sup> The proximity of the

<sup>1</sup> *Corp. Ins. Tel. Dist.*, p. 38, No. 34. As most of the chiefs mentioned in this inscription figure in Singhaṇḍa's inscriptions as the first conquered by him (*South. Ind.*, Vol. I, II, pp. 223-22), Śārngapādājīva seems to have participated in his father's wars and took credit for his victories before he accepted service under the Kakatiyas. Although the Turks, among the peoples of many other countries, are said, in very general terms, to have obeyed his commands, the Turkish invasion is not mentioned in any of his inscriptions. It is not therefore unlikely that the invasion took place after Śārngapādājīva had entered the service of the Kakatiyas.

<sup>2</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, No. 224 of 1916; *SI.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 300.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Surv.*, 18-5-20, p. 101.











The association of the Kākatiya and the Muslim forces in the war against the Pāṇḍya kingdom to restore Sundara-pāṇḍya to his ancestral throne points also in the same direction. Waseff, it may be remembered, refers to the flight of Sundara-pāṇḍya to Delhi 'Sundara Pandi, trembling and alarmed', says he, 'fled from his native country and took refuge under the protection of 'Alā-ud-dīn of Delhi.' Although no information is available from Muslim sources as to what happened afterwards, one of the inscriptions at Tirukkular in the Mannargudi Taluk of the Tanjore District, dated in the 26th regnal year of Jayavarman Śrīvallabha (1316 A.D.), alludes to the arrival of the Muhammadan forces in support of Sundara-pāṇḍya. It is stated that sometime before the date of the inscription, Rājārāja Sundara-pāṇḍya came with the Talakkar, when a certain chief called Otkūrujaian died together with his brothers and followers obviously in a fight against them.<sup>1</sup> The Talakkars were not the only supporters of Sundara-pāṇḍya. A large Kākatiya force under Pratāparudra's famous general Mappidi-nayaka was at the same time operating on his behalf in the Tamil country. An inscription at Vēḍhūhāhālam in the South Arcot District dated in 1341st year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṇṇirippaikōṇḍāṇ Sundara-pāṇḍyadeva (1315 A.D.) registers the assignment of income from lands in some villages for conducting a service named after Mappidi-nayaka, the ruler of Vikramasimhapattana (Nellore) and one of the ministers of Kākatiya Pratāparudradeva, in the temple of the god Vēḍhūhagiriśvara.<sup>2</sup> From this it is evident that Mappidi-nayaka, the minister of Kākatiya Pratāparudradeva, was an ally of Sundara-pāṇḍya who caused the service to be instituted in the temple to honour him. Though the cause of Mappidi's presence in the Pāṇḍyan territory is not disclosed in the record, the Śrīraṅgam epigraph of Gōvari-nayaka, dated 1317 A.D. leaves no room for doubt that the Kākatiya armies came there to restore Sundara-pāṇḍya to his ancestral throne.<sup>3</sup> If Rājārāja Sundara-pāṇḍya of the Tirukkular record is the same as Sundara-pāṇḍya of the inscription from Vēḍhūhāhālam cited above, it may be surmised that the Muhammadan and Kākatiya forces were both fighting in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom in and around 1315 A.D. and that they were both allies of Sundara-pāṇḍya. It is not unreasonable to believe that the Kākatiya monarch sent his armies to the south at the instance of Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn Khalji to support the contingent of Muhammadan forces sent thither by the latter to restore Sundara-pāṇḍya to his kingdom. Therefore, it is not possible to accept without reserve the statement in the Vilasa grant and some other later records that Pratāparudra was invariably victorious over the Muslim armies on all occasions excepting the last.

Next, the present inscription throws some new light on the circumstances in which Pratāparudra met with his death. According to Shams-i-Shirāzī<sup>4</sup> AḤ, the Bāi of Tilag, whom Sultan Muhammad sent to Delhi, died upon the road.<sup>5</sup> The correctness of the statement has, however, been questioned. On the authority of inscriptions, it has been said that Pratāparudra did not die on his way to Delhi; he was not only rescued and freed by some Nāyakas from captivity, but continued to rule his kingdom for some years after that. An inscription at Santanūgūḍa in the Narasimhapet Taluk of the Guntur District dated 1326 A.D. mentions Pratāparudra as the ruler of the kingdom, and registers a gift for his merit by Kolaṇi Rudradeva, one of his mahāpradhānis. This furnishes, as pointed out by H. Krishna Sastri, a date 'four years later than the latest date given for Pratāparudra.'<sup>6</sup> Coupled with the evidence of this record,

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> *A.R.Ep.*, No. 643 of 1902; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 247.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 72 of 1918.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 73 of 1918-29.

<sup>5</sup> *History of India*, op. cit. Vol. III, p. 367.

<sup>6</sup> *A.R.Ep.*, No. 208 of 1913; 1663, 1916, Part II, para. 58.



the title *Rāya-bāndī-vimāchaka*, said to have been borne by Rāobera Siṅga I, one of the Nāyakas in the service of Pratāparudra, has given rise to the belief that he rescued the king from captivity and that the latter continued to rule his kingdom even after the fall of Warangal in 1323 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Now, the Santamāgalūm inscription is a solitary record unsupported by other evidence; and no trace of Pratāparudra's rule is found anywhere subsequent to his capture by Uluḡ Khān. Moreover, the Muslim forces were still busy with the subjugation of the country and they would not have tolerated Pratāparudra's rule in any part of it. The setting up of an inscription at Santamāgalūm by Kolani Rudradēva in 1326 A.D. must be attributed to the feelings of loyalty to his old master and his irreconcilable hostility to the Mussalmans who had overthrown his authority. The title *Rāya-bāndī-vimāchaka* is of uncertain origin. There is no evidence to show that it was ever borne by Siṅga I. None of his records has come down to us; and the *Velupūṭṭāri Pāṇḍurāṣi* does not associate the title with his name. It occurs for the first time in an inscription of his son Anavōta I, dated 1369 A.D., as Ayyanavōta in the Warangal District.<sup>2</sup> Anavōta I was not a contemporary of Pratāparudra, and he could not have participated in that monarch's wars with the Muhammadans. Therefore, the origin of his title *Rāya-bāndī-vimāchaka* must be traced to some event which must have taken place in his (Anavōta's) own time.

The present inscription, which must have been issued within about a decade or so of the Muslim conquest of Tiling, not only confirms the evidence of Shams-i-Shirāzī<sup>3</sup> that Pratāparudra died on his way to Delhi but also specifies the locality where his death had taken place as the bank of the river Sōmōdbhavā (verse 20). There is reason to believe that he did not suffer natural death, but put an end, unable to bear perhaps captivity, to his own existence. In the Kaluvachēra grant of the Redḡi queen Anitallī dated 1423 A.D., exactly a century after the fall of Warangal, it is stated that Pratāparudra departed to the world of the gods by his own desire.<sup>4</sup> This seems to suggest that he either committed suicide or was slain at his own instance by one of his own followers.

The statement that, on the death of Pratāparudra, the entire Āndhra country passed into the hands of the Muhammadans is corroborated by the evidence of other contemporary and nearly contemporary records. The Rajahmundry mosque inscription of Sālār 'Ulwi bears testimony to the subjugation of the Gōdāvari delta.<sup>5</sup> The *Futūḥ-us-Salḡīn* refers to the conquest of Kalinga and the capture of the forts of Gooty (Anantapur District) and Kanti (Gajjilakṣṇa in the Cuddapah District).<sup>6</sup> A *śloka* verse in Telugu addressed to Saṅga II (1356 A.D.), nephew of Harihara I and Rukka I of Vijayanagara, alludes to Muslim occupation of the Nellore District immediately after the rule of Mappālī-nāyaka (1323 A.D.).<sup>7</sup> Although the Āndhra country was thus rapidly subjugated, it did not long remain under Muslim rule. This was mainly due to the oppressive character of their government which is vividly portrayed in the present inscription (vv. 22-27). Unlike other conquerors of India, the Mussalmans were not satisfied with the acquisition of mere political power. They descended on the Deccan not as mere conquerors in search of new countries but as crusading warriors to spread the true faith in the land of the infidels. To stamp out heathenism, and gather all the people within the fold of Islam, they prohibited, as

<sup>1</sup> M. Rama Rao, *Kāśhīyās of Warangal*, pp. 77-78.

<sup>2</sup> *Velupūṭṭāri Pāṇḍurāṣi*, Appendix No. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *J.T.I.A.*, Vol. II, p. 106.

<sup>4</sup> *Tamra Pratāparudrī sta-sikṣant ev-ślokaḥ-sam-yānti*

*śloka ś śloka-Furmanayī jātā-māhāt māhāt mahāt.*

<sup>5</sup> *A.K.Ep.*, No. 458 of 1928.

<sup>6</sup> *Futūḥ-us-Salḡīn* (Madras edn.), pp. 413-14; also p. 51.

<sup>7</sup> *Chāṭapadymaśāstari* :—*Mappālī nagar-śloka-mahātī* *Turukālā*.



stated in the inscription, the public exercise of Hindu religion, and subjected its followers to inhuman tyranny. The Hindus could not dress well, live well, and appear to be prosperous. Vexatious taxes were imposed on them; their seats of learning were destroyed; their temples were plundered and demolished; and the images of their gods were defaced and broken and used as building material for erecting prayer houses for the faithful. That this is not an exaggeration but genuine truth is proved by independent accounts of the condition of the Hindus in other parts of South India subjugated by the Mussalmans. Gangādhari, the queen of Kumāra Karpapa (1340-74 A.D.), presents in her *Madhura-vijayam*, a harrowing picture of devastation caused by the Muhammadans in the Tamil country. 'The temples in the land', says she 'have fallen into neglect as working in them has been stopped. Within their walls the frightful howls of jackals have taken the place of the sweet reverberations of the *ayidaṅga*. Like the Turushkas who know no limits, the Kāvēri has forgotten her ancient boundaries and brings frequent destruction with her floods. The sweet odour of the sacrificial smoke and the chant of the Vēdas have deserted the villages (*ayalāmas*), which are now filled with the foul smell of the roasted flesh and the fierce noises of the ruffianly Turushkas. The suburban gardens of Madura present a most painful sight; many of their beautiful coconut palms have been cut down; and on every side are seen rows of stakes from which swing strings of human skulls strung together. The Tāmraparai is flowing red with the blood of the slaughtered cows. The *Vēda* is forgotten and justice has gone into hiding; there is not left any trace of virtue or nobility in the land, and despair is writ large on the faces of the unfortunate Drāvidas.'<sup>1</sup>

Unable to bear the grinding tyranny of the Mussalmans, which was set on foot to wipe out their race, religion and culture, the Āndhras as a people joined together and rose up in revolt. Nobles and common folk, if we can trust the evidence of the inscription under consideration, voluntarily flocked to the standard of Prōlaya-nāyaka to rid the country of the barbarous hordes of Islām, which by the decree of an evil fate descended on their native land. The Brāhmanas and the farmers of the soil paid, of their own free will, taxes to enable the leaders to carry on the struggle for freedom successfully. It was the first national movement in Indian history; and the Āndhras showed to the rest of India how a people could, by their united effort, expel the enemy and regain their lost freedom.

This was no easy task. Muhammad bin Tughlaq was a powerful monarch, who was cruel and merciless in crushing his enemies. No Hindu ruler of the South, however strong and warlike, was able to resist the irresistible advance of his armies. It is noteworthy that in that deplorable state of utter helplessness, the Āndhras were able to organise themselves into a confederacy, strike a blow to gain independence, and successfully accomplish their purpose.

The information furnished by the grant under review about the Musunūri family is very meagre. It simply states that king Prōla of the Musunūri family was born in the fourth caste; he headed the movement to free the country from the Muslim yoke, and having successfully driven them out, he made Rēkapalli on the Pōdāvari at the foot of the Mālyavanta mountain his capital and entrusted the administration of the country to his younger brothers, such as Kāpaya-nāyaka, devoting himself entirely to the performance of charitable and meritorious deeds. Nothing is known from this grant about Prōlaya-nāyaka's history and career, except that he had many younger brothers, of whom Kāpaya-nāyaka was one. This dearth of information about his family is made up by the Prōlavaram grant of Kāpaya-nāyaka,<sup>2</sup> dated in the Śaka year 1267, expressed by the chronogram *giri-tarā-māṇasa*, in the cyclic year Pārthiva. As he is also stated in the grant to have belonged to the Musunūri family and as the date of the grant is very near to

<sup>1</sup> K. A. N. Sastri, *The Pāṇḍya Kingdom*, pp. 242-43.

<sup>2</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1934-36, C. P. No. 2. Cf. *JBOHS*, Vol. XX, pp. 260 ff.



the date of the fall of Warangal, there need be no doubt that he is identical with Kāpaya-nāyaka, Prōla's brother mentioned in the grant under review. Fortunately for us, the Prōlavaram grant furnishes a short pedigree of three generations of the Musunūri chiefs born in the fourth caste. Pōla, the earliest known member of the family, had four sons, namely, Pōcha, Dēva, Kāma and Rāja. The first three brothers had two sons each, namely, Prōla and Krapōta. Kāma and Mummāḍiśa, and Imaḍiśa and Dēva respectively, and Rāja, the last son of Pōla, had only one son by name Anavōta, otherwise known as Toyyāḍi Anavōta, or Anavōta of Toyyāḍu. From this it becomes clear that Prōla and Krapōta were the only sons of Pōcha, and that Kāma and others were, strictly speaking, Prōlaya-nāyaka's cousins (that is, his paternal uncles' sons and not his own brothers). Even the Prōlavaram grant does not furnish any information about Kāpaya-nāyaka's grandfather Pōla and his father and uncles, except giving the pedigree. Probably these members of the Musunūri family were ordinary Nāyakas of no great importance and played no part in the momentous history of the period during and after the reign of the last Kakatiya emperor, Pratāparudra. Prōla and his brothers, especially Kāpaya-nāyaka, seem to have been the only members of the family that came to limelight during the period of the Muslim occupation of the Andhra country immediately after the fall of Warangal by their deeds of valour, and untiring efforts to unite and inspire the people of the country and liberate it from the Muslim yoke. Except Kāpaya-nāyaka none of the other names of Prōlaya find mention either in the grant under review or in the Prōlavaram grant of Kāpaya-nāyaka. Probably they were young and achieved nothing worthy of note during that troublous period, or it may be that some of them lost their lives during those days of anarchy, and the oppressive and autocratic rule of the Mussalmans. It is, however, certain that Kāpaya-nāyaka was the right hand man of Prōlaya-nāyaka, whom he actively supported and co-operated with in every way in waging war on the Mussalmans and expelling them from the Andhra country.

There is another record, the Kaluvachēṅṅa grant of Annala,<sup>1</sup> dated in Saka 1345, (1425 A.D.), that should be taken into account here for a better understanding of the political conditions of the country immediately after the fall of Warangal, even though it is separated in time by nearly a century from the grant under review. It is stated in the introductory portion of the Kaluvachēṅṅa grant that after Pratāparudra of the Kakatiya dynasty, the lord of Trilinga (Telugu country), had gone to heaven by his own will the whole land was occupied by the Muslims (Yamamayi jūṅṅi); Prōlaya-nāyaka then ruled the country that was enveloped in the womb of the Yavanas (Yavan-śāra-śha) just like Varāha, the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, who raised the land submerged under water. After Prōlaya-nāyaka went as a guest to heaven at the command of Viśvōvara, the same grant further says, Kāpaya-nāyaka who was equal in splendour to the sun, ruled his kingdom, and that he whose feet were served by the seventy-five Nāyakas, protected the earth by the grace of Viśvōvara. King Kāpa is said to have granted to Brāhmaṇas, the agrahāras taken over by the Turukkas, besides granting them some āśvāś. After the death of Kāpa, all the Nāyakas subordinate to him are said to have gone to their towns and protected their respective countries.

Prōlaya-nāyaka and Kāpaya mentioned thus in the introductory portion of the Kaluvachēṅṅa grant are, no doubt, respectively identical with the donors of the grant under review and the Prōlavaram grant, although their family name Musunūri does not find mention in the latter. The Kaluvachēṅṅa grant further makes it clear that after rescuing the Andhra country from the Muslim yoke, Prōla and after him Kāpa ruled it one after the other and that the seventy-five Nāyakas,

<sup>1</sup> J. Vol. Ac., Vol. II, pp. 93-113; *Rasam*, Vol. XXI, Part I, pp. 553-57, Part II, pp. 81-73.



the survivors as well as the sons of those that perished in the struggle, acknowledged their supremacy and leadership and served them faithfully.

Let us see if we can spot out any of the *Nāyakas* that served Prāla and Kāpa and co-operated with them in liberating the country. With the fall of Warangal, the leadership of the coastal region passed from the hands of the kings of the Lunar and Solar dynasties into those of the *Nāyakas* of the Musunūri family of the fourth caste. Of the other *Nāyakas* of this period, we already know that Vēma was one. Most of the chiefs, ministers and commanders of the Kākatiya emperor, Pratāparudra, lost their lives in the last fatal siege of Warangal. A few, who had survived the disaster, are known to us from both inscriptions and literature. One of them was Kolani Rudradēva alias Pratāparudra, the *subhāgavārdhina* of Kākati Pratāparudra and son of Gamaṇya-mantri. He was a contemporary of Anna-mantri and a great Sanskrit scholar and the author of *Bhājarudriyaṇa*, a work on grammar.<sup>1</sup> He was the grandson of Kolani Śūma-mantri, the minister of Kākati Gaṇapati-dēva and the subjugator of the *śālagūḍas* of Kolanavāḍa or Sarasapuri. It is known from the *Śaṅkayāgama*, a Telugu work on Śaiva theology, written by Gaṇapati-dēva of the Kolani family, that Kolani Rudradēva had taken part in the expedition to Kāñchīpura (1315 A.D.) during the reign of Pratāparudra and defeated the five Pāṇḍya chiefs. The statement in the same work that he protected the stone fort of Warangal so as to win the commendation of Kākatiśa (i.e. Pratāparudra) and that he slew some Yavana chiefs, makes it clear that he had taken an active part in the wars with the Muslims. Yet it appears strange that none of his records prior to 1323 A.D. has come to light. An epigraph at Santamāgalūre<sup>2</sup> in the Qumtut District dated in the cyclic year *Kālaya*, corresponding to Śaka 1249 (1326 A.D.) in the reign of Kākati Pratāparudra, registers a gift of land to the temple of Gōpāthā of that village by Kolani Rudradēva for the merit of that king on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Pratāparudra, as we know, was already dead by the date of this record. It has therefore to be presumed that Rudradēva, the donor of the record, shook off by that time the Muslim yoke and was free to make at his will a grant of land for the merit of his late master out of respect and devotion.

Another survivor was Anna-mantri of the Bendapūdi family, the *Gaṇapāṭhya* of Kākati Pratāparudra, who is described in the *Bhīmāśveta Purāṇa* of Śrīnūtha as the veritable fire in annihilating the Yavanas and the establishers of the throne of the *adhyakṣa* of the Āndhra country.<sup>3</sup> The term *adhyakṣa*, which means superior or president (and not king), no doubt refers to Prīlaya-nāyaka, and probably to Kāpa-nāyaka also after him. This title suggests that it was through the successful efforts of Anna-mantri that the selection of the superior or the president of the confederacy of nobles of the Āndhra country was made possible and that the president so elected was made acceptable to all the chiefs, who combined together to liberate the country. The title is meaningless, if this is not its import. Thus, the title indicates, in unmistakable terms, the successful and prominent part played by Anna-mantri of the Bendapūdi family. The same work, *Bhīmāśveta Purāṇa*, referred to above, informs us that Anna-mantri received the village of Ārṇḍa, which was full of many crops grown by the supply of canal waters, as an *agnihōtra* on the occasion of a solar eclipse. There must have been some significance for the special mention of Rudradēva's gift of this village to Anna-mantri. If this solar eclipse, on which the village was granted, was the same as that mentioned in Rudradēva's Santamāgalūre record, cited above, this grant must have been made to Anna-mantri soon after the successful culmination of the war of independence and the liberation of the coastal region, probably in appreciation of his services to

<sup>1</sup> *Bhājarudriyaṇa* : *Adiśo-Kākatya-Pratāparudra-prabhāva-nṛpaṇa* *Mudraka-Gamaṇya-rāva-rachita* : *Vārāṇasī-ṛṣṭhāṇa*.

<sup>2</sup> *J. A. Ep.*, No. 208 of 1913.

<sup>3</sup> *Bhīmāśveta Purāṇa*, I. 48. *Āndhra-Bhīmāśveta-Adhyakṣa-vārdhina-achyavāḍa-kāpa-acharya*.



the cause of freedom. It is certain that it could not have been possible for Rudradēva to make this grant of a village as an *agrahāra* while the coastal country was under the iron grip of the Muslims. These two facts mentioned above, namely, the title borne by Anna-mantri and the grant of an *agrahāra* to him by Kalani Rudradēva, clearly suggest the important role played by these two aged Andhra statesmen in the national movement started for the liberation of the Andhra country.

Singaya-nāyaka, son of Era Dāchā-nāyaka of the Bōcheṣṭa family, was another survivor of the disaster. His father Era Dāchā accompanied Muppiḍi-nāyaka in his expedition against the Pāṇḍyas to Kāñchīpura in 1315 A.D. He is said to have "constructed a *manḍala* with arrows and on the dials of the elephants made an offering of the pride of the Pāṇḍya king in the *homa* fire of his valour and accepted the hand of the bride of victory."<sup>1</sup> His son Singaya also must have followed his father and taken part in the battle of Kāñchī. All his activities described in the Telugu work *Velugūṭṭurī Vamśāvaṇī* refer to the early post-Kākatya period.<sup>2</sup>

Kānya-nāyaka, the son of Gaṇapati-nāyaka and the grandson of Kēśami-nāyaka was another contemporary of Prōlaya-nāyaka and Kāpaya-nāyaka. Kēśami-nāyaka who is said to have won a victory against the Pāṇḍyas according to the Kōrukonda inscription of Mammaḍi-nāyaka,<sup>3</sup> must have served Pratāparudra and taken part in the expedition against Kāñchī.

The *Vīrasāmānta* chiefs, Kāpaya-nāyaka and Prōlaya-nāyaka, also must have been the contemporaries of the Musunūri chiefs since the date of the Dōnupudi record of Nāmaya-nāyaka, grandson of Kāpa and son of Prōla, is dated in Śaka 1259.<sup>4</sup>

Similarly the Updirājas of the Solar race, Veṅga-bhūpati, king of Vēṅgi, and his relations, the Telugu Chōḷa chiefs of Eruva, Gaṅgādhama and his son Chōḷa Bhaktirāja, especially the latter, co-operated with the Musunūri chiefs in the war of independence.<sup>5</sup>

All the Nāyakas and chiefs mentioned above, besides many others whose names are not known to us, must have formed into a confederacy, acknowledged the leadership of Prōlaya-nāyaka and gathered under his banner to free the country from the foreign yoke. These confederates must have made the mountainous regions and forest areas on the banks of the Gōḍāvari and the Kṛishṇā their rendezvous to put into action their plans to free the country, first the coastal plain below the Ghats and then the upland country of Telangāna above the Ghats.

The various measures concerted by Prōlaya-nāyaka and his associates to liberate the country from the Muslim yoke and how they accomplished their object are totally unknown to us. We know, however, for certain that Madhya-Āndhradēśa, as the coastal Andhra country was then called, very soon had regained its independence, almost within two or three years after its subjugation by the Muslims. Warangal fell in 1323 A.D.; but the whole of Telangāna and Madhya-Āndhradēśa did not immediately come under the sway of the Muslims. There was strong opposition to the Muslim army. However, the coastal plain submitted to the arms of the conquering hordes within a year, that is, by the 10th September, 1324 A.D., the date of the construction

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Arch. Dept., Hyderabad, 1923-24, p. 29, App. C.

<sup>2</sup> *Velugūṭṭurī Vamśāvaṇī*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>3</sup> A. R. Ep., No. 44 of 1912.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1906, App. A. No. 21; above, Vol. XIV, p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1946-47, App. A. No. 3.



of the big mosque at Rajahmundry by Sālār 'Ulwi, a servant of Ulugh Khān'.<sup>1</sup> By this date the conquest of the whole of the coastal region of the Āndhra country was complete. Ghilyā-ad-dīn Tughluq's coins discovered in this part of the country, ranging in dates from A.H. 723 to 726<sup>2</sup> (i.e. from 1322 to 1326 A.D.) were current in that region. However, the year 1325 A.D., the date of the Mallavaram stone record of Vēmā Redḍi,<sup>3</sup> marks the turning of the tide, and indicates the beginning, and 1326 A.D., the date of the Santamāgalūru record<sup>4</sup> of Kolani Rudradēva, the completion of the re-conquest and the final liberation of the coastal region of the Āndhra country. A few inscriptions of the early post-Kākatīya period, of the Talugu-Chōḍas and the Redḍis, however, contain references to their victories over the Muslims in general, and of the particular Muslim chiefs and commanders, in the course of the war. The Pentapāḍu grant of Chōḍa Bhaktirāja<sup>5</sup> is a very interesting record in this respect, as it furnishes some valuable information about Prīlaya-nāyaka and a certain Vēṅga-bhūpati. From this we learn that subsequent to the death of the father of Chōḍa Bhaktirāja, who was then a boy, the Āndhra country (*anant-chakram-Āndhrām*) was conquered (*āratāḥ*) by the Yavanas (Muslims), when the valourous and righteous Prīlaya-nāyaka, son of the heroic Pōchaya-nāyaka, together with his associate Vāṅgarāja left the Vāṅgi *vāṅga* and repaired to a Vana-durga surrounded by hundreds of mountains. They both had reconquered the Āndhra country after putting an end to the entire Turāṅka horse in battle (*Samarā-jamū-āśāṅka-Turāṅka-turag-āharan, pumar-āharatām-śāṅ-Āndhrām varapalam-aridhataḥ*). After killing all the Yavana commanders (*śāṅka-āśāṅka-Yavana-śāṅka-nāṅka*), Vēṅga-bhūpati went to heaven (probably was killed in battle), as if to help Indra in battle. This Vēṅga-bhūpati, great-grandson of Brahmā, grandson of Dēva and son of Kāmarāja of the Lunar dynasty, was the maternal uncle of Kāma, alias Bhaktirāja, son of Gaṅgarāja of the Solar dynasty. Consequent on the death of Vēṅga-bhūpati, probably without leaving an heir to his kingdom, Prīlaya-nāyaka installed Bhaktirāja, while he was still a boy as the ruler of his maternal uncle's territory, which seems to have comprised Vāṅgi and its surrounding tracts. Thus Chōḍa Bhaktirāja who, according to the grant referred to above, owed his elevation to the support given to him by Prīlaya-nāyaka, though a boy, killed the infantry and cavalry of the Yavana king (*Śakti-bhūtipālaka-*

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Indo-Med.*, 1923-1924, pp. 13-2.

<sup>2</sup> *A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History*, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. III, O. 13. The Mallavaram record registers a grant of land to god Rāghava of Chāḍalavāda in the Ongole Taluk of the Quntur District in the Śaka year denoted by the chronogram Śaka (7), Vārḍhi (4), and Dyasurā (12), that is, 1247, in the month of Āśvīja on the occasion of a solar eclipse on Thursday (*Āśvījay-dinasat rāva-grant-bhūdhāva Saragura-dīnam*) by Vēmā-redḍi, one of Prīlaya-nāyaka's subordinate associates, who is described in the record as "the very Agastya to the ocean, namely, Mūch-āḥas (*Mūchāḥ-āśāṅka-Kāśa-āśāṅka*). The equivalent English date is 7th October, 1325 A.D. The date Śaka 1277 given by Butlerworth and Venugopala Chetty in the *Nellore Inscriptions* by assigning the value 7 to Vārḍhi, and the occasion as lunar eclipse (*Āśvījay*) are both wrong, as pointed out by Mr. H. E. Narasimha-swami in the course of his article on the Kōḍūru grant of Anavāḍi Redḍi (above, Vol. XXV, p. 129 and n. 5). He takes *bhūdhāva* as *āśāṅka* correctly but accepts the value seven given by the authors for the term *āśāṅka*. Hence he finds the date irregular as there was no solar eclipse in the month of Āśvīja in Śaka 1277. So he writes, "The word *āśāṅka* in the chronogram *śāṅka-āśāṅka-dyasurā* as read by the authors (Butlerworth and Venugopala Chetty) mentioned above has therefore to be altered suitably by some such word as *śāṅka* to give the numeral 8 in place of 7, and the chronogram equated with 1267." If corrected like this the date becomes regular as there was a solar eclipse in the month of Āśvīja on Thursday in Śaka 1267. But the numerical value generally given to *vārḍhi* is 4 and not 7. Then the Śaka date becomes 1247 and not 1277. In 1247 there was a solar eclipse in the month of Āśvīja on Monday, *Sādhara-dīnam*, and not on Thursday, *Saragura-dīnam*. The week day does not totally tally, if 1247 is taken. However this Śaka date which is given so clearly in the inscription may be accepted.

<sup>4</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1915, No. 308.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1946-47, App. A, No. 1.







finding Venuya to be a *dānapātra* (i.e., a person worthy of a gift), implored him to receive the gift of a village, he accepted it out of consideration for him, in spite of his aversion to do so. After having received Vilasa as an *ayudhūra*, he, along with his brother, re-granted it to a number of Brāhmanas, having divided it into one hundred and eight shares. There were eighty houses in all including the two dētas, Gautamāvara and Kōṣava of the village. The list of houses with their names of *gōtras*, *śikṣās* and the number of shares given to each is appended hereto.

This *ayudhūra* was pre-eminently granted to the Bhāradvāja-gōtrins, who received more than fifty four shares in the village. With the exception of a few, most of the donees were Yajur-vidins who were proficient in the sacrificial law, besides being poets, commentators, *Ved-śākhāpakas* and *adhigatras* and experts in *śāstras* and *darśanas*. The titles given to many of the recipients indicate the high level of their scholarship and skill in the various sciences and arts. It is unusual to find so many scholars of repute among the donees mentioned in the grants of the late medieval period. It is yet strange and unfortunate that not even one of the works of these reputed scholars, who were not only proficient in *gṛantha*, *śikṣāśā*, grammar, logic, *śyamas*, *darśanas* and *śāstras* but were also scholars and poets, has come to light. It is for future research to unearth their works. It is interesting to find two donees of the Parāśara-gōtra and Yajur-śikṣā who were experts in the *gṛantha-tantra*. The mention of the *gṛantha-tantra* in the grant under review shows that even *pūrva-mīmāṃsā* was studied in the coastal Andhra country as late as the fourteenth century.

It is also worth noting that the donees, with the exception of a few, were experts in the ritual of sacrifices. This is significant as indicating the revival of Vēdism and Vēdic sacrifices in the early post-Kākatya period in the coastal region, subsequently to the attainment of independence and the re-establishment of Hindu monarchy. The establishment of independence voluntarily undertook the task of purifying the places in Andhra (*Andhra-praśāsta*) defiled by the sinful feet of the Mahammadans, by the continuous performance of Vēdic sacrifices by Brāhmanas, which were stopped during the Mahammad rule (*27-tiṣṭa parvāṭika śrīma-gaṇapātha yajñōḥ karvishāmas-paṇa-parāśāśā*). This revival of sacrifices and Vēdism gave a re-orientation to the then existing religion of the country by giving it a strong Vēdic tinge, and had a profound influence on the Vaishnavite cult of the South.

Of the places mentioned in the grant, viz., Tillagu-dēta, Kōṣa-maṇḍala, Uḁḁḁ, Śaḁḁanagara, Rēkapalli and the gift village Vilasa and its boundaries, Tillagu-dēta is the Telugu country. Its extent conformed more or less to the present Andhra State. The terms Tillagu and Andhra became synonymous even by the middle of the thirteenth century and both terms were applied indiscriminately to denote the whole country dominated by the Telugu speaking people. Kōṣa-maṇḍala, same as Kōṣa-dēta, Kōṣa-rāṣṭra, or Kōṣa-śāhā, is the country ruled by the feudal chiefs of the Bahaya dynasty in the 13th and 15th centuries of the Christian era. It is no doubt the *Śrīpāṇḍa-maṇḍala-pāṇḍa* of the Nandampūdi grant<sup>1</sup> and probably the *Śāḁḁa-yajña-śāḁḁa-dēta* of the Pijāpuram pillar inscription of the Veluḁḁḁ king, Pēḁḁḁḁḁḁḁ.<sup>2</sup> The identification of the *Śāḁḁa-yajña-śāḁḁa-dēta* with the territory between the rivers Gōḁḁḁḁ and the Kṛishṇā<sup>3</sup> by Hultzsch, the editor of the inscription, is of course, erroneous. According to the late Mr. J. Ramayya Pantula who re-edited the Nandampūdi grant in the Journal of the Telugu Academy,<sup>4</sup> the terms *śāḁḁa-yajña-śāḁḁa* is nothing but a Sanskritisation of *śrīpāṇḍa-maṇḍala-pāṇḍa* of the Nandampūdi grant, and the rivers that enclose this territory, are the Gōḁḁḁḁ, the main one of the seven-branches of the Gōḁḁḁḁ, and the Vamaḁḁḁḁ, another of its branches. So this *śrīpāṇḍa-maṇḍala-pāṇḍa* in his opinion, corresponds to the present Amalapur Taluk. This Kōṣa-śāhā or Kōṣa-dēta

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 209, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 38 and 42.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. I, pp. 46 ff.



lands mention in the Nāgarpūra grant of Anavēna-veḍḍi,<sup>1</sup> and in the Tactaravāṇḍi plates of Kāpaya-veṇa.<sup>2</sup> This territorial division retains its name even today and the whole territory between the Vasisthā and the Gaṇḍarā branches of the Pādārari is known as Kōṇa-ḍaṇḍa at the present day. Philli is the well-known city of that name, the capital of the Indian Republic, which was the capital of the Slave kings, the Paṭṭāṇa and the Paṭṭhāṇa in the medieval period. Ekamā-nagara is the present Warangal, the headquarters of the district of the same name in the Andhra State. Rāṣṭrapalli is identical with the village of the same name in the Bhaṭṭachalam Taluk of the East Godavari District. Of the villages mentioned in the grant only Vilāsa, the village granted and its boundary village of Śirupalle and Māṅgaṇa are identifiable. They are in the Amalapur Taluk. Śirupalle is the present Śirupalla and Māṅgaṇa, the present village of Magam. Vilāsa, which is a few miles distant from Amalapuram, retains its old name to the present day. The rest of the boundary villages are not to be found now.

It is stated that the grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse,<sup>3</sup> but neither the Śaka-year or the cyclic year nor the month in which the lunar eclipse occurred is specified. Hence the precise date of the grant cannot be definitely ascertained. However, the period in which it was given, can be approximately calculated. The grant was certainly subsequent to 1325 A.D. (śaka 1247), the earliest date known for the establishment of Hindu independence in the coastal region. It is unfortunate that none of the records of Prāṭhaya-nāyaka with the exception of this grant has come to light. In this respect his brother, Kāpaya-nāyaka was really more fortunate. Besides his Prāṭhavarām grant<sup>4</sup> already adverted to, dated in Śaka 1347, Parāḥva, there are two of his lithic records, the Gaṇapāśvarām inscription<sup>5</sup> dated in Śaka 1263, Vṛjya, and the Pillalamarri inscription<sup>6</sup> dated in Śaka 1279, Hamaṣakabli. Of these, his Prāṭhavarām grant is the earliest as is evident from its date. But the country of Tiling, in fact, the whole of Southern Hyderabad to the south of Warangal, was already in the possession of the Hindus by 1330 A.D., the date of the Bādāmi record of Harihara I,<sup>7</sup> the founder of the kingdom of Vijayanagara. Hence, Kāpaya-nāyaka was surely in possession of Warangal before 1330 A.D. He conquered it probably by about 1330-37 A.D. from the Muslims.<sup>8</sup> As the Muslim historians mention Kāpa, Kābā-nand, or Kābā-Nayand, who is no other than Prāṭhaya-nāyaka's brother Kāpa Nāḍa or Kāpaya-nāyaka, as the leader of the rebellion of the Hindus of Warangal in Telangana, it seems likely that his brother Prāṭhaya-nāyaka was already dead by that time. If not so, he must himself have been mentioned as the leader of the rebellion. If this supposition is accepted, the record under review must have been granted between 1325 and 1330-37 A.D., possibly about 1330 A.D.

The editors of the present record take this opportunity of expressing their gratitude to Sri N. Lakshminarayana Rao, for lending for consultation the specimens of the following unpublished inscriptions: (1) the Rāṣṭhalam epigraph of Kāṣṭhaya-veḍḍi, (2) the Mallavarām inscriptions of Prāṭhaya Vāṇḍa-veḍḍi, and (3) the Paṇḍipāḍu grant of Chōḍa Bhaktirāja. They also offer thanks to Dr. V. Raghavaṇ, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Madras for revising the Romanised text of the inscription.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. III, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 326.

<sup>3</sup> *JRS*, Vol. XX, pp. 290-4.

<sup>4</sup> *SIL*, Vol. IV, No. 666.

<sup>5</sup> *Crop. Ins. Tel. Dist.*, p. 113, No. 43.

<sup>6</sup> *Ist. As. Vol. X*, pp. 93-7.

<sup>7</sup> *Ist. Cull.*, Vol. V, p. 264; *A Forgotten Chapter of Indian History*, p. 60. *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, p. 205.



## List of Donees

Serial Number	Name of the Donee	ESHA	GOLA	No. of Shares
1	Dechi-Bhatta	Yajna	Raja	2
2	Maidāchi	"	"	1
3	Padi-Bhikṣu-Bhatta	"	Bhikṣu	12½
4	Padi-Buddhaya-Bhatta	"	"	
5	Bhikṣu	"	"	
6	Tina-Bhikṣu-Bhatta	"	"	12½
7	Tina-Buddhaya	"	"	
8	Mallaya	"	"	1
9	Chinnādra, Dharmaya	"	"	1
10	Shamaya	"	"	1
11	Munchi-Bhatta	"	"	1
12	Kāra	"	"	1
13	Jakkaya	"	"	1
14	Bhikṣu	"	"	1
15	Pannaya	"	"	1
16	Gaddepalli Padi-Bhatta	"	"	1
17	Talitra Vittaya	"	"	1
18	" Appala	"	"	1
19	" Yajama	"	"	1
20	Chinnaya	"	"	1
21	Srinayala	"	"	1½
22	Aditya	"	"	1½
23	Pannamallu	"	"	1
24	Nāgavēni	"	"	1
25	Kottaya	"	"	1
26	Singaya	"	"	1
27	Nijalima-Bhatta	"	"	1
28	Padiya	Uṣa	"	1
29	Bhāṇḍya-Bhatta	Yajna	Saṅgāṇḍya	1
30	Kāra	"	"	1
31	Pēṭayya	"	"	2
32	Saṅgāṇḍya	"	"	2



Serial Number	Name of the Donor	Śākhā	Gṛha	No. of Śāstra
23	Rāmaya	Yajus	Kanoditya	1
34	Madahyappa	"	"	1
35	Madahyappa	"	"	1
36	Sōmappaya	"	"	1
37	Annaya	"	"	1
38	Śāṅkaya	"	"	1
39	Malla-bhatta	"	"	1
40	Śūlagaṇi	"	"	2
41	Oṅvinda	"	Kāṇva	1
42	Nāgaya	"	"	1
43	Bolli-bhatta	"	"	1
44	Rāmaya	"	"	1
45	Sūraya	"	"	1
46	Narshari	"	"	1
47	Gannaya	"	"	1
48	Śūri-bhatta	"	"	1
49	Kāmaya	Rik	"	1
50	Krapata	"	"	1
51	Elukuri Appala-bhatta	Yajus	Harita	1
52	Palimamāha	"	"	1
53	Vallabha	"	"	1
54	Tṛivikrama	"	"	1
55	Amanta-bhatta	Rik	"	1
56	Rāmaya	"	"	1
57	Ivara	Yajus	Parāṅga	1
58	Ivara	"	"	1
59	Vēlumpalli Pōṭṭakūṇṇa	Rik	Vāṭṭa	2
60	Nāṅṇiyānappaya	"	"	1
61	Vannaya	"	Vāṭṭa	1
62	Oṅṇigayāṇa	Yajus	"	1
63	Pannaya	Rik	Kāṇva	1
64	Chittaya	Yajus	Gāṇṇa	1
65	Vāṭṭamā-bhatta	"	Śāṅkya	1







- 6 ra[ra]jāś gundam brāhmin=upāsītīya saumh Mahatāh | akalpayat-pārvavad-eva lōkām-  
au[ra]vān.
- 7 kṛp-ārdhikṛta-chitta-vṛttāh || {4\*} Saṁdha-dvīpa-saṁvīrā Hām-śchala-maṁḍharā | sarvā-  
bhūm-a)j
- 8 lōkāmām madya(dhya)śch-ō'yam vaṁmā(dha)tā || {5\*} Tasyāścha ratna-parihāṣāh sarvayā  
madhya-varitṭanāh(am) | Jāś[hā].
- 9 dvīpam valute=tāsam havat-ambudhī-vāh[ā]lād[ā]m || {6\*} Dvīpāś-ja taṁmānavaḍhā vībhaktā  
Himāchala's-ā-khalpān-ā-ā.
- 10 āp[ra]m[ra]m[ra] || bhūgām bhuvā Bhāmatavar-har-āhuh pīlāntā karmāp[ra] kṛtām yatra || {7\*}  
Bhūgāś-āp[ra].
- 11 māchārā (chidā vībhinnā[ra])=dīkām=anākal=āchudhā vībhaktā | varāścha taṁmā karmāp[ra]-  
vānā=Titānā-māmā
- 12 sa śhakṣeti dīkām || {8\*} Māharāhī(eddhā)-ranyāp[ra] purāp[ra] nāḍyāh purā-śakā ranyatarā  
maḍhāśhā | vanā[ra]n-ā).
- 13 sarvāhām[ra]-a)śāśā-tāśhā ārgāgy-ād[ra]śhāh[ra] oha' māt[ra] ratā || {9\*} Evam-vībhām-  
ambudhī-mākalām tā.
- 14 m-a)śpālā dharmā-naya-kramāga | Sām-āśa-vāhāyā nara-pālā-sarvāh[ra] purāga-mādhāh  
parahūm-
- 15 khalāh || {10\*}

Second Plate First Side

16. tātāha tātāha' khatipālakāśa' khativārāḥ, Kāśa-vārāḥ-jātāḥ | kila Kalu mahiprati  
vartimāḥ T.
17. tūgam-ūthāya mahaur-arvāḥ(rvāḥ) || [11\*] Tāhā-Ēkalā-nāma-nagari pṛāthibhaktāḥ-  
(tām) | Tāhāh-
18. tūpānu-Ayūthv-āva ramy-āhāt-kula-vāsa-bhūḥ || [12\*] Kala-kramāt prayāśāśa tātā-  
nāṭya parā-
19. kramāt | Tāhāgaurāḥ nṛpātī pālayānāma mahānāḥ(nāḥ) || [13\*] Śarvā-pu dīna-pravāga  
mahāhā-
20. dvajāyā yajña-patā-mahātāḥ | kula-mā-sātī kṛta-kāśa-chūnā yasmīn-mahāśaśatī
21. Vira-Rudrā || [14\*] Yastipmāḥ-mahāśaśatī śāśa-āṅkāḥ pṛāḥ pṛāḥ-pāṇa-karma-dakṣa  
| n-śarvāśa ur-ādyāḥ(nāḥ).
22. nṛpāḥ-mahāyānā-Tayāḥ-Nābhāgā-Bhagīrath-ādyāḥ || [15\*] Ath-sivam āśatā tūna Tūḥ(nāḥ)-  
śāśā-
23. mahāśaśatī | Alammāḥ-Śarvāḥ-mahā-vāḥ-mahāśarvāḥ || [16\*] Bhūpāḥ-āya-Kā-

(The letter is in French; the original is in English.)

<sup>1</sup> This is inserted below the line between the letters *e* and *g* and runs with the track of a cross above the line to indicate the *g* group.

<sup>1</sup> This is marked below the line with a sword like underneath and a cross mark above the line between the letters e and l and to indicate its place.

\* Between *pd* and *be* in *dehripala*, a letter which looks like *ti* is inserted.

\* Put it in propyl alcohol to discolored before with a cotton swab or to mark its place.



# VILASA GRANT OF PROLAYA-NAYAKA

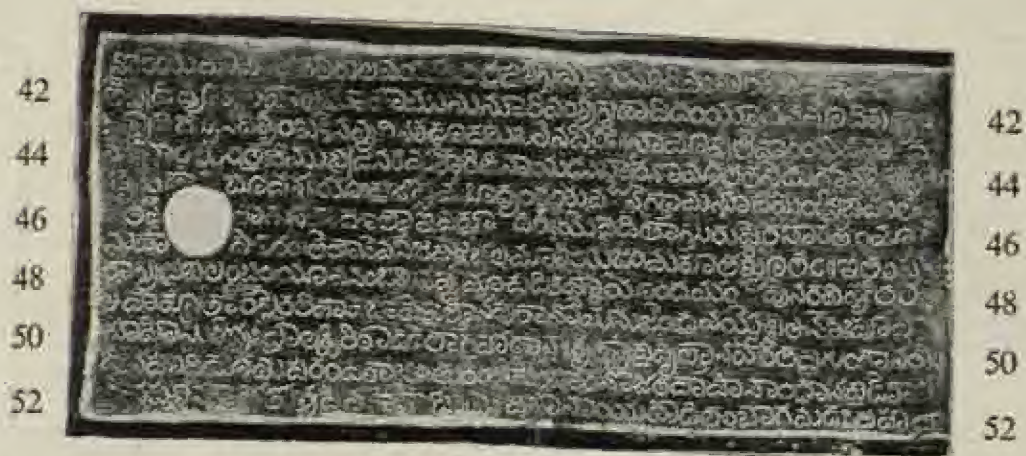




ii, b



iii, a





- 24 lēna yēna nibhāṣatāḥ gatāḥ | Jāmadāgnyēna Rāmēna kama-kāśhā mahābhāṣitāḥ || [17\*] Vi-  
śāḍbhāṣa-bhāṣa-  
25 =e=pi Vira-Rudrah prajāpavān | aṣṣat=sapta-kṛitvas=tam<sup>1</sup> nava-lakṣh-śeva-sādhanam  
(nam) || [18\*] Niti-praśastō-  
26 pi hai ādhikō=pi śahāya yuktō=pi cha Vira-Rudrah<sup>2</sup> | bhāgya-kāśhātēr-mānuṣha-mamūḍa-  
lasya Turnahika-ha(bha)ṛta-  
27 va(hur=va)śatām=syāst || [19\*] Śa nīyamānō nagarīm svakṛyāḥ Dhīlīh prayaśnād-Yavan-  
śavarēṣa | Sōmō-  
28 śbhavāyāḥ śaritāḥ<sup>3</sup> prastirē daivād=syāst-tridāś-ādhivāsan(sam) || [20] Pratāparudra-  
tigmānān lōk-āṣṭara-ti-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 29 rōhitā || Turnahk-āśuṭha-tamirēṣa samākṛāṣṭat mahālakṣh(lam) || [21\*] Pratāparudrēṣa  
parat parā-  
30 etō rīpūn-ādhanmō Yavanān gatō nu | nō chēd-gatō=emin Yavanais-śah-aiva katham nir-  
ābādha-sukham  
31 ajamūbbē || [22\*] Kōchid-dhanādhryāḥ paribhādhyamānā dhanāya<sup>4</sup> pāpair-vividhair-upāyāḥ  
| kōchin=nirīkṣhy-aiva cha Pāndikā-  
32 n paryyatyaṣṇa prāṇa-nabhasvatō=ayō || [23\*] Dvijāśayās= tyājita-karma-bandhā bhagnāś-  
cha dāva-pratimāś-as-  
33 māśāt | vidvad-varībhāṣā-chira-kāla-bhuktās-sarvō=py-apāhāriṣat-āgrahārāḥ || [24\*] Ātā  
karsheṣa-lābhā pā-  
34 pair-Yavanais-balātkārāt | dīn-ādīna-kupumbhāḥ kṛishṇalā nālam-āpachāḥ || [25\*] Dhana-  
dār ā-  
35 [dikā] nripāḥ kāmūnśchid=api vastuni | sv-āyattatā-matir=n-ābhāṣi-bhūvi tasyāḥ mah-  
āpa-  
36 [di] || [26\*] [Pēyā] surā gō-piāṭam cha bhōḥ(bhō)jyash līlā-vikāśō dvija-ghāṭanarī cha | aśrū-  
tam=śālā-Yavan-ā-  
37 dhamānārī katham nu jivād-bhūvi jīva-lōkāḥ || [27\*] Itham tair-Yavanā-bhāṣāḥ pra-  
bādhyamānam Taihagam dha-  
38 rap-talam sur-āri-kalpāḥ(ipāḥ) | trāta(trā)nam kam=api hṛd-āpy-avindamānam satātēpē  
vaanam-aiva dāva-vahni-  
39 jashṭam(śhṭam) || [28\*] Anantaram śāṣṭrāt yāvanīm tām-ālōkya pīḍām-anukarṣṭamā-  
nāḥ | arś-āvatī-  
40 rēḥ bhagavān-iv-ādyaḥ Prōla-kabittāś vasmāḥ bibharti || [29\*] Puṇṇaḥ pa(pu)ṇḍasya  
padāś-nāṣṭṛināḥ(rām) va-

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 41 rāmāḥ(rām) yam-ā[huḥ] Kalikāla-varyam(ryam) | tatra praśastō Muxundri-van-āḥ ya-janma-  
dhāma [prathā]-

<sup>1</sup> Śikā originally engraved has been erased and corrected into cha.

<sup>2</sup> The length mark of dvī has been cancelled by a cross mark circumscribed by a circle.

<sup>3</sup> Śaritāś is inscribed below the line with the mark of a cross above.

<sup>4</sup> Dhanaś is engraved below the line with a cross mark above the line to show its place.







- 61 kair-[maṣi]-vra|ai-uhuna(na)ra-kāma-rābhūh | pūddh-āpaṣā yā satatam vīśjate dhanā-  
vraṣay-ā-  
62 va cha bhāṣṇa-gāha-lhūh || [43\*] Sa tām-adhishṭhāya paricā sampiddhān Prāṣa-kahitāh  
Perukā-  
63 [ta-tā]h | apāśa-vā(vai)ri-kalūtipāla-lōkān prakāśi prithvib nija-āśam-ānān(kām) ||  
[44\*] Yai-āhāp-

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 64 abu valat-turūṅama-khura-prōdyad-rajō-machḍali-vasaraib paritāhā-dia(ka)-bhara-prā-  
65 mātā diā-yōhā[ta\*]h | dīsh(vā) bhāntim-avāṅmuvamī mahatīh padalharra-kanyā m-  
66 hur-bhīyā dūratara-pradhāvad-āhita-kahmāpāla-yōhā hi || [45\*] Yat-pratāpa-tapanā-  
67 na vihvālā vaitiyāh kahitābhīrō mahiyasā | pāda-padma-nakha-chaṁḍra-rōhgi-  
68 m āttalām paricāhantī ahmādhān(kām) || [46\*] Yād-bāhm-pīhām samprāpya pratāp-  
āhama[ā]m-  
69 mātām(tam) | tyajaty-āmbudhī-m[m]vāsa-kāśam-adya vasmādhārā || [47\*] Aratna-maḍi-  
patūlāntu-  
70 tēlam nirāpatā-āvatapāśam yaśa | ājā-nāi-ṅṛityati bhūpatihān. mārḍhāh(mārḍh-ā)-  
71 gra-ra[ā\*]gāśu samunnatāho || [48] Ārōpita-guṇam yaśa<sup>1</sup> dhamma-āpatya<sup>2</sup>- kanyā ||  
ari-rā-  
72 jāya-kāntānām vāh|haṭhān-āluṣā-guṇā || [49\*] Tāy-ābhavan Kāya-āyāh-ā-  
73 dyāś-gūbhāratana-ānrya-may-ōyapamāh(pannāh) | yōlam pratishṭhāpya dhanam dhātāyāh  
74 prakḥsa-sa dharm-ārjuna-tatpatō-bhāt || [50\*] Mahimrōhāh Kāli-kāla-varyam tam dā-

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 75 na rūpaṣa paramaḥ viditvā | prādāt-prakastān kahmā-grahārān mahāh-  
76 ti dānāny-akrōh-bahūni || [51\*] Ya āśraya-samī mahitāh<sup>3</sup> amā sat-pātra-lōhā  
77 van bhūni tēhu | datvā(stv-ā)tipātāh pratipadanāya vyachārayat-tā<sup>4</sup>-jagatīal-ām-  
78 drāh || [52\*] Bhūradvājō munih pūrvam-ābhavād-Vāda-vīrūh | prathātā-mutamāh  
gōtām ya-  
79 d-apa[ā]h mahitāh || [53\*] Tad-gōtrā-ānaya-vidāhāh pātrah putrāh-cha Vannay-ārya-  
80 aya | Annaya-ālmā vidvān-ābhavata(vat) khyātō Yajur-vādi || [54\*] Vannaya-ānaga-  
81 ya-vibudhān tat-pātrān jagatī vīrūta-khyātī | Yat-pāda-padma-ānāhā-dharmā-  
82 yai dhanyatām dhātāh || [55\*] Trivishṭapād-ātya guru-ānāpām Pāṭā-lōkāpā(s-pā)-  
pūh-

\* The letter *ā* is written below *ā* and its place is indicated by a cross mark in the line between *ā* and *ā*.

<sup>2</sup> A *ā* with a cross mark is inserted between the letters *ya* and *ya*.

<sup>3</sup> The subscript *ā* in *ya* is written on the left side of the *y* sign instead of between *ā* and the *y* sign attached to it for want of space.

<sup>4</sup> The letter *ā* is inserted below the line with a cross mark above it to indicate its place.



- 83 m patā=cha | saubhṛtā-saukhy-ānubhāvāya bhūmim' saduprāptavanti<sup>1</sup>iva yau vi-  
 84 bhātāh || [56\*] Jyēshthas-tayō[r\*]=Vennaya-ātri-varyyah prastā-vidyā-vinay-ābhiraṇah |  
 viśā-  
 85 [rihū]r-yyah ka(ku)ṇḍ-āvadāitair-yyatōbhīr-āśā=surabhīkarōti || [57\*] Yat-pāda-pamkāru-

*Fifth Plate, First Side*

- 86 ha-pāśva-namra-kahūṣvara-ārōṇi-lalāṭa-lagnā | brāhmi lipir-bhāgyavad=āpū(sphu)radbhīr-  
 nakh-āśāu-[ā]-  
 87 hūi-suvachstram-āti || [58\*] Yat-āti Vidyā na cha tatra Lakshmir-yatr-āti Lakshmir-na  
 cha tatra Vidyā | Vi-  
 88 dyā cha Lakshmi=cha<sup>2</sup> vihāya vairam yasmim=ubhā tā vasatah prahṛiṣṭā || [59\*] Bhūgād-  
 anātitarān dā-  
 89 nam prasiddhān pṛithivīśā | tyaktvā bhōgam vitarānam yasmim=eva vijṛiṣbhāt || [60]  
 Yad-dā-  
 90 na-Lakshmi-sampṛāpti-budhyā(ddhyā) svar-lōka-dhēnuvāh | ūrdhva-pādā=charaṇt=iva  
 chiraś ghō-  
 91 rataram tapah || [61\*] Yasmād=avāptair-bahubhis-suvartakr-anārat-ānubhūta-yāga-  
 92 tatitrah | vibhānti bhūman vimala-prachārā yatah-patākā iva y-ya-jū-  
 93 kīh || [62\*] Viprābhyō viśvavad-dhēnūh pradatvōba(ta=ōbha)yatō<sup>3</sup>mukhīh | yah karōti  
 nijām kṛtin=nirmalā-  
 94 m sarvātōmukhīh(khīm) || [63\*] Yan-nirāṣi-āgrahārōbhu pratizikṣhanti bhūaurāh |  
 pada-vākya-pramā-  
 95 ōjā dharma-ātābhā iv-ōchchirītāh || [64\*] Kṛtōbhu dānōbhu mahatā yāna viśvāna-  
 vibhājāna-māna  
 96 sōna | chitrāya dāna-pratipādakāni prayānti śāstrāṇi yath-ārta(rīṣa)-bhāvah(vam) ||  
 [65\*] Nīl-kīṭya  
 97 tam Prōla-nipō-tipātān sampṛāpta(rīṣa)yad-grāma-varam grahitum<sup>4</sup> | prat-grahāt  
 a'ō-pi nivrīta-chētā-

*Fifth Plate, Second Side*

- 98 a-tat-pakṣapātōna kathamnid-aichchhat || [66\*] Tatō=nu-ōdāvari tushṭa-chētā grabhō  
 vidhōh prāditad=agrahā-  
 99 rah (ram) | Kōp-āvan-mānda(yā)la-ārabhūtam grāmān sa tasmai Vilas-ābhīdhānam-  
 (nam) || [67\*] Vibhānti yasy=ā  
 100 tipach[ī]līmāni kahōrāṇi śāl-ōbhu-vayō(n-ō)chitāni | ārāma-bhāgā=cha bhujāgna-  
 vall-rāmbh-ā-  
 101 mra-pūgi-panas-ādī-ramyāh || [68\*] Tam-agrahārān pratigrihya tasmāt Prōla-khītisād-  
 aṭha Vennay-ā-

<sup>1</sup> After *cha* the letter *ni* was engraved and scored off with a cross.

<sup>2</sup> The letter *ā* is engraved below the line.

<sup>3</sup> The letter *ya* is engraved below the line. Read 'yam.



- 102 ryyaḥ | mah-ānujō-ditsata bhūsurēbhyah pradattay<sup>2</sup> tasya dhan-ārjanah hi || 69\* |  
Anaka-śāstr-ārpa-
- 103 va-karpa-dhārān Vōd-ādhyā-san ladh(sahlam)ghana-jūṅghikān mah | prasūddha-śū-ācharaṇ-  
ābhijātyān-a
- 104 yō(yū)thayad-vipravatānā-śicṛga || 70\* | Aśvarya-bhūgaṇ-yyutam-aśiḥ-a-sukhhyā-  
tam-aṅkay-
- 105 tvā nripatē-cha nāmun | aśi-ōttarēpa pravibhaja bhāgaś-śatēna aś-śāt-annatir  
-āvijōbhyaḥ || 71\* |
- 106 Ath-ātra bhāgināthi nāma-ākṣ-ōdir-gōtra-varyatāḥ | pravatpyatē samāśēna bhāga-  
sukhhyā cha
- 107 bhāgināth(nām) || 72\* | Sarvē-pi bhāginō-śanti-prāthamyaṁ guṇavastamāḥ | tath-āpi  
krama-vpittivād-vā-
- 108 chō mē n-ātra mūdhatā || 73\* | Śrī | Upādhyāyō Dēchi-bhaṭṭah pada-vākya-pramāṇa-vit |  
Mallikūchi-
- 109 c-manah | cha Yājñaka Kapi-gōtra-jan || 74\* | Pada-Bhāvana-bhaṭṭas-cha Pāṇiniś-śabda-  
āśanō | andhō-śulikōt-āpāra-gath-

*Sixth Plate, First Side*

- 110 -bhāra-ṇaṭit-ārpaṇah || 75\* | Pada-Śi(Śi)ddhaya-bhaṭṭas-cha jyōtir-dīpita-jagad-vidhah |  
kañt-ākṣiṇa-vāg-jālah prājō Bha-
- 111 dra-budh-āgrah | || 76\* | Pina-Bhāvana-bhaṭṭas-cha vāgmī nripati-vallābhah | jyōtiś-  
śāstram mahad-yaṇya tṛptya-
- 112 m-iva lēchanam(nām) | || 77\* | Vidvaj-jana-mata-prājñas-sabh-ārhaḥ Pina-Śi(Śi)ddhayaḥ |  
Mallayaś-Chōmakūr-ōṇapadō
- 113 Dāmaya-kōvidah | || 78\* | Jyōtir-vit-Sōmay-āryya-cha Mañchi-bhaṭṭas-cha Kōśarah |  
Jakkay-ādhyā-
- 114 pakō dhīmān Bhāskarah Pinnaya-sundhīḥ || 79\* | Gaḍḍapallī Peddi-bhaṭṭas-śabda-  
śāstra-Patanjaliḥ | Taittir-ō-
- 115 ṇapad-āpāś Vāṭṭhay-Appah-Yajñamīḥ || 80\* | Adhyāpakā(ka)ś-Chennay-ākhyas-  
satat-ādhyā-
- 116 paṇ-ōttarah | Śrīkāmītha-pada-samāśvī Śrīkāmītha-vibudh-āgrah || 81\* | Ādityas-satyam  
-ādityō pra-
- 117 brah prasūjha-tamō-pahāḥ | Pammappalūr-Nāgasvāmī manah Śīṅgayāv-ubhan || 82\* |  
Nṛsim-
- 118 ka-bhaṭṭ-ōpādhyāḥ kavir-vēdānta-pāragah | Yājñakā ācha ākas-ō Pedday-ādhyāpa-
- 119 k-ōttamah || 83\* | Śhaḍ-rimāti-dvijā śō Bhāradvāja-kul-ōdbhavah | Sōmāya<sup>1</sup>-bhaṭṭ-  
ō[pā]dhyāyus-[Śmṛ]ti-
- 120 jñah Kōśavas-sundhīḥ | \* || 84\* | Pōṭappay-ādhyāpakāś-cha dharmā-śāstra-kṛta-śramah |  
Śi(Śi)ṅgappay-ādhyāpa-
- 121 kaś-cha śāhya-samukṛāmī-śgamah || 85\* | Rāmāy-ādhyāpakō Mañchi-Appalū-Sōmappa-  
yō-mayah | Nārā-

<sup>1</sup> The letter *ya* is written below the line, with a cross mark above to indicate its place.

<sup>2</sup> There is a focal design between the dashes.



## Sixth Plate, Second Side

- 122 yaṁ-ādhyāpakas=cha Mallu-bhaṭṭas=cha Yājushāḥ || 85\* | Vidyān Sindhagiri=cha dvādaśa  
Kaupṇiya-gōtrajāḥ |
- 123 Gāvind-ādhyāpakas=ādihur-Nāgay-ādhyāpakas=parab || 87\* | Bolu-bhaṭṭas=ch=āgamēśu  
pṛaṇḍhō gaṇita-
- 124 marna-vi | Kāmāyō Gaṇita-brahma-bīrudas-Sūryas= andhīḥ || 88\* | Adhyāpakō Nara-  
hari=cha<sup>1</sup> Gaṇita-
- 125 yō-ādhyāpak-ōttamaḥ | Sūri-bhaṭṭas=cha Ya(Yā)jushī sūcī (ta) ārohan ta Kāmāyāḥ  
| || 89\* | Eṣapōt-ādhyā-
- 126 pakas=cha dāsa Kāśyapa-gōtrajāḥ | Elkuri Appai-bhaṭṭas Padmanābhas=cha Vallabhaḥ  
| || 90\* | Tivakrama=andhīḥ<sup>2</sup> yyyā
- 127 ga-tamira-vid-Yājushā-imō | Ananta-bhaṭṭō Vēdānta-labda-sūtra-kṛita-aramaḥ || 91\* |  
Kāmāyō-
- 129 'ādhyāpakas=ch=ārohan Hāritāśh=śhaḍ=unō dvijāḥ | Yajur<sup>3</sup>-ambudhi-pāra-jhan Gūru-  
tāmtra-viśāradau || 94\*
- 120 Gūdhīyāv-Īvarāv=ētau dvau Parāśara-gōtrajau | Vela[m\*]palli Pōchan-āryya[ḥ] svāsthina<sup>4</sup>-  
Yajur-ā-
- 130 gumaḥ || 93\* | Nā(rā\*)yapa(pō)=ppoyas=ch=ārchahō(rachhan) dvau Vādhūla-kul-  
ōdhavau | s=ungō Bahvīchi nishyā-
- 131 15 Vādē Vamnya=sahjākaḥ || 94\* | Gaṇḍay-āryyō Yajus-sūcī dvau Vāsalhtha-kul-ōdhā-  
rau |
- 132 Pannuay<sup>5</sup>-ādhyāpakas=ch=ārcha śkah Kautika-gōtrajāḥ || 95\* | Yajur-nigama-nirvōdha  
Chīṇḍayō Gau-
- 133 tam-davayāḥ | Kupa<sup>6</sup>-divi-vidha-Mīmāṃsana-tirpa-Vyākaraṇ-āmbudhīḥ || 96\* | Vāikunṭha-  
bhaṭṭ-ōpādhyāyāḥ

## Seventh Plate, First Side

- 134 kavir=adhvara-tastira-vi | Rāmāya-bhaṭṭas=cha Yeju[ḥ\*]-khyātāv-Ātrēya-gōtrajau |  
|| 97\* | Appāya-bhaṭṭ-ōpā-
- 135 dhīyāyō jyōtiḥ[\*]-jōḥ=naṭta-kōvilal | labda-sāsana-vit-Pōti-bhaṭṭas-Tippaya=sahjā[ḥ]-  
kaḥ | || 98\* | Vāiyāika-ma-
- 136 ta-pṛaṇḍhaḥ sō(m)dhīr-Vāyēśvar-ābhīdhaḥ | Chukka-boṭṭ-ādhi(di)kan Mallikōchi-  
Mallāya-Peddayau || 99\* | Sudhīyau

<sup>1</sup> Read Naradara-Gaṇḍa<sup>1</sup>; cha is superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> The letter dh is written below the line with a cross mark above to indicate its place.

<sup>3</sup> Ja is written above the line with a tiny cross mark below.

<sup>4</sup> The letters andhī are written below the line.

<sup>5</sup> Read Panna or Panna.

<sup>6</sup> Read Kupa.

Ch is written below the line.



- 137 Yajurbhā viprāṣaṁpta Śrīvatas-gōtmajāḥ | Bollay-ādhyāpakō dhīmān=Kāṭavat-cha  
Yajur-vidau || 100\*] Māntr-
- 138 yōtsau(yau tau) Gārgya-gōtrō Yajurbhō Vissayas-andhilo | Tarugāḥapaly-abhijanah Pōchan-  
ādhyāpak-ōttamah || 101\*]
- 139 Ma(Mā)rayas-cha Yajur-ṣu(ṣū)rau dvau Śāṇḍilya-kal-ōdhavan | Peda-Bhāvaha-  
bhaṭṭas-cha Peda-Sūdhaya-Bhadrayau || 102\*]
- 140 Sa-pād-ārdhila-dvādas-ānāśa-trayas-sambhūya-ōdarāḥ | tan-[mā]tra-bhāgaku dvau cha  
Pina-Bhūvana-Śi(Si)ddha-
- 141 yau || 103\*] Chakra-bhaṭṭ-ādikō Mallikāchis-ārdhila-dvi-bhāgakaḥ | Appāya-bhaṭṭ-  
ōpādhyāyau(yō) pyōti-
- 142 r-jōḍ-'māṭṭa-kōvidah || 104\*] Sa Dēchi-bhaṭṭ-ōpadhyāyō Vidvān Sindhagiriḥ parah |  
ādhyāpakāv-ubhau Pōta-
- 143 ppaya-Śi(Si)ṁgappayau dvijau || 105\*] Vālu[m\*]palli- Pōchan-āryya itī sapta-dvi-bhā-  
gakaḥ | Mallāyapēddi-Śikāṁṣh-Ādi-
- 144 tyās-ārdh-aika-bhāgakaḥ || 106\*] Marichyappalū-Sungayan cha Pedday-ādhyāpakō-py-  
amī | Panch-ārdhila-bhāgakaḥ vi-
- 145 prāś-ārdhā-tv-ōk-aika-bhāgimāḥ || 107\*] Ēk-aika-bhāgaku dvau Gaṇṭamēvara-  
Kāṭavan | aṭṭir-Svam-aṭṭhavan peatigraha-
- 146 yajō dvijāḥ || 108\*] Sa-grāma-dāvā(va)-bhāgā-tn jstak-oh-āḥṭ-ōta(tta)ram ātama(tam) |  
Atha āmā-nirṇayaḥ | tō-
- 147 pupu-sma Vriḍḍila-Gōḍāvari dāyēdi bhaṭṭōj-ṣevunan-unḍi kro[ppu]ḥ-gāṭava āma-  
gānu imahka yāgnēyānaku

*Seventh Plate, Second Side\**

- 148 ..m=va(chaḥi Cheru)ēāḥ āmagānu yachohi aṭṭetann chāyane Māmiḍi<sup>2</sup>-kubṭa tūrapanā-  
gānu tō
- 149 [m]ēḷḷa tūrapa-kara āmagānu paḍuva-nui (yi) mōchanu aḍi [āgnē]ya āma | dakahṭa-di-  
[kku]ṇu [m]ēḷḷa-
- 150 māta Bhīmavarapu-pēti upu[m]gāli āma ||\*] āṣṭun-unḍi attarānaku veḷi Vāyavū(vyā)-  
nann [u]-
- 151 vōṇu-bāḍe- pamban-unḍi īṣṭi<sup>3</sup>nyānaku veḷanu mūṇḍu-vamkahanu mana-
- 152 ōri mālapelli paḍumati pedda-rāvi āma ||\*] āṣṭun-unḍi īṣṭi<sup>4</sup>nyānaku
- 153 veḷi vaṁgala-kāḥ dakahṭapū pedda-chittān-unḍi īṣṭi<sup>4</sup>nyānaku

\* The inscription is engraved above the line.

<sup>2</sup> The writing on the plate especially from line (3) onwards is very indifferently engraved, probably by a different scribe.

<sup>3</sup> The letter ḍi is written below the line.

<sup>4</sup> The expression is redundant.



- 154 vadugala-kālī dāhṭi Śirupalle-tōṃṭa tōṃpu-kara śma-gānu Viddha-Gau.  
 155 tamī dāhṭi kālā<sup>1</sup>nya tirōnaku veḷi Śirupalle-tōṃṭa dakahinapu-kara-mūndi rā-  
 156 vi śma-gānu tirōnaku kālāny<sup>2</sup>ānaku Ōḷṭi-kāluva-gaṭṭu-mūndi<sup>3</sup> rāvi-nunṭi ā-tirā-  
 157 nūṇō Ōḷṭi-uttarapu-gaṭṭu śma-gānu māṇḍ-ūḷa-muttala-Māṇḍapu pūṇṭa  
 158 mōpukunī dakahinānaku Viddha-Guatamī mōvanu [ivi śma-samūḷulu [\*]  
 159 Prāṇāṇī vāḷu [\*]

<sup>1</sup> The *uvamā* is redundant.

<sup>2</sup> The letter *di* is written below the line.







TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM DINDIGUL—PLATE I



(from a Photograph)



## No. 31—TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM DINDIGUL

(2 Plates)

H. K. NARAYANASWAMI AND K. G. KRISHNAN, COTACANUR

The two epigraphs edited below come from the villages Rāmanāthapuram and Perumbullī in the Dindigul Taluk of the Madurai District, Madras. Rāmanāthapuram is about 6 miles due east of Dindigul, a railway station on the Tiruchirappalli-Madurai line of the Southern Railway and Perumbullī is about 9 miles due north east of Rāmanāthapuram. The Rāmanāthapuram record was copied as early as the year 1905<sup>1</sup> and the Perumbullī inscription, recently during the collection tour in February 1956.<sup>2</sup> Both the epigraphs are engraved on boulders which show on their engraved faces clear signs of having been dressed for the purpose. The Rāmanāthapuram record with bold deep-cut characters is remarkably well preserved while the Perumbullī epigraph which is comparatively less deeply engraved and is on the flat top of a boulder is exposed to the effects of the weather, which has resulted in some damage to the writing in certain crucial passages of the text. Nevertheless, the main theme of the record can be substantially reconstructed. The two epigraphs together furnish certain interesting details which help us to understand some important chronological sequences in the early Pāṇḍya history that were hitherto only conjectured. Both the epigraphs are written in simple chaste Tamil, a feature that is characteristic of the early historic records of this dynasty. Palaeographically both the epigraphs may be assigned to about the middle of the 9th century. However, a close comparison of their alphabet would show that the Rāmanāthapuram inscription could be assigned to a period at least about three decades earlier than the Perumbullī record. This, it will be seen, conforms perfectly with the conclusions arrived at in the sequel.

The Rāmanāthapuram inscription consists of 11 lines which occupy a rectangular space 3'-4" x 2'-1" of the boulder. Under sketches of a fish, a bow and a lamp-stand are engraved on the proper right side of the inscription while on the proper left only a lamp-stand is depicted opposite the one on the right side. The fish is no doubt the emblem of the Pāṇḍya. The bow by its side, the emblem of the Chēras, apparently signifies the Pāṇḍya overlordship over the Chēras.

As for its contents, the epigraph records that Parāntaka-Paiṇṭrīśān alias Nakkam-Puḷḷan who accompanied King Māraṭi-Jaḍaiyan on an expedition to Iḍavai in the Chēḷa country, constructed a tank called Puḷḷan-ta after his own name, (providing it) with revetment and the main outlet. But some work having still remained over, Puḷḷa-Nakkan completed it. That (i.e., the main) work was done by the stone-mason Vaḍugaḍ-Kēṭṭan. His son having completed the remaining work, Puḷḷa-Nakkan gave the latter as *śānti* two pieces of land irrigated by the village tank in the two divisions of Paḷḷu-nēḷu, each sowable with a *paḍakkā* of paddy.<sup>3</sup>

The Perumbullī record (in 18 lines) commences with the mention of a place by name Kolumbūr and of the chief Paḷḷirēḷin who probably fell fighting, apparently in an encounter at this place.

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Ep., No. 800 of 1905.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 220 of 1956-57.

<sup>3</sup> The passage has been confirmed in another way also. It is said that "Nakkam-Puḷḷan granted to him as *śānti*, land in the two divisions of the *Paḷḷu* (the *Paḷḷu-nēḷu* and *paḍakkā* paddy per fold watered through the channel from the headworks of this tank." *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 1090.



Pallivēḷān's son, Parāntaka-Ppallivēḷān is stated to have served in the campaign at Idavai. The latter's son, Anḍavēḷān Kurumbar-Ādittan Pulla-Nakkan served Mahārāja Kō-chChadaiya-Mārar. He was associated with the king in the campaigns at Viḷḷam, Idavai and Tirukkuṇḁmūḁ. Pulla-Nakkan's son was Pallivēḷān Nakkam-Puḷḷan whose activities are then described in greater detail. In this connection are mentioned Siṁhaleśā, Śālagrāma, a Varaguna-mahārāja who is described to have killed a huge elephant whose name appears to be Ayirāraṁ and lastly Sennilam. Pallivēḷān Nakkam-Puḷḷan is stated to have led nineteen elephants to the battle field at the last mentioned place. Unfortunately the portion of the inscription describing the events connected with these places and persons is so damaged that it is difficult to make out an accurate picture of the events. The record then recounts how the king honoured Nakkam-Puḷḷan highly by bestowing on him gifts for his services and conferring on him the title *Kumaraṇ*. Then Nakkam-Puḷḷan and his son are stated to have made a gift of land to a person whose name ends with Tirumalai. The wording of the concluding part which again is badly damaged, seems to be couched somewhat on the same lines as the Rāmanāthapuram epigraph and probably contained the details of the extent of land granted to the donee.

To begin with the honours of the Perumbuḷḷi inscription and his son, it will be apparent that Pallivēḷān Nakkam-Puḷḷan served with distinction Varaguna-mahārāja. Leaving for a later discussion the services rendered by this chief to the king, we may attempt to establish the identity of this Varaguna-mahārāja, Nakkam-Puḷḷan's father, Anḍavēḷān Kurumbar-Ādittan Pulla-Nakkan served under Kō-Chchadaiya-Mārar.<sup>2</sup> If the kings Kō-Chchadaiya-Mārar and Varaguna mahārāja were related as father and son, as they indeed appear to, then Śadaiya-Mārar may be identified with Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha who, according to the Sinnamanur Plates of Rājasiṁha<sup>3</sup> was the father of Varaguna II. The fact that the Viḷḷam and Kuḁamūḁku campaigns of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha mentioned in this charter and those of Pulla-Nakkan in which he is said to have served Śadaiya-Mārar in the Perumbuḷḷi record are identical establishes the identity suggested above. The Perumbuḷḷi inscription mentions, in addition, another campaign, namely that of Idavai. The Sinnamanur plates, it may be noted, do not mention this campaign.

The predecessor of Anḍavēḷān was Parāntaka-Ppallivēḷān. The Perumbuḷḷi inscription mentions him merely by his title while the Rāmanāthapuram record gives, in addition, his name as Nakkam-Puḷḷan. The former epigraph refers to his expedition to Idavai while the latter specifies that he accompanied king Māraṇ-Jadaiyan on an expedition to Idavai in the Chōḷa country, obviously the same as the Idavai of the Perumbuḷḷi inscription. The Idavai campaign of Nakkam-Puḷḷan *sine* Parāntaka-Ppallivēḷān with Māraṇ-Jadaiyan was in all probability different from that of his son Pulla-Nakkan with Śadaiya-Mārar. Māraṇ-Jadaiyan, the overlord of Parāntaka-Ppallivēḷān Nakkam-Puḷḷan may easily be identified with Varaguna (I), the father and predecessor of Śrīmāra-Śrīvallabha, the grandfather of Varaguna II and Parāntaka Viranārāyaṇa Śadaiyan all of whom are mentioned in the larger Sinnamanur plates.<sup>4</sup>

Parāntaka-Ppallivēḷān's father is referred to merely as Pallivēḷān. This was perhaps only his title similar to that of his son or grandson. Probably his name was Pulla-Nakkan, judging from that of his grandson. Pallivēḷān is associated with the name of Kulumbūr but the details

<sup>2</sup> This probably indicates the number of the conventional divisions of a regiment in the army.

<sup>3</sup> A certain Anḍavēḷān-vēḷān figures in four inscriptions of Māraṇ-Jadaiyan alias Varaguna-Mahārāja from Lāgaṇi (above, Vol. XX, p. 321, Tiruvēllegai (A. R. Ep., No. 84 of 1910), Tirukūṇḁppuḷḷi (A. R. Ep., No. 412 of 1914) and Javanthāthapuram (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 42) respectively, all of which are dated in the same year viz. 4-49th year of the Pāṇḍya king. Obviously the vēḷān who figures in all these records in the same capacity must be one and the same person. But whether he is identical with Anḍavēḷān Kurumbar-Ādittan Pulla-Nakkan of the Perumbuḷḷi record is not certain.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep.*, Vol. III, p. 451, ll. 20-22.



regarding his deeds here are unfortunately lost. However, the Vajrikkuṭi plates make up what the Perumbuli record lacks for, they refer to Kujumbūr as one of the battle fields where Māyavarman Rājashūha, the predecessor of Jajjavarman Parāntaka Neṇṇūjadaiyaṅ defeated the Pallava king and captured his countless huge elephants and horses. It may be noted here that the mention of the battle of Kujumbūr in these records establishes indirectly the identity of Varaguna I with Jajjavarman Parāntaka Neṇṇūjadaiyaṅ of the Vajrikkuṭi plates and Jaṭila, son of Māyavarman Rājashūha of the Madras Museum plates.<sup>1</sup> We thus see that four successive Pāṇḍya kings, down from Māyavarman Rājashūha were served successively by four successive chiefs beginning with Paṭṭirōḷaṅ. The identities established above may be conveniently set in a tabular form as shown below:—

Sl. No.	Kuzh	Māmadaiyapuram inscription	Perumbuli inscription	Remarks
1	{Māyavarman Rājashūha}	....	Paṭṭirōḷaṅ fought at Kujumbūr and Iḷai (1)	Cf. Kāḷidāsa Paṭṭavamaṇi-Kujumbūra) śaṅkha caruvāṇa mal-inṭiraṇa taṅṭaiṇaṁ paṇi invaruḍaṁ of the Vajrikkuṭi gran., above, Vol. XVII, p. 201, lines 77-78.
2	Māyū-jadaiyaṅ (Jaṭila-son) Parāntaka Neṇṇūjadaiyaṅ alias Varaguna I.	Parāntaka-Paṭṭirōḷaṅ alias Nakkam-Puḷḷaṅ who accompanied Māyū-jadaiyaṅ in the campaign against Iḷai in the Chōḷa country.	Parāntaka-Paṭṭirōḷaṅ who carried out the expedition against Iḷai.	...
3	Chadaiya-Māyā (Sennāra Sevalakkha)	Puḷḷa-Nakkam who completed the building of a tank called Puḷḷaṅ-ṇaṁḷṭakam by his father Nakkam-Puḷḷaṅ (mentioned above).	Aḍavōḷaṅ Kurambur-Adittan Puḷḷa-Nakkam who rendered several services to Chadaiya-Māyā at Vāḷḷam, Iḍavai, Tirukkuḍamūḷḷam.	Cf. Tēṇ-paṇai-pōṭi-Kuṇḍavāṇam Śiṅgaḷatṭam Vi-jāṇṭam, viṭṭaḷa eḷṇai taṅṭi ... Kuṇḍavāṇapōṭi Aḍavāḷḷi (= pōṭi-ṭaṅṭi) in confederate Chadaiya-Puḷḷam-Chōḷa-Kāḷḷam-Māyāśāṇḍiṇi... of the Larger Sennamāṇṇu plates (SII, Vol. III, p. 455.)
4	Varaguna-mahārāja (II)	....	Paṭṭirōḷaṅ Nakkam-Puḷḷaṅ, who served Varaguna-mahārāja, and the former's son. With reference to the former's services, Senuhajarāja Bāḷarāṇa, Ayrivannan and Senuḷḷam are mentioned.	Cf. accounts in Oḷḷavāṇaṁ, Chapters I and LI.

To revert now to the donor Paṭṭirōḷaṅ Nakkam-Puḷḷaṅ and his overlord, Varaguna-mahārāja, we have already noted that the king conferred a status befitting the chief in appreciation of the services that he rendered his liege. The very first act that Nakkam-Puḷḷaṅ did seems to have something to do with a Senuhajarāja. The nature of this act is unfortunately not clear as the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 201 ff. ; Ind. Ant., Vol. XXII, pp. 67 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The pedigree of the Pāṇḍya kings as made out by the two inscriptions proves the correctness of the scheme suggested by Prof. Sastri in his *Pāṇḍya Kingdom*, p. 40 ff.



writing on the rock here has peeled off.<sup>1</sup> However, the events of the period as could be gleaned from the Ceylonese Chronicle and the contemporary sources enable us to have a fair idea of the relationship that must have prevailed between the Pāṇḍya, Śiṃhaja and the Pallava kings of the period and therefore of the nature of Nakkam-Pallan's act in question. The Ceylonese chronicle *Cūḷavāṇṇa*<sup>2</sup> while recounting the contemporary events says that as a reprisal to the Pāṇḍya king's invasion and plunder of Ceylon during the reign of Śēna I and in response to an appeal from 'a prince of the Pāṇḍya family' reported to have been ill-treated by the reigning king, Śēna II sent a commander with enormous forces, who not only recaptured all the treasures but also enthroned the prince after defeating the Pāṇḍya king who died of the wound received in the battle. The above account has been construed by scholars in different ways. One view holds that the Pāṇḍya prince referred to in the Chronicle was Ugra Pāṇḍya and that Varaguna II was the ruling king.<sup>3</sup> Another view identifies the Pāṇḍya prince with Maṇḍa-Pāṇḍya and the ruling king with Śrīmāra-Śrīvallabha.<sup>4</sup> There is also a view, recently expressed, which identifies the Pāṇḍya prince with Varaguna II himself and the contemporary Pāṇḍya king with Varaguna's father Śrīmāra-Śrīvallabha.<sup>5</sup> Yet another view presupposes the existence of a prince otherwise unknown, who was installed on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Śiṃhaja king after the latter defeated Śrīmāra.<sup>6</sup> The wording of the record, mutilated as it is, in respect of the relationship that prevailed between the Pāṇḍya and the Śiṃhaja kings,<sup>7</sup> seems to lend support to the late Mr. Venkayya's view that it might have been Varaguna II who sought and obtained the Śiṃhaja king's help.<sup>8</sup> However, the inscription does not give us any clue as to the circumstances that necessitated Varaguna to seek the help of the Śiṃhaja king, if ever he did so. He was no pretender to the Pāṇḍya throne but was its legitimate heir, being the elder of the two sons of his father and predecessor Śrīmāra, nor is there any indication in the copper-plate charters or other records of the family that there was ever a dissension either between the father and the sons or among the brothers themselves, to postulate that the aggrieved prince who sought the help of the Śiṃhaja to regain his throne might have been Varaguna. We are not in a position to visualise a situation when Varaguna, the legal heir to the Pāṇḍya throne was overlooked and ill-treated by the king and therefore sought the help of his father's erstwhile enemy to regain his throne.<sup>9</sup> Who then was the Pāṇḍya prince who was supported by the Śiṃhaja king? What was Varaguna's position with reference to the

<sup>1</sup> The actual wording of the text as can be made out on the stone reads, *Śiṃhaja-riṣṭa . . . [the] śrīḥa [śrī]ḥa* (11.7.3). This, put in apposition with the phrase *paṇḍya-pāṇḍya* (11.11-12) points to both these acts as those of Nakkam-Pallan, the one in respect of the Śiṃhaja king and the other in respect of his kins Varaguna-mahārāja. Were the former also a friendly act like the latter, the relationship between the Śiṃhaja and the Pāṇḍya monarchs could not obviously have been otherwise than friendly. But the improbability of this has been shown below by a discussion of the events of the period.

<sup>2</sup> *Cūḷavāṇṇa*, Chapters L and LI, Goger's translation, pp. 129 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The expression *Pāṇḍya-pāṇḍya* in the text of the Chronicle is capable of yielding the meaning 'prince of the Pāṇḍya royal family' or 'son of the Pāṇḍya king'.

<sup>4</sup> *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dravidia*, pp. 140-41. This view does not agree with any sentence of the Ceylonese Chronicle proposed so far.

<sup>5</sup> *The Pāṇḍya Kingdom*, p. 72. The author has since changed his views for reasons not stated. He makes Varaguna II, a pretender to the throne for which there is no warrant; vide *History of India*, Part I, p. 227; *History of South India*, p. 154.

<sup>6</sup> This view has failed to take into account the statement in the *Cūḷavāṇṇa* that the prince who was supported by the Ceylonese was ill-treated by the Pāṇḍya king. There is no evidence whatsoever that Varaguna was ever ill-treated by his father, the ruling king. All these views were expressed by Mr. Venkayya; *A. R. Ep.* 1902, p. 26; *id. Ep. Sup.*, Vol. V, pp. 103-3.

<sup>7</sup> *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, pp. xxx-xxxviii (see also p. xxxiii, fn. 1).

<sup>8</sup> See note 1 above.

<sup>9</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1902, p. 24.

<sup>10</sup> *Cūḷavāṇṇa* (Goger), Part I, p. 160.



contemporary rulers? That Varaguna was a contemporary of Nripatunga is proved by the Tiruvadi inscription<sup>1</sup> dated in the 18th year of the reign of the Pallava king. The Bahur Plates<sup>2</sup> dated in the 8th year of Nripatunga refer to the aid rendered by the Pallava king to a Pāṇḍya. The passage *pat-prasādhij-jitāi Pāṇḍyaṁ amara* part of the record suggests that the Pāṇḍya could have been no other than the one who figures in the Tiruvadi inscription, i.e. Varaguna II and that the Pallava by whose favour the other (i.e. Pāṇḍya) obtained an army formerly was his ally.<sup>3</sup> What could have been the occasion for the Pallava to have gone to the aid of the Pāṇḍya? In all probability it was the occasion of the Ceylonesse intrusion on behalf of the 'ill-treated' Pāṇḍya prince who sought their aid. Nakkam-Puṭṭan claims to have led a contingent of elephants to Śeṇṇilam to the succour of his liege Varaguna-mahārāja. The record is silent about the source of this reinforcement. Could it have been the favour of the Pallava? Granting that the arguments advanced above are admissible, the event that appears to have culminated in Varaguna-mahārāja regaining his throne may be reconstructed thus: an unknown Pāṇḍya prince, obviously a pretender appealed to the Sinhala king Sōra II for help; the Singhalese army, under its commander met the Pāṇḍya king Ścināra in battle, wounded him and having set up the Pāṇḍya prince on the throne, was marching back to its country. At this juncture Varaguna-mahārāja, the legitimate heir, aided by Pallava Nripatunga with a contingent of elephants led by Nakkam-Puṭṭan, routed the pretender as well as the Singhalese<sup>4</sup> and regained the throne. It appears thus that this might be the event recorded in the Perumbull epigraph and therefore the act of Nakkam-Puṭṭan towards the Sinhalarāja in the context of the situation discussed could hardly have been friendly. Indeed it could not have been otherwise in view of the continued loyal relationship that existed between the members of this family and the Pāṇḍya kings for four generations.

Among the places mentioned in the records viz. Kūḷumbūr, Iḷavai, Viliṇam, Tirukkudamūḷku, Śālagrāmam, Śeṇṇilam, and Polli-nāḍu, the identity of Kūḷumbūr or Śeṇṇilam is still unknown. Śeṇṇilam is one of the places where the Pāṇḍyas are known to have fought with their foes on more than one occasion. Māravarman, the father of Kō-ṇḍaḍaiyan Rayachirug fought here against an unnamed enemy.<sup>5</sup> Parūtakan Vira Nārāyaṇa Śaḍaiyan, the successor of Varaguna II is also known to have shown his prowess in archery in the battle-field of Śeṇṇilam.<sup>6</sup>

As for Iḷavai two different identifications have been proposed so far. One of them identifies the place with Iḷavai in Maṇṇi-nāḍu on the basis of an inscription of a later date which gives also the other name of the village as Śōlāntaka-chaṭurvēdummaṅgalam.<sup>7</sup> The other identifies it with Iḷairāṅgammaṅgalam in the Lalgudi Taluk, Tiruchirappalli District on the basis of nearly contemporary inscriptions copied from the region.<sup>8</sup> Both the identifications have got their own merits

<sup>1</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. XII, No. 11; *J. R. Ep.*, 1922, p. 1671.

<sup>2</sup> *Above*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 10 ff.; *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 313 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The absence of any records of Nripatunga dated between his 26th (*above*, Vol. IV, p. 180 f.) and 41st (*J. R. Ep.*, 1942-44, No. 138) regnal years, the prominence of Aparāṇṭha's inscriptions ranging upto his 16th regnal year within parts of the Chingleput and the Chittoor Districts, and Varaguna's encounter with Aparāṇṭha at Śeṇṇilam, and the uncertainty of the latter's relationship with the members of the main line, all these factors seem to point to Varaguna's sustained friendship with Nripatunga.

<sup>4</sup> It is natural that the Ceylonesse kept silent over the reverses of its armies on this occasion as well as over the fate of the Pāṇḍya prince. Could the former be Ugra-pāṇḍya?

<sup>5</sup> *Above*, Vol. XVII, p. 306, line 30.

<sup>6</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 453, ll. 111-112.

<sup>7</sup> *J. R. Ep.*, 1941, No. 42 See 571, Vol. XIV, No. 37.

<sup>8</sup> *Above*, XXVIII, p. 41.



and drawbacks. There are numerous places called Idavāṭṭi, Idavāṭṭimaṅgalam, Idavāṭṭūr, Idavāṭ in Tanjore District and Idavāṭ and Idavāṭtankeḍi in Tiruchirappalli District, all of which are situated along the border land lying between the traditional (sometimes shifting) frontiers of the Chōla and the Pāṇḍya countries. Until all these places are explored, it is very difficult to locate Idavai beyond doubt for the names of each one of these villages can be shortened to the identical form of Idavai. Villāṁ has been identified with a fishing village of the same name in South Travancore.<sup>1</sup> Tirukkudamūkku is the well-known name of Kunibakōṇam in Tanjore District. The epithet Aṇḍavāṭ applied to Puḷa-Nakkaṇ is evidently a shortened form of Aṇḍavāṭṭu-vāṭ and means the vāṭ of Aṇḍa-nāḍu. An idea of the spread of this territorial division may be had from inscriptions<sup>2</sup> copied from the area around Virupākṣi, Periyakōṭṭai, Tēvattūr and Porulūr in the Palani Taluk, Madurai District which refer to these places as situated in Aṇḍa-nāḍu. Other places that are known to be included in Aṇḍa-nāḍu from inscriptions copied outside this area are Perumagalūr, Chellūr, Tirumāḍavagūr, Kuvaiyasinganallūr alias Mēyūr Tiruppattūr, Perumūr and Tirattinruti.<sup>3</sup>

Sālagrāmam may be identified with Sālagrāmam of the Paramagudi Taluk in Ramanathapuram District in view of the fact that this village lies on the route which an army from Ceylon would have to take on its march towards or retreat from the Pāṇḍya capital. It may be noted here that the god of the place is called Varaguna-Īvara in the inscriptions of Śaḍaiya Māraṇ and Vira-Pāṇḍya.<sup>4</sup> The village is called Sālagrāmam in these inscriptions.

The Rāmanāthapuram inscription records that the gift lands lay in the two divisions (*āṇḍu*) of Paḷli-nāḍu. The village Perumbuḷli, referred to as Perumbuḷli in another inscription<sup>5</sup> as a rock lying on the bank of a large lake at the outskirts of the village perhaps lent the name Paḷli-nāḍu to the tract around it.

### Rāmanāthapuram Inscription

#### TEXT

- 1 Śri Kō Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇḍu Sāla-nāḷ-Idavai yāṭ.
- 2 tirai-ṇeyda Parāntaka-Ppaḷlivāṭ-āṇa Nak-
- 3 kam-Puḷḷu-ṇa-pōṭṭi-Puḷḷu-ṇi-ṇṇa
- 4 kuḷam-ākki-kkaṭ-kōḍi-kkumūḷi-ṇeyvāṭu-kkurai.
- 5 ppaṇi-ṇṇṇadu-muṇṇu-pparuttāṇ Puḷa-Na-

<sup>1</sup> P. I. L., Vol. III, p. 120, note 7 and p. 460.

<sup>2</sup> A. R. Ep., 1916, Nos. 672, 400; 1907, No. 36; above, XXV, p. 40; A. R. Ep., 1907, Nos. 502 and 507.

<sup>3</sup> Above, XXVIII, pp. 85 ff. As one of the two inscriptions refers to a famous grant of Sālagrāmam to god Varagunāraṇ by Perumāṇḍiṇai Śōḷaṇḍevāṇ, i.e. Śrināra Śrivalḷabha, it is rightly inferred that the god was named after Varaguna I, the father of Śrināra Śrivalḷabha.

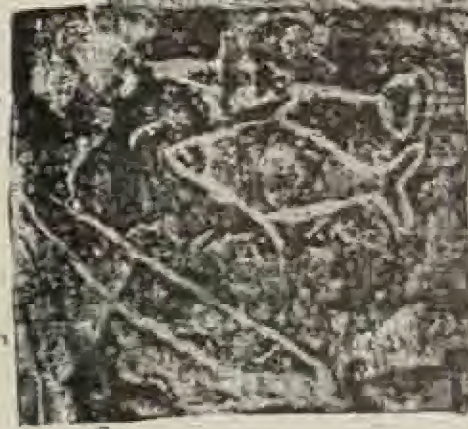
<sup>4</sup> A. R. Ep., 1906-07, App. B, No. 144. The inscription engraved in characters of the 9th or 10th century reads:—

<sup>5</sup> Perumbuḷli-ppernāṇḍu-ṭiḷai

<sup>6</sup> yāḷai-ṇṇṇa . . . Viruḷḷaṇḍu-po . . .



TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM DINDIGUL—PLATE II  
 RAMANATHAPURAM INSCRIPTION



Scale : Three-twentieths

2

4

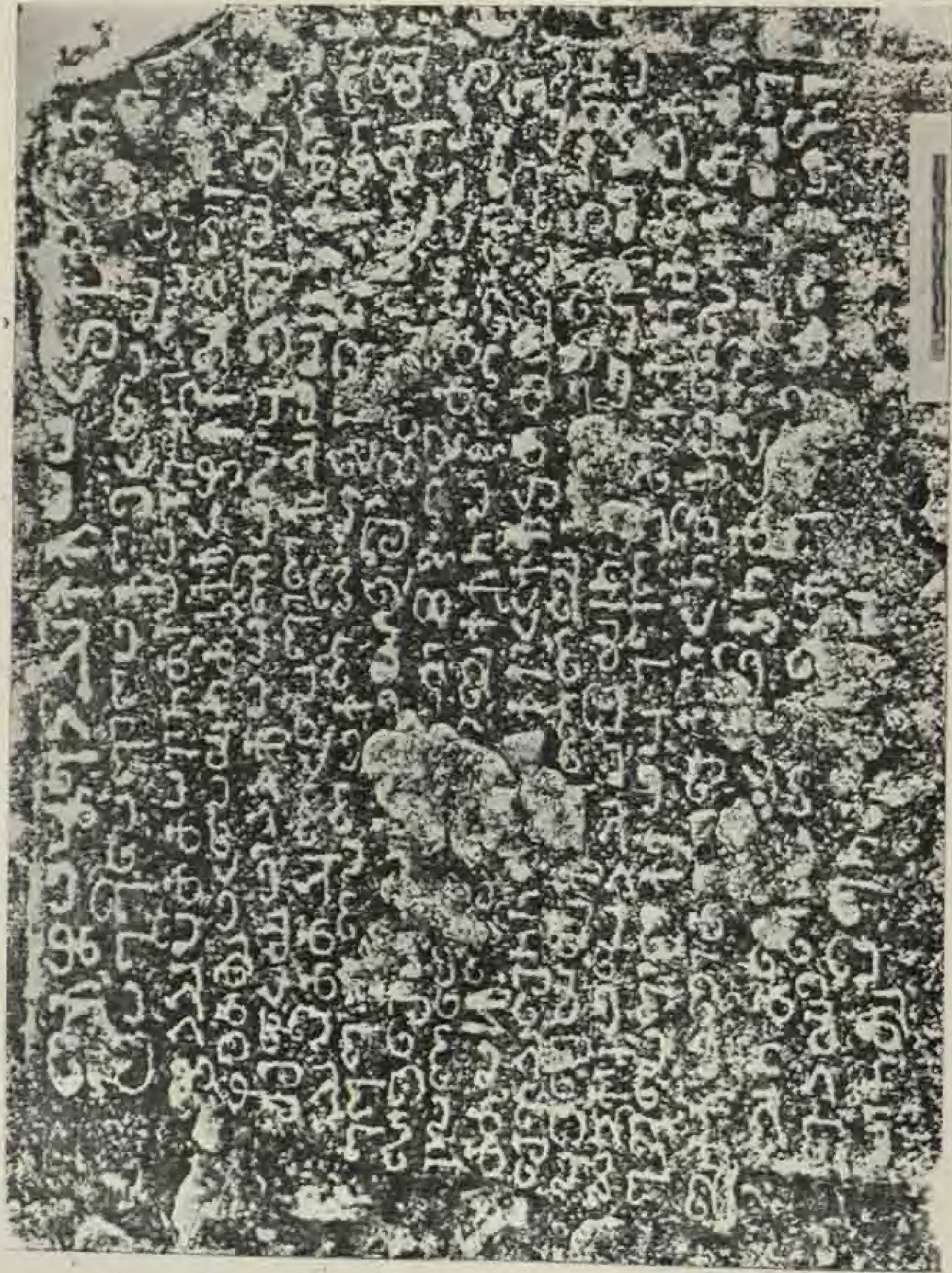
6

8

10



PERUMBULLI INSCRIPTION



Scale: Seven-ninths



- 6 khaṇṇa(ṇa)du leyda tachchaṇ Vādugaṇ-Kūṛraṇ [i\*] a.  
 7 vaṇ magan kupaḥ-ppaḥi murravikka Poḷḷa-Na.  
 8 kkaṇ avapukku-kkūṇiy-ḷga attina bōmi-Ppa(Pa)-  
 9 [i-nāḥ]-irupḍu kārṇilum ū-kū(ko)lattu-kkī-  
 10 talai-nr-paḍu-kāḷ-ora-vayaḥ padak.  
 11 ku nai [i\*]

## Perumbulli Inscription

## TEXT

- 1 Śrī [i\*] Kūḷumbūr-āṇṇukku-ppaḥṇa-kkē . . . ta  
 2 Paḷḷivēḷḷaṇ magan Idavai yāḥ[nirai] \*  
 3 murravitta Parāntaka-Ppaḷḷivēḷḷaṇ-avaṇ {magan Vi}-  
 4 [iḥattum-Idavaiya(yi)u]n-Tirukkudamukkūḷu-mahār(āḷḷa): Kō [i\*].  
 5 Chchadaiya-Māraṇku-ppaḥi palavaṇ-jeydu {mu}\*.  
 6 iruvitta Andavēḷḷaṇ-Kūṇḍar-Ādittan-[Pa]-  
 7 [ḷa-ḷa(Sa)[kka]\*n-avaṇ magan Siṃhalarāja . . . [ai e(1)-  
 8 lūn-jey(du) . . . m Sāḷagrāmat[ru] . . . . Ayi-  
 9 rēvaṇam-e(nn-ma)[\*hāmadaiṇ(ds) i gajai-tiṇḍi-ppaḍu-  
 10 ta Varagu(ṇa mahārāja) \*pukku navā-daiṇ-gaḷa(m) koḍu  
 11 āṇṇu Śann[ḷattu]\*-kkāḥḥ-kicuḍuttu-ppaḥi pala-  
 12 vūḥ-jeydu Ku(mara)u-ṇṇu[ṇ] . . . . mattoḍu sanmāna.  
 13 aṇṇācam peṇṇu-ppiyar na . . . . mahāku [v]ḷḷa Pa-  
 14 [ivēḷḷa-Nakkam-Poḷḷaṇ-ṇapakkun-taṇ maga-

\* This Grantha letter is engraved in an ornate fashion against the space at the beginning of both the lines 1 and 2.

\* The letters indicated in brackets are conjecturally restored. They are not clear on the impressions.



15 pakkum Jāta . . ēc . . ēdan Tirumalaikku-ittā-

16 gun-ta[n magarū<sup>1</sup>]m-irund-atpina [hūm] ve]-

17 [apay]i[n] . . . qn kaṣam-ida[n [kī]] nīr-

18 paramu vi[la[ai]]nda [vaya]i<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The letters indicated in brackets are conjecturally restored.



## No. 32—RAJGHAT INSCRIPTION OF BHIMADEVA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACANTO

Some years ago, old impressions of a large number of Indian inscriptions were received back from Germany for examination in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. While examining these estampages, I found amongst them two unsatisfactory impressions of a badly preserved stone inscription with 'Rajghat, Benares' written on both of them. A letter bearing the date, 25rd January 1884, was found pinned with the impressions. It was written by a gentleman of Banaras apparently to the address of the then Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. The two impressions were sent to the Society for study under cover of this letter. It is gathered from the letter that the inscribed stone had been in use as a *Chabūtār* (i.e. a mat or platform) in a small house apparently in the Rājghat area of Banaras and that, on the demolition of the house for the construction of the Rajghat Road, it was acquired by the writer who was ready to send the stone to Calcutta if the Secretary of the Society so desired. Unfortunately no information is available as to whether the Asiatic Society of Bengal acquired the stone and made any attempt to study the inscription either from the original or from the impressions received. I published a small note on the epigraph in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XI, Part 2, 1934, pp. 92 ff., in the hope that some information might be available as regards the whereabouts of the inscribed stone. But no light has as yet come from any quarter. In the letter referred to above, the name of the signatory looks like Hamschandra; but it has been suggested to me that he was probably none other than the well-known Bharatendu Hariachandra of Banaras.

The internal evidence of the inscription suggests that the stone was originally embedded in the wall of a Śiva temple on the bank of the Ganges in the Rājghat area of Banaras. The writing covers an area about 18½ inches in length and 8½ inches in height. There are only ten lines, the last of which covers a little less than half the length of the other lines. The letters are between ½" and ¾" in breadth and about 1" in height.

The characters belong to the Dvānāgarī alphabet of about the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D. and generally resemble those of the epigraphs of the Gāhaḍavālas of Banaras and Kanauj. As will be seen from our discussions below, however, the inscription does not appear to be much earlier than the middle of the twelfth century. The language is Sanskrit and, excepting a small *samādhāna* passage at the beginning, the whole of the inscription is written in verse. Indeed it contains a small *prafastī* in seven stanzas in different metres. The orthography of the record exhibits a tendency to use *anvāḍā* instead of class initials, although final *ṃ* has often been used at the end of the first or second half of stanzas. There is no date in the inscription either in the Vikrama Samvat which was in popular use in the age and area in question or in the regnal reckoning of any ruler. The record does not mention any king by name, though the hero of the *prafastī* is stated to have been a minister of the king of the country of Gaṇḍa or Gaṇḍa Varāndra in the western and northern regions of Bengal.

The inscription begins with a Siddham symbol followed by the passage *namaḥ Śivāya*. Then follow the seven stanzas of the *prafastī*.



Verse 1 introduces a person who was a member of the council of the hereditary ministers (*manī-āmdāya-sādhā*) of the king of Gauḍa, whose name is not mentioned. The name of the officer is doubtful, but seems to be Maḍgadēva. He is further stated to have been the *Mahāśāhāyagrāhī* (i.e. minister for war and peace) of his master. Verse 2 speaks of the said officer's son whose name was Chāṅgadēva. He is stated to have received the title 'Rājaka of the Kingdom' which, as the epigraph says, was very difficult to obtain. There is little doubt that, like his father, Chāṅgadēva was also a servant of the Gauḍa king who honoured him with the said title; but the king is not even referred to in the stanza.

Verse 3 introduces Bhīmadēva who was the son of Chāṅgadēva and the hero of the *pratihā*. Like his grandfather, Bhīmadēva is described as the *Mahāśāhāyagrāhī* of the lord of the Gauḍa country. Verse 4 praises the military exploits and liberality of Bhīmadēva in a vague way. In the first half of the stanza, the poet says that one of the battle-fields, where Bhīmadēva destroyed his enemies' elephant force and which was bristling with arrows, narrated, as it were, the story of his valour and that, because it disliked its repetition (i.e. another battle fought on itself), it failed to appreciate fully his great prowess which was exhibited in battles elsewhere. According to the second half of the verse, in bestowing gifts to the numerous supplicants, Bhīmadēva used the waters of the rivers so profusely that those rivers completely dried up while new streams began to flow on the dry earth. The next stanza (verse 5) refers to one of his significant achievements. It is stated that he saved the kingdom of Gauḍa-Varāṇḍra after it had been immersed in the waters of the ocean that was the *foetus* of the king of the Bāyārī lineage and the king of Kālīṅga. In this connection, the condition of the Gauḍa-Varāṇḍra kingdom, apparently under the rule of Bhīmadēva's master, is compared with that of an old vessel in the state of sinking in waters. Verse 6 refers to the object of the eulogy which is to record the construction of a temple of the god Bhava (i.e. Śiva) by Bhīmadēva on the bank of the *Avanmīta-nadi*. The purpose of Bhīmadēva in building the temple is stated to have been to cause wonder in the minds even of his enemies. The last stanza (verse 7) says that the top of the temple was adorned with a golden jar resembling *śaṅkha-lāṭhā*, probably meaning the jewel called *śaṅkha*.

The inscription raises certain interesting problems. The first of these relates to the date of the record and the second to the identity of Bhīmadēva's master, i.e. the king of Gauḍa or the Gauḍa-Varāṇḍra kingdom, whom he served as the minister for war and peace. The third problem refers to the circumstances leading to the construction of the temple at Banarni by Bhīmadēva far away from the kingdom of Gauḍa or Gauḍa-Varāṇḍra and the fourth to the invasion (probably a joint invasion) of the Gauḍa-Varāṇḍra kingdom by the forces of a king of the Bāyārī dynasty and a king of Kālīṅga, from which Bhīmadēva claims to have saved it. The fifth problem is the identity of the two enemies of Gauḍa-Varāṇḍra.

As to the date of the record, the palaeographer does not appear to suggest a period earlier than the twelfth century. The form of the initial vowel *ī* in our inscription has resemblance with the fourth stage in its final formation as illustrated by Ojha in his charts showing the development of the Devanagari and Bengali alphabets<sup>1</sup> as well as with its form in his illustrations from two inscriptions<sup>2</sup> of 1204 and 1273 A.D. respectively. R. D. Banerji traced the earliest occurrence of a somewhat similar form of *ī* in the Bodhgaya inscriptions of Aśokaśāla, which belong to the thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup> But we know that the Gauḍa-Varāṇḍra country in the western and northern

<sup>1</sup> See Ojha, *Palaeography of India* (Hindi), Plates LXXXII and LXXXIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Plate XXVII.

<sup>3</sup> *The Origin of the Devanāgarī Script*, p. 89. The letter as found in these inscriptions (above, Vol. XII, Plates between pp. 28 and 29) appears to be somewhat more developed than its form in the inscription under study. As regards the development of the Bengali form of the letter *ī*, see also lines 3 and 21 of the Maṇḍapāra plate of Vol. xiv (above, 1948, *Lectures*, Vol. XX, 1964, Plate between pp. 216 and 217).



area of Bengal was conquered by the Turkish Mussalmans about the beginning of the thirteenth century while it appears that the Gauda-Varāndra ruler served by Bhimadēva and his father and grandfather belonged to an indigenous royal family flourishing in the area in question before the Muslim conquest. It is extremely doubtful if the Muslim conquerors of the country thought it wise to appoint ministers from among the newly conquered people shortly after their conquest. Moreover the Muslim conquerors of India would have scarcely tolerated the construction of a Śiva temple by their servant, which is stated to have been built to inspire wonder and admiration in the minds of Bhimadēva's enemies. It may of course be suggested that the names of the masters of Bhimadēva and his ancestors have not been mentioned in the inscription because they were servants of foreign rulers. But the above considerations lead us to think that the record was engraved before the Muslim conquest of Eastern India though probably not much earlier than the middle of the twelfth century.

The second and third problems are very difficult to tackle. For the middle of the twelfth century, the description 'lord of Gauda (or Gauda-Varāndra)' seems to suit the ruler of the Pāla dynasty. The Pālas originally held sway over the major part of Bengal and Bihar and they are known to have enjoyed the title *Gaṇḍīśvara*. With the establishment of the Varman dynasty at Vikramapura in the present Dacca District in the latter half of the eleventh century South-eastern Bengal (called *Vaṭṭa*) was permanently lost to the Pāla empire and, shortly after the middle of the twelfth century, Vijayasena, founder of the Sena dynasty of Bāṅga in South-East Bengal, occupied practically the whole of Bengal including its western and northern parts. Henceforth Pāla rule was confined to the southern areas of Bihar. The Pāla king Madanapāla was ousted from Gauda-Varāndra (i.e. the western and northern regions of Bengal) shortly after the date of his Maṇḍal plate issued from Rāmdvālī (a city probably situated near modern Gaur in the Mahā District) in the king's eighth regnal year corresponding to c. 1151 A.D.<sup>1</sup> But the Pāla kings were called *Gaṇḍīśvara* even when Gauda no longer formed a part of their dominions.<sup>2</sup> Madanapāla ruled in the period c. 1144-62 A.D. and is known to have recovered the western part of Bihar which had been lost to the Gāhaḍavāla king Udayachandra (1115-55 A.D.) who had his capital at the city of Banaras.<sup>3</sup> The Patna-Monghyr region was under Gāhaḍavāla occupation from about 1121 to 1140 A.D. but appears to have been reconquered by Madanapāla about 1146 A.D. It is not impossible that the Pāla king Madanapāla, who had some success against the Gāhaḍavālas of Banaras, was Bhimadēva's master. Bhimadēva's presence at Banaras may thus relate to a temporary occupation of Banaras by the Pāla king. Unfortunately there is no indication in the record of Pāla success against the king of the Banaras region. But the reference to the emperor may suggest that Bhimadēva did not visit Banaras in a private capacity as pilgrim or was not settled at the holy place after retirement.

In connection with the construction of the Śiva temple at Banaras by Bhimadēva, minister of the king of Gauda or Gauda-Varāndra, we have also to think of the possibility of the work being done by him without visiting the place. We have instances of kings and queens making grants in favour of distant temples, far away from their dominions in some cases, without moving from their capital and of even ordinary people securing the merit of pilgrimage to holy places through proxies without personally visiting them.<sup>4</sup> It was therefore not altogether impossible for Bhimadēva to have

<sup>1</sup> *INQ*, Vol. XXX, pp. 207-08.

<sup>2</sup> See *IBCS*, Vol. XLII, Part 2, 1963, pp. 1-6.

<sup>3</sup> *JAR*, Letters, Vol. XVII, p. 29; *above*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> See *above*, Vol. XXX, p. 22 and note; Vol. XXXI, p. 101 and note 2. For ordinary people 'performing' pilgrimages to distant holy places by proxy, see P. Sreenivasachar, *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Teluguana Districts*, Nos. 90-51 (pp. 142, 162).



built a temple at the great *Ustha* of Bananas without himself visiting the place. Since Bhīmadēva's presence at Bananas is not easily explainable in the present state of insufficient information, this is probably a better solution of the problem. The absence of any mention of the king of Gauḍa in the inscription may go in support of this alternative. The want of a date in the Vikrama Śakāvat may suggest that the record was drafted in the home province of Bhīmadēva and that of one in the regnal reckoning of Bhīmadēva's master may have been due to the fact that the document was meant for an area which was outside his dominions although the latter system of dating was popular in Eastern India in the early medieval period.

The fourth and fifth problems are also difficult to solve. In the first half of the twelfth century A.D. the mighty Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) extended his dominions up to the river Hooghly and he is also stated to have been a friend of the Śēma king Vijayasēna who sometime afterwards overthrew Pāla rule from the western and northern parts of Bengal.<sup>1</sup> Thus he may have come into hostile contact with the Pālas. But it has to be admitted that there is no reference to war between Chōḍagaṅga and his Pāla contemporary in the records of the Gaṅgas. The allusion to the invasion of the Gauḍa-Varāṇḍra country by the king of Kālīṅga no doubt reminds us of the claim of Gaṅga Narasimha I (c. 1236-45 A.D.) to have defeated the Yavanas (Muhammadans) of Rāḡhā and Varāṇḍri and the account, in Minhāj-uddīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Nasiri*, of the invasion of Lakhanavati (the capital of the Muslim kingdom in Bengal comprising Rāi, i.e. Rāḡha, and Barind, i.e. Varāṇḍra or Varāṇḍri), situated near modern Gaur in the Malda District, by the forces of the Rāi of Jājūgar (i.e. Gaṅga Narasimha I) on the 13th of the month of Shawāl in the Hijri year 642, corresponding to the 14th March 1245 A.D., under Sāmantarāya, the general and son-in-law of the Gaṅga monarch.<sup>2</sup> But it is difficult to think that Bhīmadēva was a servant of Malik Tugh-ril Tughān Khān (1236-45 A.D.) of Bengal as in that case it will have to be believed that his grandfather was appointed as minister for war and peace by the Muslims almost immediately after the establishment of the Muslim kingdom in Bengal. The reference to the council of the hereditary ministers of the Gauḍa king of which Bhīmadēva's grandfather was a member seems to suggest a long-standing kingdom and possibly not a newly founded one.

The identification of the king of the Rāyāri dynasty is equally uncertain. The only person named Rāyāri known to the student of East Indian history is of course king Rāyāridēva Trailōkyasimha who was the grandfather of Vallabhadēva Śivallabha of an inscription of Śaka 1107 (1185 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> Whether the expression *Rāyāri-tamīśa-narasiṃha* indicates Rāyāridēva's son Udayakarma Nibhāṅkasimha cannot be determined, although the inscription referred to above describes Rāyāridēva, son of Bhāskradēva, as *Bhāskara-tamīśa-rāja-tileśa*. The inscription, however, does not refer to any struggle of Udayakarma Nibhāṅkasimha with the king of Gauḍa, though his father Rāyāridēva Trailōkyasimha is stated to have come into conflict with the forces of the Vaṅga country. This dynasty probably ruled over the Sylhet region between Bengal and Assam.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are Gauḍa or Gauḍa-Varāṇḍra and Avimukta-nadi. Varāṇḍra or Varāṇḍri (Barind of the Muslim writers) was the name of North Bengal. The earliest reference to Varāṇḍra or Varāṇḍri-maṇḍala is found in Śaodhyākara-nandin's *Rāmacharita*<sup>4</sup> composed about the end of the eleventh century. But Gauḍa is an ancient

<sup>1</sup> *JEN*, Vol. XI, Part 2, 1954, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 116-11. Cf. Ray, *DHSI*, Vol. I, pp. 480; *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. II, pp. 49 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. V, pp. 161 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See I, 20; III, 29; IV, 2; *Kaṇvaśānti*, verse 1.







[illegible]

(from a Photograph)



name used to indicate not only a city and the country around it but also East India in general.<sup>2</sup> In our inscription, it is used in the sense of a territory in the western areas of Bengal. Gauda was originally the name of the land between the Padmā and Burdwan. Generally speaking therefore Gauda and Rājha (Raj of the Muslim writers) were identical although the latter was originally the name of the land on both the banks of the river Ajay in South-West Bengal. This land as well as its chief city was often also called Rājha. Avimukta was a well-known holy place in the city of Banaras.<sup>3</sup> It was apparently the name of the Rājha region of Benares and the Avimukta-nadi was no doubt the Ganges at Rājha.<sup>4</sup>

TEXT<sup>5</sup>

[Metres : verses 1, 3, 5 *Āryā* ; verse 2 *Gītī* ; verse 4 *Sārdulāṃkṛīṭa* ; verse 5 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 7 *Amṣapāḥ*.]

- 1 [Buddham]<sup>6</sup> [1\*] [na]mah Śivāya || Gauda-mahābhūmī-maṇi-āmatya-sa[bbhā]yāni saṃ[bbhā]-  
[i]t-ārīr-abbhī || dēva [va[Maṅga]<sup>7</sup>] [1\*]
- 2 dēvaḥ kaṭiṭpa-mahāśāṇḍhivigrahaikaḥ || [1\*] Śrī-Chaṅga<sup>8</sup> dēvam-ajana[ya]l-ayam-atha  
tanayam pra[sa]dika-naya-rinaya-
- 3 m | prāpa durāpān Rā[na]ka-pada[va]m-a[lagh]i[ya]sān sa rā[ya]sya || [2\*] [Tarya] tanujāḥ  
śrīmān-udapadyata bhūmadēva i-
- 4 ti valitab | sa dha Gaṇḍ-āvan[ā]n-ajani mahāś[ā]ṇḍhivigrahaikaḥ || [3\*] Śhina-ści-dvipa-  
nirj[ā]t-ā[na]yād-aku-<sup>9</sup>
- 5 stōm-ān-rōmāncha-bhrid-yuddh-ōv[ā] || kathitam dvir-akṣi-chakita prāptā na yad-vikramana  
| dānāy-ānāsam-ujjhu[ṭ]t-ānu[ṭ]t-
- 6 saritō yūna sthālō yāhita-tat-pratyāharatā [sa[r]i[ṭ]-ku[la]-tālā[d]-u[ṭ]tāitā dhālayaḥ  
| [4\*] Rāyāri-varuṇa-mraṇ-
- 7 tha-Kaṭi[mā]<sup>10</sup>ga-rāja-mukhy-āri-vīra-va[ha]la-rāridhi-madhya-[guptaś[ā]ṇḍhivigrahaikaḥ] || [yō]n-ōda-  
dhāri gura-Gaṇḍa-Varuṇ[dra]<sup>11</sup>-rājya[m] majjāt-pa-<sup>12</sup>
- 8 rātana-valitra-chari[ṭra]-chāri || [5\*] Vipula-śilāmaya[m] nam-ayam-Avimukta-[na]dī<sup>13</sup>-  
lālā[ṭa]-tala-tilakam | Bhava-[lāṭa]-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *IBQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 123 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Often it is identified with Banaras. For this holy place, see the *Matang Purāṇa*, Chapters 161-83. Excavations at Rājha have yielded seals of the Śiva temple at Avimukta with such legends as *Avimukta-śrīmān*, *Avimukta-śrīmān*, *Avimukta-śrīmān* and *Avimukta-śrīmān*. Cf. *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 170 ff.

<sup>3</sup> From *Avimukta*.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>5</sup> Originally I was inclined to read this name differently. But the most probable reading of the damaged letters now appears to me to be *maṅga*. The first letter does not appear to be *m*.

<sup>6</sup> These *ḍ* signs, which were (used) to cover up a little space at the end of the line, are now empty.

<sup>7</sup> Originally I was inclined to read the name as *Vaṅga*; but the first letter looks more like *va* than *v*.

<sup>8</sup> The *ḍ* is redundant (cf. note 6 above).

<sup>9</sup> The reading may also be *hapa*.

<sup>10</sup> The reading is possibly not *śāṇḍhivigraha*.

<sup>11</sup> These superfluous *ḍ* signs have a cancellation mark (cf. note 6 above).

<sup>12</sup> The reading may possibly also be *śāṇḍhivigraha* 'the bank of a river'.



- 9 [valnam mahad-arachayad-ari-chaya-chōtas-ohamatkritayē || [6<sup>2</sup>] (Sarva)-sāvya(m)-idaṁ  
nyāya[tō]-dhi-dēvakulīyatō | Ādi. |<sup>1</sup>
- 10 tva-[kā]cha-[pra]tyaya-gāṅgāya-kalāśa-dhvaJam || [7<sup>2</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> This unnecessary śaṅka bears a cancellation mark (cf. p. 281, note above).



# No. 33—HOWRAGHAT PLATES OF BALAVARMAN III OF KAMARUPA, YEAR 5

(2 Plates)

D. C. SINGH, DUTTAMUND

About the middle of September 1956, I received a circular issued by the Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam on the discovery of a new copper-plate grant of king Balavarman of the Mihirakha or Sālastambha dynasty of Kāmarūpa or Prāgyōtishā. The inscription was originally in the possession of Mr. Prakash Chandra Acharya of Uttar Barbil, Howraghat, Mikir Hills, from whom it was secured by Mr. Ganesh Chandra Phukan, Deputy Commissioner, United Mikir and North Cachar Hills, through a gentleman named M. M. Chakravarti. The Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies of the Government of Assam obtained the plates through the courtesy of Mr. Rupnath Brahma, one of the Ministers of the Assam Cabinet. It was stated in the circular that Dr. Pratap Chandra Chaudhury, Deputy Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, was engaged in deciphering the inscription. Dr. Chaudhury has since published the inscription in the *Assam Sahitya Sabha Patrikā*, Vol. XV, No. 3, pp. 187-94.

On receipt of the circular, I contacted Dr. Chaudhury and tried to secure the plates on a few weeks' loan for study. Unfortunately the attempt was a failure. My endeavour to secure a set of inked impressions of the inscription also ended equally in a failure. But, thanks to Dr. Chaudhury, in March 1957, I received from him a set of photographs of the inscribed faces of the plates together with one showing the set of the plates hanging from the ring bearing the seal. The photographs were taken after having rubbeded chalk over the letters of the writing on the plates. In December 1957, I visited Guwahati. Dr. Chaudhury then kindly allowed me to prepare inked impressions of the plates.

The set consists of three copper plates each measuring about 10" in length and 6½" in height. They are strung on a copper ring, the ends of which are soldered beneath a bronze seal, the counter-sunk surface being divided into two parts by a thick demarcating line. The upper one of these two parts bears the figure of an elephant to front; while the following legend in three lines occupies the space beneath the line of demarcation:

- 1 Svaati kṛimān-Prāgyōtish-ādhip-ā[va]-
- 2 yō mahārājādhirāj-ā[ri-Va/Ba]-
- 3 [a]varmadēvaḥ [i]"

The seal closely resembles that attached to the Nongong plates<sup>1</sup> of the same ruler who issued the charter under study. Similar seals are also found with the copper-plate grants of other rulers of the Kāmarūpa or Prāgyōtishā country. Of the three plates of the set, the second bears writing on both the obverse and the reverse, the other two plates being inscribed only on the inner side. Of the four inscribed faces, the first three contain fourteen lines of writing each, while the fourth contains only twelve lines. The engraving of the letters is neat and careful; but the preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory. Some letters here and there are damaged while most letters in the last line on the inner side of Plate I are more or less completely rubbed off.

<sup>1</sup> *JASB*, Vol. LXVI, Part I, 1907, pp. 232 ff., Plates XXXV-XXXVII. The seal is illustrated in Plate XXXVII. See also P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāhitya*, pp. 71 ff., containing illustration of the inscriptions on Plate I only.







approximately, we may suggest that the year 904 A.D. fell in Balavarman's reign. Thus Balavarman's rule may be roughly assigned to the period 885-910 A.D. and the present inscription to a date about the end of the ninth century.

The inscription begins with a *Siddham* symbol which is followed by two *saṃgala* stanzas. Verse 1 prays that the lustre of Rudra (*Śiva*) may be for the peace of the earth, while verse 2 seeks that the waters of the *Laṅkitya*, called a *vīrītā* or sea,<sup>1</sup> may destroy the sin of men. Verse 3 introduces Naraka who was the son (born of the goddess Earth) of Upendra (*Vishṇu*) in his Boar-incarnation and was a friend of the demons. Verses 4-6 describe the career of Naraka. It is stated that he carried away Aditi's ear-rings and discredited Mahendra (i.e. her son, the king of the gods) thereby, that he made his abode at the city of Prāgyōtishā in Kāmarūpa, and that he was killed by Murāri (*Vishṇu*) with the discus in a battle that was fought at his capital, i.e. Prāgyōtishapura (*Sōṅṭapura* according to the Purāṇas). Verses 7-8 state how Naraka was succeeded on the throne by his son Bhagadatta whose successor was his younger brother Vajradatta.

Verse 9 introduces Śālastambha who is stated to have belonged to the dynasty of Naraka, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta, and to have become king after a number of rulers of the said family had passed away. In this connection, it is interesting to note that verses 9-10 of the copper-plate grants<sup>2</sup> of Ratnapāla of the third dynasty (i.e. the Brahmapāla family) of the rulers of Kāmarūpa or Prāgyōtishā offer a different and apparently more reliable account of the pedigree of Śālastambha. According to these, Śālastambha, who was a Mlechchha king or a ruler of the Mlechchhar (*Mlechchhādhipati*), obtained the kingdom of the kings of the Naraka dynasty as a matter of chance (*vidāḥ-chalan-vasā*) and that, Tyāgamha the twentyfourth king of Śālastambha's line having died without leaving an heir, the subjects (*prajāpataḥ*) thought that a member of the Bhauma (i.e. Naraka) dynasty alone was suitable to them and therefore made Brahmapāla their king. This seems to suggest that Śālastambha was really a ruling chief, probably of Tibeto-Burman origin, under the latest ruler of the Bhauma-Naraka dynasty of Kāmarūpa and that he succeeded in occupying his master's throne under circumstances which are difficult to determine without further light on the subject. It is clear, however, that Śālastambha's descendants claimed descent from Naraka; but the claim may have been based either on mere fiction or on a matrimonial relation Śālastambha might have contracted with the rulers of the Bhauma-Naraka family.

Verse 10 of our inscription says that, amongst the descendants of Śālastambha, Harjara became king after others like Pālaka and Vijaya had passed away. The names of all the rulers of the Śālastambha family, especially those who flourished between Śālastambha and Harjara or Harjaravarman, cannot be determined. We have seen how the charters of Ratnapāla, who belonged to the third or Brahmapāla dynasty of Prāgyōtishā rulers, ascribe 31 kings to the dynasty of Śālastambha. Of these, they mention by name only Śālastambha (the founder of the line), Tyāgamha (the last king of the family) and Vīrabastambha who was one of the rulers flourishing between Śālastambha and Tyāgamha. The damaged and fragmentary copper-plate grant<sup>3</sup> of Harjaravarman (second quarter of the ninth century) from Halyungthal, appears to have quoted the names of most of his predecessors beginning from Śālastambha, although the section cannot be fully and satisfactorily deciphered. According to the reading and interpretation of the said section offered by Pandit P. N. Bhattacharya,<sup>4</sup> Śālastambha was succeeded by his son Vijaya who was followed successively by Pālaka, Kumāra, Vajradatta, Harahavarman, Balavarman

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 151 and note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See *Kāmarūpāśāstrosāvalī*, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 44 E. Only the middle plate of a set, which originally consisted at least of three plates, has been discovered so far. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.



son of Harshavarman) and the son of the younger of the two brothers named Chakra and Arathi. Bhattacharya also suggested that Arathi (son of Arathi) was succeeded by Prālamḃha (father of Harjatarvarman), the name of both of whom were read in the Tezpur plates of Vanamālayarman (son of Harjatarvarman), Prālamḃha being represented there as the successor of Śeṣharsha (i.e. Harshavarman) of the Śālastambha dynasty. But as we have suggested elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> Vanamālayarman's charters really speak of Śālamḃha as the successor of Śeṣharsha and of his younger brother Arathi as the father and predecessor of Harjatarvarman. We have also suggested that Chakra was possibly another name of Śālamḃha and that the name of Harshavarman's son Balavarman is omitted in Vanamālayarman's record probably because he was succeeded by Śālamḃha after a short rule. It seems that Balavarman, son of Harshavarman, was overthrown by Śālamḃha and that the usurper and his descendants did not recognise his claim to the throne. Thus we have the following names of the rulers of the Śālastambha dynasty from Śālastambha to Harjatarvarman: (1) Śālastambha, (2) Vijaya, son of Śālastambha, (3) Pālaka, (4) Kunḁa, (5) Vajradhva, (6) Śeṣharsha or Harshavarman, (7) Balavarman, son of Harshavarman, (8) Chakra *alias* Śālamḃha, (9) Arathi and (10) Harjatarvarman, son of Arathi. It is difficult to determine whether some other kings of the family also ruled between Śālastambha and Harjatarvarman and whether their names are either omitted from or underspherible in the Haiyungthal plate.

Verses 12-25 of the inscription under study describe the three kings Vanamāla (verses 12-14), Jayamāla *alias* Virabhū (verses 15-18) and Balavarman (verses 19-25), the donor of the charter, as respectively the son, grandson and great grandson of Harjara. It is stated in verses 16-17 that Vanamāla, who was a devotee of the god Maheśvara or Śiva and built numerous palatial structures beautified with paintings, starved himself to death after having bestowed the white umbrellas adorned with two fly-whisks (i.e. the insignia of royalty) on his son Jayamāla (called Virabhū in verse 18), while verse 18 states that Virabhū (i.e. Jayamāla) married Amḁ (who gave birth to the donor of the grant under study) some time after his accession to the throne. Verse 21 shows that Jayamāla Virabhū installed his son Balavarman on the throne when in course of time he was incapable of carrying on the administration owing to the attack of an incurable disease. Verse 25 says that Balavarman's ancestral *śaśa* or capital stood on the *lanḁitva*.

King Balavarman of Kāmarūpa, who issued the charter under study, was the second king of that name in the Śālastambha family. Since, however, there was another Balavarman (about the beginning of the fifth century) in the Bhānu-Nāraka dynasty of Kāmarūpa<sup>3</sup> and Śālastambha is represented in the records of his successors, even if wrongly, as a descendant of Nāraka, Balavarman, donor of the present grant, may be designated as Balavarman III. The king of the same name, who was the son of Śeṣharsha or Harshavarman, may be called Balavarman II, while Balavarman of the Bhānu-Nāraka dynasty may be regarded as Balavarman I.

The names of the three monarchs mentioned in verses 12 ff., when added to the list of the ten rulers from Śālastambha to Harjatarvarman, would give us only thirteen kings of the Śālastambha dynasty. Only two other rulers of this family, viz. Vighnastambha and Tyāgaśambha, are known from Ratnapāla's charters referred to above. Thus we know the names of fifteen out of the twenty-one rulers of the dynasty. Since Tyāgaśambha's successor Brahmapāla seems to have ruled about the beginning of the eleventh century, most of the six rulers, whose names are missing, appear to have ruled in the period of about a century intervening between Balavarman III (about the close of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century) and Tyāgaśambha (beginning

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 64 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ahosa*, Vol. XXIX, p. 142 and note 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 66.



of the eleventh century). But a few of them may have also ruled between Śīlāstambha and Harjataratman. The name of Vīrāśtāmbha resembles that of Śīlāstambha and no other ruler of the family is known to have borne a name ending in the word *stambha*. He may therefore have been a son or grandson of Śīlāstambha and should probably be placed earlier in the genealogy.

The object of the charter is to record the grant of a piece of land, yielding two thousand measures (probably called *dhōsa*) of paddy, made by *Paramānāda* *Paramādēva* (Śāraka *Madhācārya*) *rāja* Balavarmadēva when he was staying at *Hadappēvara*. As we have shown elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> the real name of the capital of the Śīlāstambha king was *Hadappēvara* and not *Hācappēvara* as is generally believed. The piece of land was singled out from the locality called *Bappadēva-pātaka* which was situated in the *viśaya* or district of *Vārāṣē-patrana*. The royal order in respect of the grant was addressed to the people of the countryside together with the Brāhmanas and the employees of the *niyama* of the district as well as to the king's subordinates and officers. The list includes the *nijāna* (ruling chiefs), *nijānā* (queens of the ruling chiefs), *śāśaka* (smaller chiefs) and officers as well as to the *nijānaka* (minor chiefs or landholders), *nijānaka* (some of the chiefs) and *nijā-nalika* (courtiers) who might be associated with the administration of the area in question at any time. It is interesting to note that the words *nijānaka* and *nijānaka* are both used in this section of the record, even though actually *nijānaka* appears to be a modification of *nijānaka* (also spelt *nijānaka* and *nijānaka*). There was probably some difference in the meaning of the two words as used in early medieval Assam. The land was granted together with the *śāśaka* (homestead land), *śāśaka* (low land), *śāśaka* (high land), *śāśaka* (waters), *śāśaka* (pasture land) and *śāśaka* (probably, mounds) as well as with the income from *śāśaka* (carrying elephants), *śāśaka* (anchoring boats) and *śāśaka* (watching thieves). It was given as it stood within its demarcated boundaries together with the space above it and was exempted from all troubles associated with the *śāśaka* (police tax), *śāśaka* (extra cess or tax on temporary tenants) and *śāśaka* (fears or troubles) arising from other causes, and also from the grazing of elephants, horses, camels, cows, buffaloes, goats and sheep.

The donee was the Brāhmana *Syāmādēva*-*śāśaka*. It is stated (cf. verses 26 ff.) that there was a learned Brāhmana named *Garga* who belonged to the *Aupamanyava* *gṛha* and the *Kātya* *śāśaka* of the *Paṇḍita*. His son was *Gargha* who was the father of *Syāmādēva*, the donee of the charter. The name of the donee's mother was *Gargha*-*śāśaka*. Verse 29 states that the king made the grant for the merit of his parents in the fifth year of his reign. The occasion of the grant was the *śāśaka* performed in connection with the *Śāśaka* festival. The passage *śāśaka* (i.e. also of his own) in this stanza may be taken with *śāśaka* or with *śāśaka*. *Śāśaka* means the raising of the banner (*dhvaja*) of Śakra or Indra, which is a festival observed on the 12th day of the bright half of the month of Bhādra although in early times it may have been held on the 8th of the bright half of the month of Praushjapada (Bhādra) and *Śakra*.<sup>2</sup> The real significance of the expression *śāśaka*, literally 'worship of the year or cloud', in this connection is not clear. It may, however, refer either to the anniversary of king Balavarma's birth or accession to the throne, or merely to the 'annual worship' of the *Śakra*-*dhvaja*.

The boundaries of the gift land as enumerated in lines 52-54 are: the *śāśaka* or mound, belonging to *Vaśaka* in the east; a *śāśaka* tree in the south-east; a *Tripatra* tree in the south;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above Vol. XXIX, pp. 130-31.

<sup>2</sup> Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *Śakra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *Śakra*. *Śakra* is also mentioned in the *Śāśaka* festival. *Śāśaka* is also mentioned in the *Śāśaka* festival.



a Kadamba tree in the south-west; a Vāṇasa tree standing on the border of a piece of cultivated land in the west; an Aśvattha tree standing on a *ślopa* belonging to Nīla in the north-west; a Jambū tree in the north; and a Śuvānapāra tree in the north-east.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, we have Lauhitya-vāridhī, Kāmarūpa, Prāgyōtishapura, Hṛdappāra-kataka on the Lauhitya, Vāṇā-pattana-vishaya and Bappadēva-pāṭaka. Lauhitya is another name of the river Brahmaputra. Prāgyōtishapura, capital of the Kāmarūpa country, is supposed by scholars to have been situated near the site of the present town of Gauhati on the Brahmaputra. Kāmarūpa, also called Prāgyōtishka, was the country around Gauhati. In the seventh century A.D. it extended up to the Karatōrā in the west,<sup>1</sup> although neither the course of the Karatōrā nor the other boundaries of the country in the early medieval period can be determined. The traditions recorded in late medieval works like the *Pāyāntara* can scarcely be regarded as throwing sufficient light on the point.<sup>2</sup> Verse 25 of our record speaks of lēṅg Balacarman's ancestral *śajala* (i.e. capital) which is stated to have been situated on the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra. The name of the city is given as Hṛdappāra-kataka in the prose passage immediately following. This city has been identified with Dah Parhitya near Tezpur, headquarters of the Darrang District of Assam. The gift land was situated in the locality called Bappadēva-pāṭaka which belonged to the district called Vāṇā-pattana. The location of these places cannot be determined with any amount of certainty, although the name of Vāṇā-pattana reminds us of that of the Barman range of hills about 50 miles to the south-west of Silchar.

TEXT<sup>3</sup>

[Metres: verses 1-4, 9-10, 14, 17, 21-25 *Āryā*; verses 5-8, 12, 15 *Upajāti* (*Indraṃjirā* and *Upāśāṃjirā*); verse 7 *Indraṃjirā*; verse 11 *Aṇṇaślokaślokaśloka*; verses 13, 18-20, 26 *Gāṇ*; verses 16, 18 *Aṇṇaśloka*; verses 22-23 *Vāṇāśloka*; verse 29 *Upajāti* (*Vāṇāśloka* and *Indraṃjirā*)]

1. Sūlham<sup>4</sup> avastī | Bhavatu bhava-timira-bhīdurata 1640 xadra[ti] prahāraye jagatub |  
pāṭivastatē samagran [in\*] p-śuta-ni-
2. āvāśka<sup>5</sup> yat | [1\*] Sura-kari-mada-chandrahitam sahitam Lauhitya-vāridhī-amalam |  
Kallā-kataka-nrīga-mada-
3. vāṇāṃ apaharata daritam-vah<sup>6</sup> | [2\*] Sura-kari-mada-chandrahitam sahitam Lauhitya-  
vāridhī-amalam | Kallā-kaka-
4. jaku-nrīga-mada-vāṇāṃ apaharata daritam-vah<sup>6</sup> | Pralaya-pyāśhan magnam-uddha-  
ratō rāmanātha-Upāśāṃjirā |
5. Saraka iti śmīra-śūda-śūra-suhṇ-kṛda-rūpa-bhṛitab | [3\*] Tāṇḍāya-vijaya-tunga[ti\*]

<sup>1</sup> Hsiao-chang entered the Kāmarūpa country from the west after having crossed the Karatōrā or Karatōrā (cf. Watters, *On Yuan Ching's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 154-5).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *The Sūtra Pīṭha*, p. 13, note 1; cf. p. 17, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> From a set of photographs and impressions.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>5</sup> The *śūda* [in\*] p-śuta-ni-śūda could not be read on the Nongong plates. The correct mark of it is also not clear there.

<sup>6</sup> Read *śūda* and *śūda*.

<sup>7</sup> The following stanza is a repetition of verse 2. This was due to an oversight either of the scribe or of the engraver.



[illegible]

Scale: Nine-tenths















[illegible]

Scale : Nine-tenths







- 37 viśhay-āntahpārī-Va(Ba)ppadēva-pātakād-apaśīkṣa-dhānya-īvi-sahasr-ōpatika-bhū-  
man
- 38 yathā-yathān samupasthita-Vrā(Brā)hmac-ādī-viśaya-karaga-vyavastā(hi)ṛka-pramukha-  
jānapadān rāja-rā-
- 39 jāt-rāpat-ādīhīkṣitān anyān api rājānaka-rājaputra-rājavalābha-prabh[?]jātān yathā-kāla-
- 40 bhāvinō-pi sarvān-mānān-pūrvataśch samādādati | viditam-asu bhavatām bhūmir-iyas  
rā-
- 41 [etu]-kādāra-śhala-jala-gōprachār-śvakar-ādīy-upādā yathā-samsthā eva-śm-ōddhā-[pa]-
- 42 [ryantā] ha[?]jīva(ha)n[dha]-nauk[āva(ba)udha]-chaatōd[īha]ra[?] | dāṇḍapāṣ-ōpanikara-  
nānā-nimit[?]ā[?]kh[?]h[?]na-

## Third Plate

- 13 haaty-a[?]v-śhātra-gō-mukha-āj-āvika-prachāra-prabh[?]jātān vinivārita-sarva-phā āsant  
kritya [?]
- 14 Abhūd-asūcā-śruti-śāstra-vin-śhukhaib kṛit dvijēndrō bhūṣam-Aṅgamaanyavā | a[?]jāpa  
Kāgyō rāja-
- 15 śhān nivāsa-bhūsa-sur-śhāyam yaś śhān Gargga-samjñakā [?] 26\*] Rikāś an-śhānān ya[?]śhān  
[?]śhān] tasya ya[?]h] papā-
- 16 [ha] saktān cha karuma-pādha<sup>1</sup>ib- viśāśa śāstrāṇi kṛit-ādīvaras-antō Gabhish[?]hīrō nāma  
va(ba)bhūva dha-
- 17 mamejāh [?] 27\*] [K]ul-ādīhāva śhāma-lac-ēva pāvan Vamhtha-bhāry[?]ry-ōva pati-vistā hi  
yā | śhāch-īva śhābhā-
- 18 svarikā Śatakratōh priy-ābhavat-tasya dhar-īva dhairyatā [?] 28\*] Avāpta-panyah śm-
- 19 ti-śāstra-pāragah priyamva(yadha)śhah pāpma-yatā rasu-pradāh | hitāya tūbhyañ-janitō  
dvija-
- 20 nmanām(nānt) hi Śyāmudō va[?]tannjō mahā-śapāh [?] 29\*] Pitrōh panyāy-śamā Bhājāya te-
- 31 th-ātmanō-vda(bda)-pā]jāam | Sakr-ōthānō vāhikā<sup>2</sup> bhūṣam dattā paśchama-varshā  
mayā rā-

<sup>1</sup> There are traces of a final dagger between the double dashes to indicate the separation of the foregoing part in prose from the following section in verse.

<sup>2</sup> A superscript *ty* sign was inserted above this *śhānta* ; but it seems to exhibit a cancellation mark.

<sup>3</sup> Four *śhānta*s were engraved before the beginning of this line, the second and third of them being partially cut off by the angle hole. They appear to read *Śhāntān*, although such a passage does not appear to have been omitted from the text of the record. For similar marginal writing in some other early medieval records from Assam, see above, Vol. XXIX, p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> This mark of punctuation is redundant.



52.  $\text{lyā}^1$  || {30\*}  $\text{sā}(ā)\text{mā}$  [ $^*$ ]  $\text{pūrvvā}$   $\text{Vaiśākhā-stūpaḥ}$  |  $\text{pūrvva-dakṣiṇāma}$   $\text{sāmalī-vṛkṣaḥ}$  |  
 |  $\text{dakṣiṇāma}$   $\text{tripatrakā-vṛkṣaḥ}$  |
53.  $\text{dakṣiṇa-pāścimēna}$   $\text{kadamva(nila)-vṛkṣaḥ}$  |  $\text{pāścimēna}$   $\text{kṣhṛtāli-stha-vṛkṣaḥ}$  |  
 |  $\text{pāścim-ōttarēna}$   $\text{Nīlī-}$
54.  $\text{atōpa-sth-āratihā-vṛkṣaḥ}$  |  $\text{uttarēna}$   $\text{jāmvū(māḥ)-vṛkṣaḥ}$  |  $\text{uttara-pūrvvā}$   $\text{suvarṇa-}$   
 |  $\text{dāru-vṛkṣaḥ-ch-āli}$  [ $^*$ ] |

<sup>1</sup> Omit either  $\text{stāya}$  or  $\text{rājya}$  for the sake of the metre. If the words  $\text{vāṭhāli}$   $\text{āśvīnī}$  are omitted, the metre of the stanza would be  $\text{āryā}$ .

<sup>2</sup> There is a final dotum between the double  $\text{śodas}$  to indicate the end of the writing.



## No. 34—MUDHOL PLATES OF PUGAVARMA

(I Plate)

P. B. DESAI, DHARWAR

In May 1949, this set of copper-plates was received for examination in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India from Shri R. S. Panchamukhi, the then Director of Kannada Research, Dharwar. The plates were originally in the possession of a shepherd belonging to a village in the present Mudhol Taluk of the Bijapur District. They were handed over to Shri V. C. Garwad, District Judge at Mudhol, who passed them on to Shri Panchamukhi in 1943. Shri Panchamukhi has edited the inscription on the plates in his *Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay Province, 1941-48*, pp. 12 and 69 ff. and plate IV. The epigraph is briefly noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1949-50*, p. 2 and registered as No. 7 of Appendix A.<sup>1</sup> I edit the record here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The set comprises two copper-plates held together by a circular ring with seal. The rims of the plates are not raised. The first plate is engraved on the inner side only, while the second on both the sides. The plates measure each  $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in length,  $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in breadth and  $\frac{1}{16}$ " in thickness. The ring which is  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter passes through a circular hole,  $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered into the bottom of a thick oval seal having a rim. The seal which measures  $\frac{1}{2}$ " by  $\frac{1}{2}$ " contains in the sunken surface a standing human figure with its right hand raised.<sup>2</sup> The ring and the seal together weigh 9 tolas and the whole set weighs 25 tolas.

The epigraph is on the whole in a fair state of preservation, although a few letters in lines 1, 7 and 8 are damaged. It contains 12 lines of writing, which are distributed evenly on the three inscribed faces of the plates. Line 6 continues about half the distance, the remaining space being left blank probably due to its narrowness. No punctuation marks are used anywhere in the writing. Some letters are omitted through oversight while engraving, as in lines 1, 6 and 11. The writing contains a few other scribal errors.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabet with archaic traits, having in a majority of instances small hollow boxheads. They may be compared for general resemblance with some records of the early Kadamba family.<sup>3</sup> The initial vowels *a* and *ai* are met with in lines 10 and 11 respectively. Medial *i* and *ī* are not distinguished, both represented by a circle at the top of the letter. *Jihvāmālīka* occurs once in *brahmapuṣṭrakṛmes* in line 2.

<sup>1</sup> The inscription has also been noticed by Dr. H. C. Sircar in *Prof. P. Banerjee's Pillar Com. Vol.*, 1957, pp. 96-97.

<sup>2</sup> Shri Panchamukhi has tried to identify this figure, not without difficulty, as the deity Hanuman (*Prog. of Kan. Res.*, op. cit., p. 60). But his arguments are far from convincing. Although it is very difficult to ascertain the identity of the figure on account of its badly worn out condition, one may possibly suggest that originally it may have been intended to represent the god Vāṇakṛīḍa in whom favour the charter purports to record a gift.

<sup>3</sup> For example, the Bannaballi plates of Sriparavarman II (*above*, Vol. VI, Plate facing p. 16) and the Hale plates of Harivarman (*ibid.*, Vol. VI, Plate facing p. 32).



In regard to **orthography** the consonant following *r* is doubled as in *Pāṇavarmanapā* (line 9) and *balubhir-va*\* (line 10). An exception may be noted in *garbhā* (lines 3-4). *Anuvāra* is changed to class nasal in *śaṅkhā* in the expression *uktā-cha* (line 10).

The language is Sanskrit and the composition excepting one verse each at the beginning and at the end is in prose.

The inscription commences with the expression *prast*. This is followed by a verse in praise of the lotus-feet of *Brahmā*, i.e., the Creator, which are described as worthy of being worshipped by the pious persons, brilliant like the shining gold and capable of causing the good as well as bad things of the three worlds. This verse is new and not found in other records.

Next is introduced the victorious prince **Pāṇavarman**, the first son of **Śrī-Prithivivallabha-mahārāja** who performed the *Hiranyaparba-mahādāna* and the *Agnishāma*, *Agnichayana*, *Vājapeya* and *Atarambha* sacrifices. Pāṇavarman is said also to have borne the appellation *Rajya-shūdra*. This expression is defective and its correct form may be suggested as *Rajyashūtri*† which means 'firm in battle'. It is comparable with the name *Vadhisūtriya*.

The object of the epigraph is to register a second‡ gift, apparently of land, in the village of [Ma]k[ā]śaka to the deity *Vārāhidēva* by Pāṇavarman for securing good results in this world as well as in the next. The gift land was divided into thirty-three shares, to be enjoyed, apparently by different beneficiaries whose names, however, are not specified. The charter concludes with the usual verse extolling the merit of a pious gift.

Not many inscriptions are available for reconstructing the early history of the Chālukya house of Badāmi. For the reign of Pulakāśin I, we have the Bādāmi inscription,§ dated 543 A.D., which has placed the history of this family on a firm chronological footing. His successor Kirtivarman is represented through only two charters of his reign bearing identical dates,¶ The present inscription which may be assigned to this thin period of Chālukya history makes a welcome addition to our knowledge.

It must be admitted at the outset that there are some difficulties in ascertaining the family to which the issuer of the present charter belonged. But a critical examination of it shows that the difficulties are only superficial. A prominent feature that impresses upon our mind on a perusal of the document is its unconventional nature. The invocation is unusual. The following *prastāvi* does not contain the name of the family to which Pāṇavarman belonged, as one naturally expects. The other familiar expressions in the Chālukya *prastāvi* referring to the *Māmatya gātra*, the Seven Mothers, etc., are also conspicuous by their absence. All these objections, however, are set at rest if we critically examine the description of the king whose son issued the present grant.

\* Śrī Panchanabhi's restoration of this epithet as *Rajya-shūdra*, i.e. 'one who fought [in] battles', seems to be far-fetched. Further, his suggestion on the basis of this restoration that Pāṇavarman may be identical with Kirtivarman is unconvincing. See *op. cit.*, pp. 12 and 70.

† This shows that there already existed a gift for the deity made either by this prince or by his predecessor. It was not the renewal of an old grant as assumed by Śrī Panchanabhi.

‡ Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 4 ff.

§ The two records are the Vaishnava cova inscription at Bādāmi and the Gofaṅki plates. See *Recs. Ind.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 246, and above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 59 ff.



This was Śrīprithivīvallabha-mahārāja. As Vallabha, Śrīvallabha, Prithivīvallabha and Śrīprithivīvallabha are all identical, being recognized specially as Western Chālukya appellations and the title *Mahārāja* conveying the status of a paramount sovereign is almost invariably and for the first time applied to Pulakēśin I in all the formal charters of the family,<sup>1</sup> we are fully justified in identifying Śrīprithivīvallabha of our charter with Pulakēśin I. This identification is further strengthened by his description as the performer of *Aśvamedha*, *Agnicāyana*, *Agnicāyana* and other sacrifices; for, Pulakēśin I, as known from many records of the family, performed all these sacrifices and a few more.<sup>2</sup> The mention of *Aśvamedha* in this connection is an overwhelming evidence in favour of this identification, since, except for a few Kadamba rulers whose consideration is out of question in the present context, no other monarch in this part of the country is ever credited with such a supreme achievement.

This much about the positive side of the question.

In regard to its negative side, it has to be noted that the non-mention of certain ideas and expressions in the *prafasti* can in no way be cited as contrary evidence. As I have shown elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> the Chālukya *prafasti* was still in the formative stage at this time and not yet standardized. The conventional *prafasti* of the Chālukya house is met with for the first time in the charters of Pulakēśin II, commencing with the Hydrabad grant.

Now who is this Pūgavarman? He was not known previously and is introduced for the first time by the present charter. His description as *agra-vīra* shows that he was the first and the eldest son of Pulakēśin I. As he is not endowed with royal titles we have to surmise that he was governing the province as his father's deputy and issued the charter in this capacity. This leads to another surmise that Pulakēśin I was ruling at this time. If the identification of [Ma]l[kō]taka suggested in the sequel is correct, Pūgavarman's authority might have extended over the present Gulbarga District.

It is well-known that Pulakēśin I had two more sons, the elder of whom, viz. Kīrtivarman, succeeded his father on the Chālukya throne. In his Godachi plates, Kīrtivarman is referred to as his father's favourite son. In the Mahākūṭa inscription of Mangalīśa who succeeded Kīrtivarman, it is said that Pulakēśin I had two sons and that Kīrtivarman was the senior. These statements do not preclude the possibility of the existence of yet another son being the seniormost. This possibility is borne out by the present record. The fact that Pulakēśin I was succeeded by Kīrtivarman can be explained on the assumption of Pūgavarman's demise before his father.<sup>4</sup>

Assuming that Pulakēśin I started his independent rule a few years prior to the date of the Bādāmi inscription, we may place the commencement of his reign roughly about 535 A.D.<sup>5</sup> His

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *East. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, 345 and note 1; above, Vol. XXVII, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *East. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 244; above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 8-9, and n. 1. As in the Bādāmi inscription of S. 405, the present record also describes the king as *Hiranyaprabhāsambhāta*, i.e. one who performed the *Hiranyaprabhāsa* sacrifice.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 69 and n. 10. Some scholars are not prepared to assign the present charter to the Chālukya family (A.R.Ep., 1949-50, p. 2). The arguments against this view are set forth in the above discussion.

<sup>4</sup> It is unnecessary to suggest the identity of Pūgavarman with Kīrtivarman, as they constitute two distinct names. Cf. *Contra*, Panchanabhi, op. cit., p. 70.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *The Classical Age*, p. 231.



reign ended about 567 A.D. With an approximate margin of a few years before the last date, it may be suggested that the present charter was issued by Pāṇavarman about 560 A.D. From his description as *Raṣaśūhṛt*, i.e. 'firm in battle', it may be gathered that Pāṇavarman assisted his father in the wars which the latter had to wage for the establishment of the Chālukya kingdom.

The name of the deity Vārāhadeva which means 'lord of Vārāhi,' i.e. god Varāha, is interesting.<sup>1</sup> The roundabout way of naming the god may possibly be explained on the ground that the goddess Vārāhi, who was one of the Seven Mothers, was held in high reverence and enjoyed an independent status, not being considered merely a female counterpart of Varāha. It is well known that the Chālukyas considered themselves specially favoured by the Seven Mothers and their partiality to Varāha or the Boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu is evidenced by their acceptance of the figure of this god for their family emblem. This affords the earliest instance of the devotion to the god Varāha in the Chālukya family.

There is only one place-name mentioned in the record and it is Maḷakōṭaka. This village seems to be identical with the present Maḷkhēḍ in the Gulbarga District, Mysore State. Maḷkhēḍ became the renowned capital of the Rāshtrakūṭas of the Deccan during later centuries and it is mentioned in their records in the Sanskritised form Mānyakhōḍa. It is referred to as Mānyakhōḍa in a record<sup>2</sup> of 993 A.D. In the inscriptions of the locality as well as of the villages near about Maḷkhēḍ, ranging from the 11th to the 16th centuries, the place is spoken of as Maḷikōḍa and Maḷayakhōḍa.<sup>3</sup> If the above identification is correct, this would be the earliest allusion to the place, indicating its existence at least from the sixth century.

It would be interesting to review here the contents of an early stone inscription which may similarly be attributed to the Chālukya house of Bādāmi. The epigraph<sup>4</sup> is incised on a boulder to the left of the images of Durgā and Gaṇeśa near the fourth gate of the fort at Gooty in the Anantapur District, Andhra State. The characters are archaic Kannada of about the sixth or seventh century, the language being an admixture of faulty Sanskrit and old Kannada. It reads as follows :

- 1 Śrī-śaḷaḷa-gra-salya
- 2 Śrī-Vaḷlabha-yuvārājya-
- 3 na Kāṣyapa-vaḷabha kārī-
- 4 paḷā Bhaṭṭaraka
- 5 [paḷā-rūṇa keyḍadu
- 6 [śrī]-paḍime<sup>5</sup> [y<sup>6</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> This reminds us of such names of the gods as Lakṣmīdeva, Vaiṣṇava, etc.

<sup>2</sup> B. E. Coll., No. 170 of 1923-24.

<sup>3</sup> The places were explored by me for inscriptions some twenty years ago. See my *Jainism in South India*, pp. 192 ff. and 225 n. and also *Kan. Ssk. Fort. Papers*, 1941, December, pp. 6 ff.

<sup>4</sup> A.H.Ep., 1934-55, Appendix A, No. 1.

<sup>5</sup> This may be rendered into Sanskrit as śrī-śaḷaḷa-graḥa-salyaḥ śrī-vaḷlabha-yuvārājya-kaṣyapa-vaḷabha-  
grāma-rūṇa-śrī-śrī-śaḷaḷa-graḥa-salyaḥ.

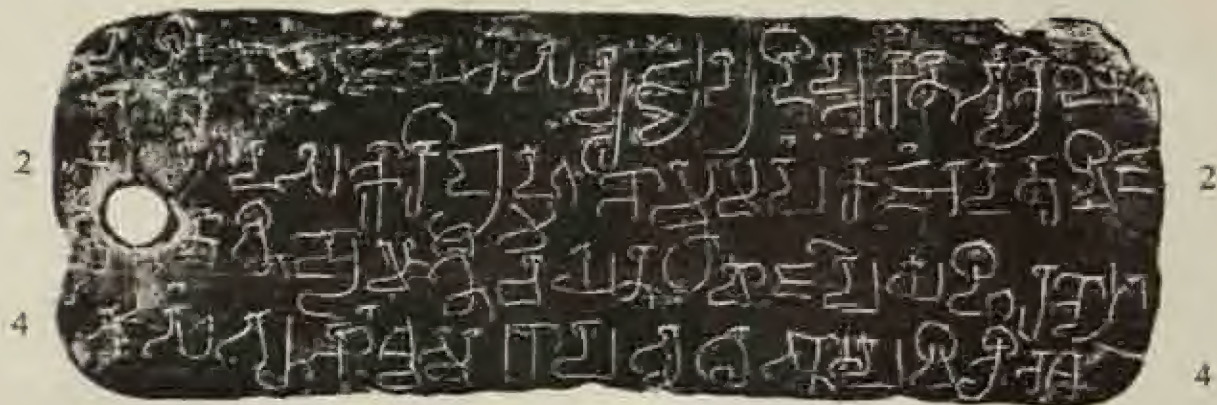




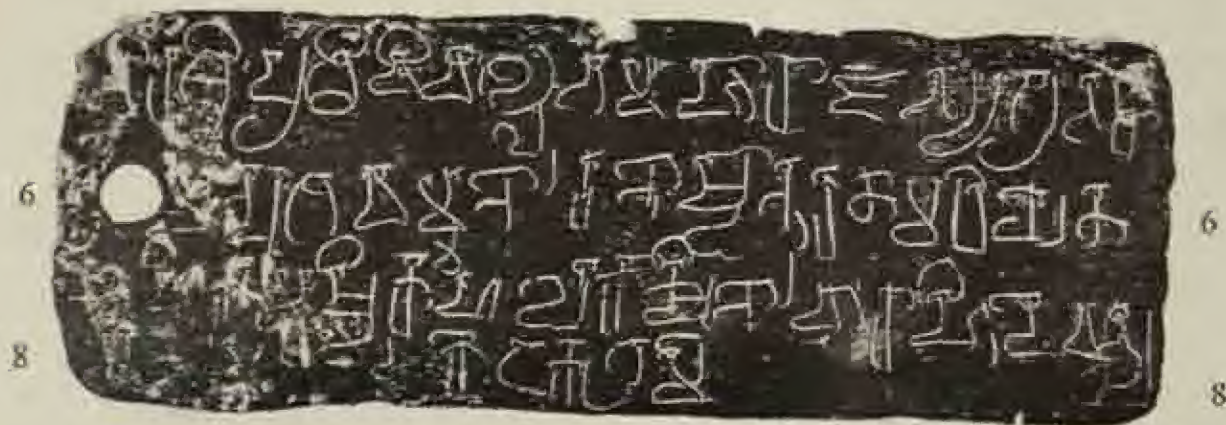


# MUDHOL PLATES OF PUGAVARMAN

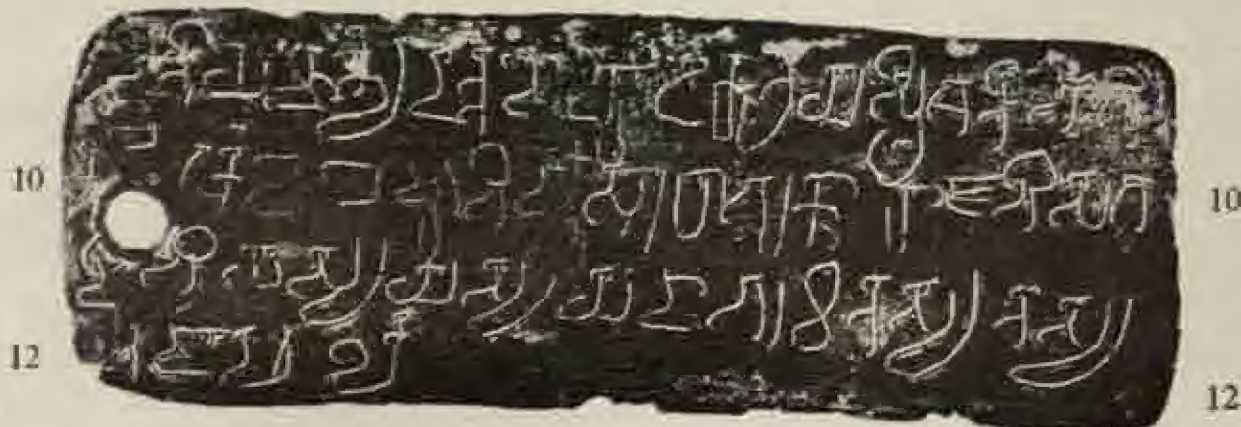
6



11, 2



11, 3



Scale : Actual  
SEAL



(from a Photograph)



"This sacred image of the Supreme Goddess was caused to be made according to the standard form through (the artist who was) a descendant of Kāśyapa by the illustrious Yasarāja (i.e. crown-prince) Śrīvallabha, a plucking javelin to all the evil spirits."

As we have noted earlier, Śrīvallabha was specially a Western Chālukya appellation. Hence, although the name of the crown-prince who was responsible for the setting up of the image<sup>1</sup> in question, is not specified, it goes without saying that he belonged to the Chālukya house of Bādāmi. It is difficult to surmise who this Chālukya prince could be, as he might be any one from Pulakāśin I to Vikramāditya I. But it is possible to think that this prince might have set up the image of the goddess while he was governing the area of Goety as the viceroy of the ruling king.

The name of the artist or sculptor who actually shaped the image according to the standard prescribed in the texts on the subject (*pramā-rūpapa*) is not mentioned. Instead, it is merely said that he belonged to the lineage of Kāśyapa. This is interesting, for Kāśyapa was a renowned artist (*śilpākāra*)<sup>2</sup> and the present sculptor seemed to take more pride in mentioning the former as his ancestor than disclosing his own name.

### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

#### First Plate

- 1 Svasti [ ] ... \*yati sat-pūjya[m] pradīpta-kama[ka-pra\*]bhac[am]([bham]) trailb-
- 2 kya-nad-ast-kāri Hirahmagah<sup>4</sup>-krama-purkajam([jam] || 1)\* Tad-ana rija-
- 3 [yij]-Āgnishūṣṭom-Āgnochayana-Vājapēya<sup>5</sup>-Hiranyaga-
- 4 rbha-sambhūtam(t-ā)śvamedh-āpa(va)bh[ri]tha-snāna-pav[ritra]-śa-

#### Second Plate, First Side

- 5 [r]ra-Śrīprithivīvallabha-mahārājasya(sy-a)gra-sū-
- 6 [nu\*]-śrīmat-Pūgava(r)nimapā Rapaśātura<sup>6</sup>-nāmadhēya
- 7 [ai]hik-ānushūka-phal-[ś]kāmksipā Vārāhīkṛva-sva(evā)-
- 8 ... \* [Ma]k[ā]k[ā]ka-gr[ā]mā

<sup>1</sup> The image may be that of Durgā, after which the record is headed.

<sup>2</sup> Siddhāntavara Śāstri Chakrāṇ, *Prakāśa Chakrāṇ* (Madrās), p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> From impression.

<sup>4</sup> There are traces of three worn out letters before this, which may be restored as *śrīmad[j]ha*.

<sup>5</sup> This *jāyamaṇiya* is indicated by a sign looking like a big superscript *ma*.

<sup>6</sup> Metro: *Anushūbha*.

<sup>7</sup> [Read "pūjya-pūjī".—D. 1. 8.]

<sup>8</sup> For a correct form of this name see the discussion above.

<sup>9</sup> The two damaged letters here may be *ma*.



*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 9 dvitīya[m] mānyam dattam sō[vu]ḍakam<sup>1</sup> \*irayae-tri[m]ṣati[ṣat] bhāgi-  
 10 na[h<sup>2</sup>] [\*] Uktāś=cha [[\*] Bahubbir=vrasudhā bhuktā rājahhi[h<sup>3</sup>] Saga-  
 11 [-ā\*] dibbi[h<sup>4</sup>] [\*] yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)m[i][e\*]=tasya tasya  
 12 \*adā phalam(lam || 2)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The intended reading may be either mā-śḍakam or a-śḍakam.

<sup>2</sup> Better supply the word *aya* before this.

<sup>3</sup> Actually the reading is bhāgiṣa[h<sup>4</sup>] and not bhāgiṣa, as read by Shri Paṇḍitamūḍhi. This gives better sense.

<sup>4</sup> *Meire*: āvāṣṭhā.



# No. 35—BARLA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PRITHVIRAJA III, V.S. 1234

( I Plate )

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

The black stone slab bearing the inscription under study was discovered some years ago by Mr. U. C. Bhattacharya, Curator of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, at the village of **Bārīā** about 7 miles to the east of the city of Ajmer. Mr. Bhattacharya read a short note on the importance of the date of the epigraph at the Jaipur Session of the Indian History Congress in December 1951 and this note was later published with an illustration of the record in the Proceedings of the Session, pp. 326-28.

The inscription is **fragmentary** as some letters at the end of all the lines are lost. Fortunately however, the number of the lost syllables in most of the lines can be easily determined as the major part of the record is in verse. The right hand side of the inscribed slab of stone is broken away. The extant part measures about 16½ inches in length, 9 inches in height and 1 inch in thickness. The length indicated is that of the central section of the slab since the pieces broken away from the upper and lower right corners have made a sort of angle about the middle of its right side and the length of the top and bottom of the slab is respectively 11½ inches and 14½ inches. There are 13 lines of writing on the stone, of which line 8 is the longest (about 15½ inches leaving a margin of slightly less than an inch in the left); but a portion of the slab containing four *akṣaras* has broken away from the end even of this line. The number of lost syllables is higher in all the other lines of the epigraph, the loss being generally more considerable in the line that stands at a greater distance from line 8 either above or below it. Thus, amongst lines 1-7, the number of lost syllables is 16 in line 1, and 7 in line 7. Considering the size of the letters (about ½" × ¼"), the four lost letters at the end of line 8 appear to have covered a space about 1½ inches in length and there was probably a margin of a little less than an inch (as in the left hand side of the slab) beyond the last *akṣara* of the line. Thus the length of the inscribed slab was originally a little above 19 inches.

The **characters**, which are neatly and carefully engraved, belong to the Devanāgarī alphabet of about the twelfth century A. D. and closely resemble those of other contemporary epigraphs discovered in the area in question, such as the Ajmer inscription recently edited in the pages of this journal.<sup>1</sup> The same is also the case with its **orthography** which shows the tendency to use *claus nasals* instead of *anusvāra* and *anusvāra* instead of the final *m* at the end of the halves of verses. The *uṣṇa* has been used twice in line 5, and *ḥ* has been written by the sign for *v*. The number of errors is small. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and its composition exhibits a mixture of prose and verse. There is a short *madhala* passage in prose at the beginning of the epigraph in line 1, which is followed by a *prastāva* in 13 stanzas in different metres engraved in lines 1-13. The verses are consecutively numbered, the numerical figures at their end being placed between a double and a single *śloka*. A few sentences at the end of the record in lines 12-13 refer to the author and the engraver of the eulogy, the date of the construction of a step-well which was its main subject as well as a prayer that the said well may last for ever. The date is quoted as V. S. 1234, Chaitra-sudi 4, which, as will be seen below, is not easily reconcilable with certain known facts of history.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 178 ff. and Plate.



Out of the 13 stanzas of the eulogy, verse 1 contains the adoration to a deity. Verses 2-4 describe the ruling king and his family, verses 5-6 an officer or a subordinate of the king and his family, and verses 7-9 the hero of the eulogy and his family. The remaining stanzas deal with the object of the *prastuti*, which, as already indicated above, is to record the construction of a step-well.

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by a symbol for the *prayer*. Next comes the passage *namaḥ Śivāya* which is followed by verse 1 in which the protection of the god Varuṇa is invoked. The invocation to Varuṇa, god of the waters, suits the occasion as the subject of the composition is essentially the excavation of a step-well and we have other instances of the kind in inscriptions recording the construction of wells.<sup>1</sup> Verse 2 introduces the hero named Chāhamāna, the mythical progenitor of the Chāhamāna family of Rajputa, as born of Virōchana, i.e. the sun-god. This interpretation of the word *virōchana*, which means both 'the sun' and 'fire', is suggested by the fact that the *Prithvirājavarjya* composed by Jayāmaka in the last decade of the twelfth century as well as Nayachandra-sūri's *Hammitramahākavya*, composed a century later, represents the eponymous Chāhamāna as sprung from the *Sūrya-maṇḍala*, while the tradition of the progenitors of the Paramāra, Pratihāra, Chānukya and Chāhamāna families being born from the sacrificial fire-pit of the sage Vasiṣṭha on Mount Abu was unknown even as late as the fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup> It seems that the damaged second half of verse 2 referred to the Chāhamāna family as originated from the eponymous hero Chāhamāna mentioned in its first half. This is suggested by the first half of verse 3 which introduces the birth of king Vīgraharājādēva (i.e. Vīgraharāja IV or Vimala) with the word *ita* no doubt meaning 'in this family', and another word which seems to be *krāmā* (i.e. in the regular course of succession), the name of the family being apparently indicated previously.

The extant part of verse 3 suggests that Vīgraharāja IV left his throne for his brother's son Prithvībhata (i.e. Prithvirāja II) after having ruled the earth (i.e. the Chāhamāna kingdom with its capital at Śākambharī) for a long time. It is interesting to note that the inscription passes over Aparā<sup>3</sup> or Amaragāṅgēya, son and successor of Vīgraharāja IV.<sup>4</sup> This was probably because Aparā<sup>5</sup> or Amaragāṅgēya was overthrown after a short rule by Prithvirāja II whose successors were reluctant to recognise the former's rule and were eager to represent Prithvirāja II as the direct successor of Vīgraharāja IV. An inscription from Dhod is reported to contain a reference to the success of Prithvirāja II against the king of Śākambharī, who seems to have been none other than Aparā<sup>6</sup> or Amaragāṅgēya.<sup>7</sup> Verse 4 states that a later king of the family, named Prithvirāja (i.e. Prithvirāja III), succeeded another king whose name was . . . ra. This damaged name was no doubt Sōmāśvara, who was the father and predecessor of Prithvirāja III and the uncle and successor of Prithvirāja II.

The next two stanzas (verses 5-6) speak of a Brāhmaṇa family belonging to the Kauśika *gotra* and hailing from a flourishing *agrahāra* called Atilākha. Verse 6 mentions Yaśōrāja who seems to have been the son of Khamadēva or . . . khamadēva of this family. The real significance of the introduction of this family is not clear; but it seems that Yaśōrāja was a subordinate or an officer of the Chāhamāna king and that the locality where the step-well was excavated (i.e. probably the village of Bārli near Ajmer where the inscription was found) lay within the territory or *śeṭ* under him.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Maudslayi inscription (V.S. 1221) in the Gwalior Museum (A.E. Ep., 1853-54, No. 147 of App. B; Maudslayi inscription of V.S. 742 (ibid., 1856-57, No. 604 of App. B; *Administrative Report of the Archaeological Department of Jodhpur*, 1924, p. 5) etc.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 179; Ray, *Dyn. Hist. S. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 1632-52.

<sup>3</sup> Aparā<sup>4</sup> or Amaragāṅgēya is mentioned in the *Prithvirājavarjya*, *Prabandhalakṣha* and *Araṇyaka*. Cf. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 1078.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 1089.



Verses 7 ff. describe another family belonging to the Kāśyapa *gotra*, to which the hero of the eulogy belonged. Verse 7 mentions Saṅghadēva of this family and his son Udaya. The damaged last foot of the stanza no doubt mentioned Udaya's son and apparently also the son's wife. Verse 8 states that, from the husband and wife whose names are lost with the concluding part of the previous stanza, was born *Thakkura Pālḥūka*. The next stanza (verse 9) describes Pālḥūka's good character and qualities while verse 10, most of the syllables in the second foot of which are lost, states that he constructed a step-well by what he had earned by means of trade. This shows that *Thakkura Pālḥūka* was a trader by profession, although it is uncertain whether he actually belonged to the mercantile caste as well. Verse 12 states that some money belonging to Rāhada, a brother of Pālḥūka's father, was also spent in the construction of the well and that the *Thakkura* (i.e. Pālḥūka) became free from his debt to his uncle thereby. The concluding syllables of the stanza are lost; but it seems that Pālḥūka had previously borrowed some money from his uncle Rāhada and that Rāhada or his heirs agreed to forego the realisation of the amount if it was spent in a good cause like the construction of a step-well. Verse 13 mentions the four wives of Rāhada, viz. Dēvamā, Saṅghā, Lakṣmī and Uttamā. The introduction of these ladies in the narration is difficult to explain; but it seems that it was they who permitted Pālḥūka to spend the amount borrowed from their husband in the construction of the well. Possibly this was done for the merit of Rāhada who might have been dead at the time.

The eulogy is stated to have been composed by Padmanābha, son of *Āchārya Nā*. . . . The name of the poet's father consisted of about two *akṣaras* only and seems to have been something like Nēma. A partially preserved epithet of Padmanābha appears to suggest that he claimed to be a *kavi* or poet. The inscription was engraved by Jayatasīlha, son of *Paṇḍita Yaśōdhara*. Since this person does not look like an ordinary engraver, it is not unlikely that he only painted the letters on the stone to facilitate the work of the real engraver of the record. If such was the case, the name of the person who actually engraved the *prasti* on the stone is not mentioned in the record.

The most puzzling information supplied by the inscription under study is its date: V. S. 1234, Chaitra-audi 4. This is the earliest date of Chāhamāna Prithvirāja III so far known. Unfortunately, the date is not satisfactorily verifiable since the name of the week-day has not been mentioned in the epigraph. If, however, the beginning of the Vikrama year in the age and area in question can be determined, the date of our inscription may be calculated, although, unfortunately, the result of such an attempt scarcely solves the mystery of the date of our record. As will be seen below, the latest known date of the father and predecessor of Prithvirāja III is V.S. 1234, Bhādra-audi 4. This would suggest that the year commenced some time between the months of Chaitra and Bhādra, so that the month of Bhādra was earlier than that of Chaitra. But, even though the Āshāḍhādi and Śrāvaṇādi Vikrama years are not unknown in Rajasthan, the dates in the inscriptions of the Chāhamānas do not support such an explanation.

Let us clear the position by an examination of the following regular and verifiable dates in the records of Prithvirāja III and his immediate predecessors.

1. Ajmer inscription<sup>1</sup> of Vigraharāja or Vimala IV, dated V.S. 1210 (1153-54 A.D.), Mārgaśīraha-audi 5, Sunday=November 22, 1153 A.D. The year began before the month of Mārgaśīraha.
2. Hansi inscription<sup>2</sup> of Prithvībhata or Prithvirāja II, dated V.S. 1224 (1167-68 A.D.), Māgha-audi 7, Thursday=January 18, 1168 A.D. The year began before the month of Māgha.

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., No. 329.



3. Bijolia inscription<sup>1</sup> of Sōmēśvara, dated V.S. 1226 (1169-70 A.D.), Phālguna-vadi 3, Thursday-February 5, 1170 A.D. The year began before the month of Phālguna.
4. Revana inscription<sup>2</sup> of Sōmēśvara, dated V.S. 1230 (1173-74 A.D.), Āshāḍha-andi 9, Monday-June 10, 1174 A.D. The year began after the month of Āshāḍha.
5. Anvalda inscription<sup>3</sup> of Sōmēśvara, dated V.S. 1234 (1177-78 A.D.), Bhādra-andi 4, Friday-August 18, 1178 A.D. The year began after the month of Bhādrapada.
6. Phalodi inscription<sup>4</sup> of Prithvirāja III, dated V.S. 1236 (1179-80 A.D.), Prathama-Āshāḍha-andi 10, Wednesday-June 4, 1180 A.D. The year began after the month of Āshāḍha.
7. Udaipur Victoria Hall Museum inscription<sup>5</sup> of Prithvirāja III, dated V.S. 1244 (1187-88 A.D.), Phālguna-andi 31, Friday-February 12, 1188 A.D. The year began before the month of Phālguna.

The above dates would show that the Vikrama year commenced between the months of Bhādrapada and Mārgaśīrṣa. The year thus appears to have been Kārttikādi and not Chaitrādi, Āshāḍhādi or Śrāvaṇādi. Of the Āshāḍhādi and Śrāvaṇādi Vikrama years prevalent in some parts of Rājasthān,<sup>6</sup> the first does not suit the dates of Nos. 4-6 and the second is equally unsuitable in the case of No. 5. The date of our inscription, viz. V. S. 1234, Chaitra-andi 4, would thus appear to correspond to the 25th March 1178 A.D.

But this date of the reign of Prithvirāja III is earlier by a few months than the latest known date of his father and predecessor Sōmēśvara, viz. V. S. 1234, Bhādra-andi 4-August 18, 1178 A.D. as found in the Anvalda inscription. Since, however, the inscription under study clearly refers to the death of Sōmēśvara (*cf. tridān-pattanaṁ prāptā* in verse 4), its date can scarcely be earlier than the latest date in the records of that king, viz. August 18, 1178 A.D. It is therefore not improbable that V.S. 1234 in the date of our record is a mistake for V.S. 1235. In that case the date of the epigraph would correspond to March 14, 1179 A.D. Thus Prithvirāja III would appear to have ascended the Chāhamāna throne after the death of his father Sōmēśvara between the 18th August 1178 A.D. and the 14th March of the following year, that is to say, sometime about the end of 1178 A.D. or the beginning of 1179 A.D.

It seems that there is some confusion in the minds of the writers on Chāhamāna history about the English equivalent of the date of the Anvalda inscription of Sōmēśvara, viz. V.S. 1234, Bhādra-andi 4, which is the latest known record of that king. H. C. Ray regards the year as c. 1177 A.D.,<sup>7</sup> while D. C. Ganguly gives the year of the accession of Sōmēśvara's successor Prithvirāja III as 1177 A.D.<sup>8</sup> Although Ganguly does not refer to Bhattacharya's note on the inscription under study,<sup>9</sup> his view seems to have been influenced by the wrong equation of V. S. 1234, the year of Prithvirāja's accession according to the present record, with 1177 A.D.

The only **geographical** name mentioned in the inscription is the *agrahāra* of Atisākha whence the family of Yaśōrāja hailed. I am not sure about the identification of the locality.

<sup>1</sup> Bhattacharya's List, No. 344.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 360.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 350. Another inscription of the time of Prithvirāja III on the same pillar is dated V.S. 1245 (current), Phālguna-andi 12, Thursday (12th February 1188 A.D.). *CE. IHQ.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 80.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 390.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 412.

<sup>6</sup> See G. H. Ojha, *The Palaeography of India* (Bhub), pp. 169-70.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 1082. Some other scholars also equate V. S. 1234 with 1177 A.D. (*cf. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVI, p. 49).

<sup>8</sup> *The Struggle for Empire*, 1957, p. 83; *cf.* pp. 104-05.

<sup>9</sup> Bhattacharya's article was published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 15th Session (Jaipur 1951) in 1953.







2  
 4  
 6  
 8  
 10  
 12

Scale: One-Half



TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres: verses 1, 5 *Indravajrā*; verses 2, 7-13 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 3 *Upajāt*; verse 4 *Āryā*; verses 6 *Māhāt*.]

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> ||\* Ōm<sup>3</sup> namaḥ Śivāya || Dēvaḥ sa vō-vyād-Varnō yadiyā arir-||parigama-  
ethāvara-janma-b[6]—||\* ————
- 2 ch[3]vyam<sup>4</sup>-api prasūtā || 1 | Chāhamān-āhvayaḥ kō-pi purā vīrō Virūchanā | prādurvya-  
(r-bha)bhū(va)..... || 2 ||\*<sup>5</sup>
- 3 mād-ih-ōdbhūya chirāya bhūktvā kṛtānāni mahati Vīrabharājadēv<sup>6</sup> | Prithvibhaḥ  
bhūtrī-autē cha tasya mā ———— || 3 ||\*<sup>7</sup>
- 4 radēvō kshāpi-patau tridāsa-pattanaṁ prāptō | Prithvirājas-tanayae-tasya padam  
bhūahayāmāsa || 4 | Yugmān ————
- 5 nīm<sup>8</sup> asdvā(d-Brā)hmaṇāḥ Kauśika-vamāa-dīpāḥ | yan-nirggamaḥ sphātimat<sup>9</sup>-tāśakha-  
nāmō<sup>10</sup>-grahārādhava ———— || 5 ||\*<sup>11</sup> vvv
- 6 khamadēvō<sup>12</sup> dēva-vipr-ādya-upāsā-prasād-amala-kīrtti-tat-kulē nīlāli | sakala-guṇa-  
gariṣṭhaḥ ————
- 7 bhavad-nehita-jāḥ śri-Yaśrāja-as[3]jāḥ || 6 | Kāśyap-ānvaya-sambhūta-Saḍhaḍev-  
āṅga-janmaṇāḥ | Udayaaya tanujō .....
- 8 tavān<sup>13</sup> || 7 | Jayanta ita Panibhū<sup>14</sup>-Pākāśanayō<sup>15</sup>-ayash(yam) | tayāḥ<sup>16</sup>-Thakkura-  
P[ā]bhū<sup>17</sup>śō dāmpatyō<sup>18</sup>-abhavat-antāḥ || 8 | Satva(itva)-v[1] .....
- 9 drō<sup>19</sup>-mahatvō<sup>20</sup>(itvō)na marud-giriḥ | dānchēsa yaḥ Śāntanavaḥ satyōna cha Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ || 9 |  
Vāṇijy-ōpārjitaṁ yasya va .....
- 10 rakatā(kam)<sup>21</sup> | lothā hy-anāna vāp-iyam niramāpyata śarmma-kṛit || 10 | Yad-vāri  
śīliraṁ svēda pāyam pāyam-ayaklamāḥ | .....
- 11 pūthhā-tatra tatra sa-viamayam(yam) || 11 | Pūṇiya-Rāhadaay-āpi nīpāś-emina-  
kiyad-dhanam(nam) | vyayitv-āṇiyam-āgama<sup>22</sup>-Thakkurō<sup>23</sup> .....

<sup>1</sup> From impression.<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.<sup>3</sup> The intended word is apparently Ōm.<sup>4</sup> The intended word may be śābhayam.<sup>5</sup> The last syllables may be conjecturally restored as cha tātānānamāgārad-ābhūkāt.<sup>6</sup> The last letter was apparently lra.<sup>7</sup> The last syllables were no doubt kr.Śāntāna.<sup>8</sup> It is difficult to determine the implication of this damaged foot of the stanza.<sup>9</sup> We cannot be sure whether the name is Khamadēva or one or more syllables are lost from its beginning.<sup>10</sup> The last syllables may be conjecturally restored as śābhayam grāhārāḥ.<sup>11</sup> These two last syllables appear to have been some.<sup>12</sup> The damaged fourth foot of the stanza apparently mentioned the names of the son and daughter-in-law of Udaya. The damaged passage may be restored as svēda-ayāḥ pāyam-ayaklamāḥ.<sup>13</sup> This damaged passage may be conjecturally restored as tatra-vyāḥ Śāntānavaḥ.<sup>14</sup> Apparently the money earned by Pākāśa by means of trade was referred to in this damaged passage.<sup>15</sup> Read 'ma' = Thakkurō which was followed by something like 'yam' and 'mā'.



12 Dōvamā Salakhū Lakahmīr-Uttamā ch-ēti tasya t2 | dharmma-patnyāḥ pitṛivyaṣya  
chātasrah pati-dēvatāḥ || 13 | kṛitir-īyān śrīmad-āchārya-N[ē] . . . .<sup>1</sup>

13 vāḥ śrī-Padmanābhāṣya || utkīṛṇḥ-ēyān Pāṇḍita-Yaśōdhara-putrēṣa Jayatasinhāna ||  
Śarīvat 1234 Chaitra-śudī 4 [||<sup>2</sup>] | śivam-astu | athāyāch-ch-aita . . . .<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The last of the lost syllables was apparently ka which appears to have been preceded by the word *gṛhṇāṇa*. The name of the pret's father was probably written only in two syllables, the first of which was *ch*. This name may have been something like Nāma.

<sup>2</sup> The damaged sentence may be conjecturally restored as *śrīyāch-astu śrīyāch-astu śrīyāch-astu*.



No. 36—LAHADAPURA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYACHCHANDRA,  
V. S. 1230

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTCHUMUND

The inscription forming the subject of this paper is engraved on a stone slab now preserved in the Khūrat Kalā Bhavan attached to the Hindu University at Banaras, U. P. It was copied by me when I visited Banaras in June 1955 with the purpose of examining the epigraphic records in the collection of the Kalā Bhavan. The internal evidence shows that it was raised at a place called Lahadapura. I was at first inclined to identify it with the modern town of Laharpur (lat. 26° 42' 45", long. 80° 56' 23"), headquarters of a Pargana of the same name in the Sitapur District of U. P. But I am informed that the inscribed stone was found at Barahpur near Nandganj in the Gazipur District by Mr. Kabir Nath Shukla, now Deputy Director of Education, U. P., who presented it to the Kalā Bhavan.

The inscription is written in ten lines which cover an area a little above 15 inches in length and slightly less than 17 inches in height. The letters, which are boldly engraved, are each about 1 inch in height and a little more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in breadth. But some of them, with the signs of vowel-marks, etc., have greater height and breadth. The preservation of the writing is on the whole satisfactory, although some of the letters are damaged here and there.

The characters belong to the Devanāgarī alphabet of about the twelfth century and resemble those not only in the records of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty of Banaras and Kanaḍ, but also in the contemporary inscriptions discovered in the central area of Northern India and some of the neighbouring regions. The letter *h* has been represented by the sign for *c*. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit which is, however, somewhat influenced by the local dialect. Besides the word *smṛti* preceded by the Śiddham symbol standing at the beginning of line 1 and the numerical figures illustrating two sums given in words in lines 2 and 3, the whole record is written in verse. There are only five stanzas in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. The orthography of the record is characterised by the use of *anustotra* in place of class nasals as well as in that of final *m* at the end of the halves of verses. Double nasal has been used in *vinasanta* in line 8 and *ś* for *sh* in *śāli* in line 3.

The date of the record is quoted in verses 1-2 in lines 1 ff. It is the year (i.e. *Vikrama Samvat*) counted by the words *kṛā* (i.e. 6) *agat* (i.e. 3) and *arab* (i.e. 12) indicating 1230 which is also given in figures (line 2). The week-day was *Budha* and the *tithi* the 12th of the dark half of the month of *Āvina*. The figures for 12 are written immediately after the indication of the twelfth *tithi* in words. The date V.S. 1230, *Āvina-vadi 12, Wednesday*, corresponds regularly to the 5th September 1173 A.D. The said date is stated in verse 1 to have fallen in the reign of the illustrious *Jayachchandraśva* who was undoubtedly the Gāhaḍavāla king of that name. Gāhaḍavāla Jayachchandra ascended the throne on the 21st June 1170 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The inscription was therefore incised a little above three years after his accession.

The inscription under review is a private document. Its object is to record an ordinance issued by the Brāhmanas of a village in the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom without any reference to royal authority, though the heavy punishment stipulated is stated to have included not only certain

<sup>1</sup> See Bhandarkar's List, No. 245.







verse 4, the instantaneous slaughter, as recommended for the culprit, has been indicated by the interesting expression *chakshur-radha* (i.e. 'slaughter at sight') in which the word *chakshus* has been used in the sense of 'sight'. The confiscated property of the chief culprit was probably treated as pertaining to the whole village or was more probably assigned to the temple or temples of the locality. This is what was done in South India as we know from a number of inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

While verses 3-4 speak of the punishment of the principal offender and his abettor, the first half of the next stanza (verse 5) prescribes the punishment for the instigator of the crime. It is stated that the *vismantri*, i.e. the adviser of the chief culprit, should be *edrita* (cf. *edritam*) and should be treated as an equal of a dog or an ass or a Chapāḍā. The causative form of the root *eri* may be taken to mean 'to hold captive' or 'to restrain'. But the injunction that the instigator of the crime should be treated as a dog or an ass or a Chapāḍā seems to suggest that he was ostracised and that his movements were restricted. It has to be remembered in this connection that punishment by imprisonment was rather rare in ancient and early medieval India even in cases conducted in the king's courts.<sup>2</sup> Thus, while the chief offender was killed and his whole property confiscated and his abettor was expelled from the locality, his counsellor was permitted to stay in the village although nobody was allowed to have any intercourse with him.

The second half of verse 5, with which the document ends, states that the god *Dvādaśārka* was the witness [of the *sthiti*] and prays for the success of the same. The name *Dvādaś-ārka* refers to the conception of the twelve *Ādityas* as a single Sun-god called *Dvādaś-ātman* in the lexicons. Whether it was the name of the Sun-god worshipped at Lahadapura cannot be determined. But the conception of the Sun as a witness of human deeds seems to be quite appropriate as he is called *Loka-lakṣana* (literally, 'the eye of the world') and *Karma-sākṣin* (literally, 'the witness of [all] acts') in the Sanskrit lexicons.<sup>3</sup>

The question is now as to the capacity in which the Brāhmanas of Lahadapura issued the decree contained in the document under review. Of course the Smṛiti literature makes it abundantly clear that the particular jurisdiction of corporations of every kind was recognised by the ancient and medieval Hindu kings in the fullest measure and that the right of making laws for their corporations and composing disputes was often enjoyed by corporate bodies of farmers, craftsmen, cowherds, money-lenders, members of particular sects, robbers, actors, artisans, etc.\* No doubt the king of the country was advised to recognise and support the arrangements of and punishments inflicted by the chief of a family or a guild or of a corporation, and to interfere only when a dispute arose between a chief and his subordinates. But cases of grave crimes are stated to have been exclusively reserved for the king. This was, however, theoretical. In actual practice, inferior courts, such as those held by village assemblies, guilds, temple trustees and caste elders, appear to have been conducting criminal cases arising within their jurisdiction side by side with the courts headed by the king and his governors and subordinates without interruption from the government. A large number of South Indian inscriptions are known to prove that criminal cases including those involving homicide were decided by the village assembly or the community to which the accused belonged or the local people in general.<sup>4</sup>

In the present case, the Brāhmanas of Lahadapura do not appear to have been members of a corporation of their own community nor do the unsocial elements seem to have belonged to the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. T. V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, p. 224. Considering the punishment prescribed for robbery by the law-givers (Jolly, *HLI*, p. 273; Kane, *Hind. Dharm.*, Vol. III, pp. 319 ff.), *chakshur-radha* does not appear to mean 'blinding the eyes.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jolly, *Hindu Law and Custom*, p. 282.

<sup>3</sup> Jolly, *op. cit.*, p. 293; S. C. Sengupta, *Evolution of Ancient Indian Law*, pp. 16-17, 259 ff., 360.

<sup>4</sup> T. V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.*, pp. 225 ff., 225. There is an interesting case, in which the village assembly and its officers as well as the local government officers and the royal army failed to apprehend certain dacoits and ultimately the co-operation of the local people was sought.



some community or corporation. The language of the inscription seems to suggest that the Brāhmanas were the members of the village corporation and the unsocial elements belonged to different classes of the local population. The former appear to have been the same sort of corporate body as is called the village Mahājanas in the Kannada inscriptions and the village Mahāsādhā in the Tamil epigraphs. These were generally composed of Brāhmanas. The organisation appears to be similar to the village court referred to by Pitāmaha, according to whom such courts could appeal to the city courts which could in their turn appeal to the king.<sup>1</sup>

It may be supposed that the Brāhmanas of Lāhadapura could not have undertaken the responsibility of preserving law and order in their locality without the king's permission and that, since there is no reference to any royal approval in the record, either the Gāhadavāla king specially empowered them to act in the manner described in the inscription or there prevailed a sort of anarchy resulting from maladministration in the region in question and the leaders of the local population had to make their own arrangement for the suppression of unsocial elements. The second of the two alternative suggestions seems to be improbable in view of the fact that in such a case the name of the reigning monarch may not have been prominently mentioned in the document. As regards the first alternative, it may be pointed out that, although in the early mediæval period the royal court was regarded as the highest institution for the dispensation of justice, the position of a court like the village assembly was recognised by convention. They automatically enjoyed a sort of delegated authority and did not require special authorisation. It seems that the Brāhmanas of Lāhadapura who issued the ordinance were also responsible for judging the criminals when caught by the people or the village officers and of inflicting the punishments stipulated in the document.

It may be asked why the Brāhmanas felt the necessity for prescribing the said drastic punishments for the crimes in question. The answer seems to be this. There was absence of uniformity and precision in the works of the ancient Indian law-givers in regard to the punishment for most crimes. Crimes were sometimes grouped in categories and a punishment was prescribed for a particular category. Even when various crimes and their punishments were specified, the specification was not exhaustive. Moreover fines and *pāpāśakita* were often prescribed even for the most heinous crimes.<sup>2</sup> The Brāhmanas of Lāhadapura apparently felt the necessity to do away with this vagueness and prescribed exemplary punishments for the crimes concerned. This was probably done because the punishments then in vogue in the area were not sufficiently deterrent. Most of the ancient law-givers absolved a Brāhmana from corporal punishment and some of them prescribe for the instigator of a crime double the penalty of the criminal himself.<sup>3</sup> The ordinance of the Brāhmanas of Lāhadapura shows that they did not find these prescriptions suitable for the preservation of law and order in their area under the prevailing conditions. Above all, the ordinance empowered any of the inhabitants of the village to kill a plunderer and cattle-lifter. This they could not ordinarily do without bringing trouble to themselves. The inscription under study draws our attention to one of the most interesting sources of criminal law in ancient and mediæval India even in respect of some of the major crimes which are generally believed to have been dealt with by the kings and their feudatories and governors.

There is only one geographical name in the inscription. This is Lāhadapura mentioned in line 3 (verse 2) and apparently referred to as a *grāma* or village in line 5 (verse 3). If the inscribed stone really comes from the Gasipur District of U. P., we are not sure about its identification.

<sup>1</sup> Jolly, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> See Sengupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 313 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 314, 318.







[illegible]

Scale: Two-Fifths



As indicated above, the stone is stated to have been found at the village of Barahpur near Nandganj in the said District. Lahadapura thus may have been the old name of modern Barahpur or the area around that village.

# TEXT

- 1 (Siddham)<sup>1</sup> svasti | Śrī-Jayachchandraśvaya rājya<sup>2</sup> samvatsarē mitē |
- 2 kh-āgny-arkkath 1230 Āśvinē māse pakṣhē [kṛishṇē]
- 3 dinē Vu(Su)dhē || [1\*] Dvādaśyām 12 Lāhadayu(pu)rē rāhit-śā<sup>3</sup> s[thit]i-
- 4 r-dvijaiḥ | vaṇu-tuṇṭ-ā<sup>4</sup>bhūhūtais-tai[ḥ\*] kṛitā kathit-samāgataiḥ || [2\*]
- 5 Yō-anākaṁ pa[r]jivādēna kuryād-grāmaṁ lūṭanai(nam) | drōha-
- 6 m=anya-prakāraṁ vā gō-mahishy-ādi-(vē)hātanai(nam) || [3\*] Tasya bhakṣur-vradhaḥ
- 7 kāryaḥ sarvasva-haraṇaṁ tathā | bhāṅktvā grāmaṁ [cha] nāhikā-
- 8 lyas-tasy-āpash[ta]mbha-dāyakah || [4\*] Vinai(na)ntā vārayana-tu-
- 9 lyah sa śva-Chaṁḍāla-garḍabhaiḥ | Dvādaśārkva(rkka)s-cha bha-
- 10 gavā[n-i]ha sākā[ḥ]iḥ mīdāhyatām(tu) || [5\*]

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Correctly 'rāhit-śā'. 'Rāhit' seems to have been ignored because the figures were placed between the two words.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'bhūhū'.

<sup>5</sup> The vowel-mark with / looks somewhat like k. The word *jaṣa* or *jaṣṭ* is not found in Sanskrit; but, as indicated above, it has been used here in the sense of 'a robber' or 'robbery'. It seems to stand either for *Ḥṛd* *jaṣṭ* or *Sanskrit* *jaṣṭ*. The word *vaṣa* may also be read as *vaiṣa*; but that would scarcely give any sense.



No. 37—ARASAVALLI PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA (III), SAKA 982

( 2 Plates )

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

At the end of August 1957, the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, acquired these plates from Shri Manda Narasimham of Śrīkākuṣam. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, kindly entrusted the plates to me for studying and editing in the pages of this journal. The plates were discovered by a farmer while digging in a field in front of his house at Arasavalli in the Śrīkākuṣam Taluk, Visakhapatnam District. They were purchased by Shri Bhanumurti Pantulu, a teacher at Śrīkākuṣam. Shri Manda Narasimham, who obtained them from the latter, has published them in the Telugu journal *Bhārati*, May 1954, pp. 449 ff.<sup>1</sup>

This is a set of five copper-plates, each measuring about 8.5 inches by 3 inches. On the left side of each plate is a hole, about one inch in diameter, through which passes a circular ring about 3.75 inches in diameter. To this ring is attached a seal which is circular in shape and which measures about 2 inches in diameter. In the centre of the seal is the seated figure of a bull together with the other usual emblems found in the seals of the grants of Vajrahaṣṭa III. The first plate is inscribed on one side while the remaining four plates bear writing on both sides. The state of preservation of the writing is not satisfactory, specially on the fourth and fifth plates which cover the grant portion. The plates weigh 160 *tolas* while the ring with the seal weighs 58 *tolas*.

The characters belong to the variety called eastern Nāgarī and resemble those found in the other charters of Vajrahaṣṭa (III).<sup>2</sup> In respect of orthography, it may be observed that *ṣ* is written with the upper part of the symbol separated, cf. lines 6, 11 and 15. *N* is represented by two forms : cf. lines 1, 4 and 7 for one type and lines 69, 70 and 71 for the other. It is difficult to distinguish between *p* and *g*. The symbol for *r* denotes *ḍ* as well. In most cases, the consonant following *r* is reduplicated.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and the text is written in prose and verse.

The inscription belongs to the reign of the Eastern Gaṇiga king Vajrahaṣṭa (III, 1038-70 A.D.), the son of Kāmārjaya and Vinayamahādēvi. It contains the *prāśasti* beginning with *śrīmatāṃ akhīla-bhūmāṃ*, etc., introduced by this king. The text of the inscription upto line 39, comprising the introductory portion, is identical with that found in the other records of the king.<sup>3</sup> It may be pointed out that while the Nadagam, Narasapatam, Peddabammudi, Chinnacole and the present plates introduce the ruling king as *śrīmat-Vajrahaṣṭadēvaḥ*, the Madras Museum, Ganjam, Chikkalavalasa and the Boddapāṣṇ plates refer to him as *śrīmat-Anantavarman Vajrahaṣṭadēvaḥ*. The present inscription does not supply any new historical information.

<sup>1</sup> The same scholar has again noticed them in English in *JAHRS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 113 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. IX, pp. 96 ff. and Plates; *ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 67 ff. and Plates; *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 360 ff. and Plates.

<sup>3</sup> Besides the present grant, I have listed eight more records of this king. They are, (1) Nadagam plates, Śaka 979 (above, Vol. IV, pp. 153 ff.); (2) Madras Museum plates, Śaka 984 (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 94 ff.); (3) Narasapatam plates, Śaka 997 (*ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 147 ff.); (4) Ganjam plates, Śaka 991 (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 67 ff.); (5) Peddabammudi plates, Śaka 992 (*ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 360 ff.); (6) Chikkalavalasa plates, Śaka 982 (*ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 141 ff.); (7) Chinnacole plates, Śaka 971 (*JAHRS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 103 ff.); and (8) Boddapāṣṇ plates, Śaka 983 (*Asiatic Researches*, Appendix, pp. 55 ff.).



The grant was issued from Kalinganagara, usually identified with Mekhalāgama. The record registers the grant of the village Harisavalli (line 40) situated in Varāhavarttani (*śāhaga*). The gift village is mentioned again as Arisavalli in line 67, along with its adjoining village Māvendi. Varāha-varittani occurs in other records of this king as well as of other members of this dynasty and is usually taken to correspond to the area near modern Śrikākūlam.

The date of our grant, which occurs in lines 42-43, is expressed in the chitonogram, *karavasu-nidhi-Śak-ābdā*, i.e. Śaka 982, Kārttika, the twelfth day of the first fortnight, Monday. It regularly corresponds to Monday, October 9, A.D. 1060. It is earlier than the date of the Peddhamudi plates by two months and nineteen days only. Kārttika in 12 is known in the Kannada-Telugu speaking area as *Uthūna-deśāśi*, i.e., the day on which god Viṣṇu is woken up from his long sleep. It is also called *Prabodhāstava*. This *tithi* is also known for the end of *Chāturmāsya-vrata* (which begins on the same *tithi* in the month of Āshāḍha) and *Tulasī-vivaha* (the marriage of Viṣṇu with the Tulasī plant). The previous day, i.e. *śuklāśi*, is called *Prabodhāni śuklāśi*.

The details of the grant are given in lines 43 ff. This portion is defective in many places and so it is difficult to make out the purport satisfactorily. As stated above, the inscription registers the gift of the village Harisavalli which is also called Arisavalli. It appears that the village was originally given by the king to the son and three daughters of Dālamapeggaḍa and his wife Mavanaka. Dālamapeggaḍa is stated to have been the chief minister (*maḥāpradhāna*). The names of his son and daughters are given respectively as Mōḍapa-nāyaka, Viddāma, Mōḍama and Pētama. The subsequent assignments<sup>1</sup> of the gift village was as follows: The village was divided into four parts and one part was given to Śiriyapa-nāyaka, Vajjināyaka, Guṇḍama-nāyaka and Nūṭkama-nāyaka who were the sons of Naḍupana-nāyaka, a Kāyastha of Kāyapa-gōtra, and his wife Paitapā. This part constituted the units called Paṇḍi-niyōga and Pāṇchālī-niyōga.<sup>2</sup> This portion was further divided into nineteen shares out of which eighteen shares were taken by Vajji-nāyaka, Guṇḍama-nāyaka and Nūṭkama-nāyaka (mentioned above) while the remaining share was given to Naḍupana-nāyaka, son of Śiriyapa-nāyaka.<sup>3</sup> Again the second part of the village was divided into five shares as follows: one share to Guṇḍana and Apāmana, sons of Māvinaṭṭaḍi of Śūdra-varāha and his wife Viṭṭapā; one share to Chandēna, son of the younger Dāmaratṭaḍi and his wife Sāyapā; one share to Chāmēna, son of Viṭṭanarattāḍi and his wife Sarrapā; one share to Mādikana and Duggama, sons of Mādirattāḍi and his wife Chinnapā; and one share to Kaṭṭana and Viṭṭana, sons of Dugganarattāḍi and his wife Garakā. The part, consisting of these five shares, constituted the units known as Gavaḍa-niyōga and Chandraditya-niyōga.

The record then proceeds to state that the village was divided into *Saṁhāra-bhāga*, the meaning of which is doubtful. We know that the village was originally divided into four parts. Out of these, two parts have been disposed of as indicated above and the fourth part is accounted for later in the record. Therefore, this corresponded to the third part of the village, which was probably divided into seventeen shares and given to Dāmarā-nāyaka and Viparāya-nāyaka, sons of Kāyastha Guṇḍa-nāyaka of Kāyapa-gōtra. It appears that the grant was made at the instance of Iddashāhapa and that the recipients in their turn granted some portion to Nūṭkamōja, son of Chāḍumōja. The record next states that king Vajrahaṣṭa granted

<sup>1</sup> The expression *śāhaga-niyōga* is taken in this sense here, though the word *niyōga* which occurs later in the record seems to have been used in a technical sense meaning 'a unit'. See note 2 below.

<sup>2</sup> The word *niyōga* is suffixed to the proper names here and in similar expressions in the sequel. It is difficult to make out their exact significance. Possibly the portions granted were known by these names at the time of the grant.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Śiriyapa-nāyaka was dead at the time and so his son got only one share while his brothers got eighteen shares.

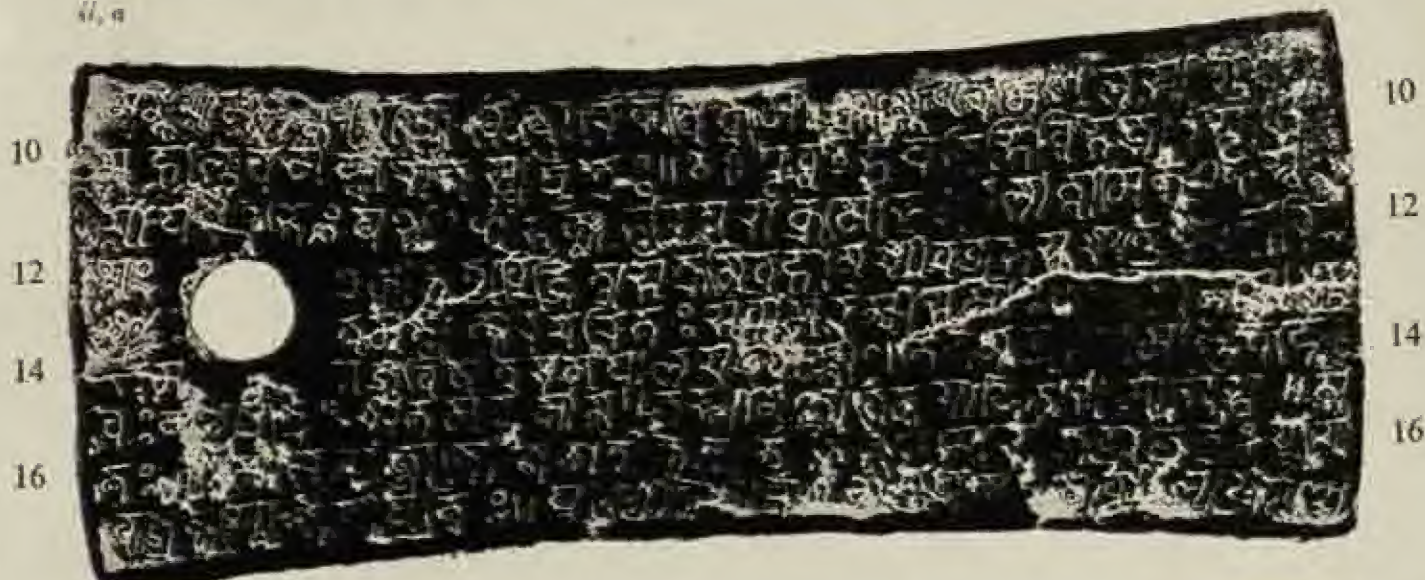




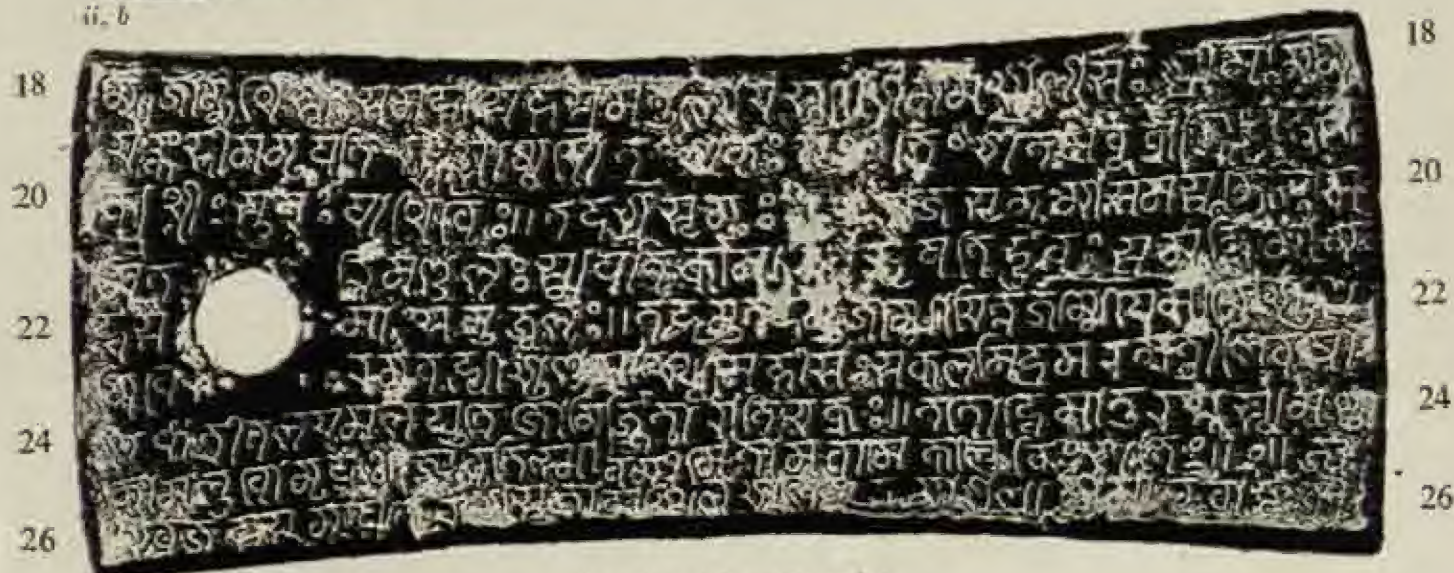




(i, a)



(ii, b)



Scale : Three-Fourths











SEAL



(from a Photograph)



- 6 pañchamahāsavda(bda)-dhavalachchhatra-kāmachāmara-varavṛishabhalāñchhana-samujva-  
(jiva)la-sama-  
7 sta-sāmṛājya-mahimnām-anēka-samara-saughaiṭṭa-samupalavdha(bdha)-vijaya-lakṣmī-samā-  
8 lūgit-ōtun(ttun)ga-bhūja-danḍa-maṇḍitānām Trikaṭiṅga-mahibhujām Gaṅgānā-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 9 m-anvayam-alatkarishpōr-Vishpōr-iva vikram-ākṛānta-dharā-maṇḍalasya Guṇa-  
10 mahārṇṇava-mahārājasya putrah ||0|| Pūrvvām bhūpatibhir-vvibhajya vasu(dhā)  
11 yā poṣṭhabhīḥ pañchadhā bhuktā bhūri-parākramō bhūja-va(ba)lāt-tām-ēka ēva ava-  
12 yam(yam | ) ēkḥṛitya vijitya sa(śa)tru-nivahāna(hān) tri-Vajrahastāḥ-chaturchatvāri(m)-  
13 śatam-aiyudhāra-dharitāḥ sarvvām-arakṣhīt-samāḥ || [1\*] Tasya tana(yō) Gu-  
14 (ṇḍa)marājō varsha-trayam-apālayata mahibh(him) ||( | ) tad-anujah Kāmārṇṇavādō-  
15 vaḥ pañcha-triṇśatam=avda(bda)kān || [2\*]<sup>1</sup> tasy-ānujō Vinayāditya(h\*) samās-tīra(h) ||  
Ta-  
16 taḥ Kāmārṇṇavāj-jātō jagat-kalpa-bhū(ruḥaḥ) | yō-rājad-rājitaḥ(ta)-chchhāyō  
17 Vajrahastō-vanipatīḥ ||[3\*] Praśchyōda(ta)n-mada-gandha-lavdha(bdha)-madhupa-  
vyālḍha-gaṇḍā-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 18 n=gaḥānō a(n=a)rihibhyah samadāt-sahasram-atulō yas-tyāginām-agraṇ(h\*)<sup>2</sup> sah(sa)  
śrīmān=Añi-  
19 yaṅkabhīma-nripatīr-Gaṅg-ānvay-ōtam(ttam)śa(sa)kaḥ pañcha-triṇśatam=avda(bda)kān-  
samabhūna-  
20 k=prithvīm stutaḥ pāṛthivaiḥ || [4\*] Tad-agra-sūnuḥ [8u]rarāja-sūnunō samas=samaśtām  
sa(śa)-  
21 mit-āri-maṇḍalāḥ ||[\*] sma pātī Kāmārṇṇava]-bhūpatīrbhbbhu(r-bbhu)vaṁ samiddhī-  
mān=a-  
22 ddha-samāḥ samujva(jjva)laḥ || [5\*] Tad-anu tad-anujamō(nmā) Chittajam-ōpamānō  
guṇa-  
23 nūhīr-anavadyō Guṇḍam-ākhyō mahīsaḥ(śaḥ | ) sakalam-idam-arakṣhat-triṇi varṣhā-  
24 ō dhātīr-valayam-alaghu-tējō-ulrjit-āśīti-chakraḥ || [6\*] Tatō dvē(dval)mātura=sasya  
Madhu-  
25 kāmā(r)ṇṇavō nripoh || ( | ) avati sm-āvanīm-ētām-avdā(bdā)mā(n=ś)kāṇṇa(n-na)-vīn-  
śatīm(tīm) ||0|| [7\*] A-  
26 the Vajrahasta-nripatīr-agra-sutid<sup>2</sup>-akhila-guṇi-jan-āgra-gaṇḍa(h\*) Kāmārṇṇavāt-kav-i-

<sup>1</sup> The metre is faulty; cf. above, Vol. XXIII, p. 71, note 14.

<sup>2</sup> There is an ā-mēdā attached to this akṣara which seems to have been cancelled by the engraver.



*Third Plate, First Side*

- 27 ndra-pragiyamān-āvadāta-śubha-kīrtiḥ || [8\*] Śrīya iva Vaidumrā(mb-ā)avaya-payah-payōnidhi-
- 28 samudbhārāyā-cha || [9\*] yāḥ samṃjani Vinayamahādēvyāḥ śrī-Va|rahanta |ti tanayaḥ
- 29 || [9\*] Viyad-ṣitu-nidhi-samkhyān yāti Śāk-āvda(bda)-sam[ghā] dinakṛti Vṛshabhaśṭhē Rōhiṣi-bhō au-
- 30 lagnē || [9\*] Dhauushi-cha sita-pakṣhē śrī(Śū)rya-vārō tritīyān yaji sakala-dhātistṛim
- 31 rakahitum yō-bhishiktaḥ || [10\*] Nyāyēna [yatra] samam-ścharitum tri-varggē mārggē-
- 32 pa rakṣati mahīm mahita-pratāpē || [10\*] [nirvyā]dhaya-cha niraghō-cha nirāpada-
- 33 ś-cha śāvat-prajā bhuvī bhavanti vibhūtima(itya)ḥ || [11\*] [Vyā]ptē Gaṅga-kul-ōttamasya yata-
- 34 ā dik-chakravālē tat-pradyōt-āmalinēna [yasya] bhuvanah(na)-prahlāda-sampādīnā || [11\*]
- 35 aśindūmīr=atśindra-paṅka-paṭalaḥ[h\*] kumbha-(athah)-pattakō+vā(śr=ā)limpanta(nī) punah pa-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 36 naś=cha haritām=ādhoṣṭapā vātaqān || [12\*] Anurāga(gē)pa guṇinō yasya vakṣhō(kahō)-mukhāvja(bja)-
- 37 yō(yōḥ) || [12\*] śai(a)nē Śrī-Sarasvatyāv-annkūlō virājita[h\*] || [13\*] Kalīṅganagarāt=paramamāhēva(śva)ra-
- 38 paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-Trikaliṅgādhipati-śrīmad-Vava[ra]hastadēva[h\*] kuśāl
- 39 samast-āmātya-pramukha-janspadāu=samābhāya samājñāpayati || [13\*] vīditam=astu bhavatādhi
- 40 Vardhavarttanyām || Harisavēli-grāmaḥ || chatur-ś(ś)m-āvachchinnah sa-jala-siha-
- 41 laḥ sarva-pūḥA-vivarjītam=ā-chandr-ārka-kahiti-sama-kāśah yāva=matā-pitrōc=stma-
- 42 naḥ punya-yasō-bhivṛddhaye \*) kara-vasu-nidhi-Śāk-āvda(bda) || Kārtika-māsa-prathama-pakṣa-dvāda-

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 43 ayān(ayān) Sōmavāre || Kāyapa-gōtr-ōtpannah Kāyastha-varish[th]ah mahāpradā-  
(dhā)-
- 44 nih(nah) Dāmanappeggaḥas=tasya bhāryyā Muvahaka-nāmā tayōḥ pū(pn)trōḥ(trō) Mē-

\* Cf. *ni-varpa-bhīṣa-śpadam-śha-śaśhaṣam-samāśrayatē Śrīścha Sōmanā cha* (Bajjamaṇḍa, VI, 20).

\* One or is redundant.

\* This clause is unnecessary.

\* This plate contains one more line of writing after this, which is erased. The engraving is not deep as it is elsewhere and the reading seems to be the continuation of this line with *ayān Sōmanāś Uśhi-grāma-śaśhaḥ*....



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- 43 *ḍapa-nāyakah Viddāma-Māḍama-Pōtam-ākhyaś=tiarō ōnhi(hi)taras=cha tē-*  
 45 *shāch chaturmnā(rāṇā)m=uttara-niyōga(gō) yachchhu<sup>1</sup>tiata-niyōga[h<sup>2</sup>] sammanā<sup>3</sup>tiā-*  
*(ta)vyā-*  
 47 *m=stad<sup>4</sup>-grāmasya clatur-bhāgikṛitasya bhāgānām-madhyā ś-*  
 49 *kō bhāgaḥ |<sup>5</sup> Kāsyapa-gōtr-ōṭpanna-Kāyasthaḥ Naḍupana-nāyakah*  
 49 *taśya bhāryyā Paitapā tayōḥ putrābhyah Śiriyapanāyaka-Vajjināyaka-Ga-*  
 50 *ḍamanāyaka-Numkamanāyakābhyah |<sup>6</sup> Puṇḍi-niyōga[h<sup>2</sup>]- Pāṇchālī-niyōga-*  
 51 *m(h)cha [h<sup>2</sup>] ayam bhāgaḥ Ek-ōna-vimśati-bhāgaḥ kṛitvā(tā)=tēshu bhāgēshu ma-*

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 52 *dhyā Vajjināyaka-Guḍḍamācāyaka-Numkamanāyakābhyas=tribhyah<sup>1</sup> aśtādaśa-bhā-*  
 53 *gāḥ Śiriyapanāyakasya putrāya Naḍupanāyaka(kāya) ēka-bhāgaḥ | punah Śa(Śū)-*  
 54 *dra-vandā-ōdbhava-Māvirattāḍi(h)ḍa=taśya bhāryyā Viṭṭapā tayōḥ pū(pu)trābhyām*  
*Guḍḍana-A-*  
 55 *pōtanābhyām ēka-bhāgaḥ | kaniya(niyān) [Dāmaratta]ḍi(h)ḍa=taśyā(sya) bhāryyā*  
*[Sā]jyapā ta-*  
 56 *yōḥ putrāya Chandēnāya ēka-bhāgaḥ[h<sup>2</sup>]Viṭṭanarattāḍi(h)ḍa=taśya bhāryyā Sattva-*  
 57 *pā tayōḥ putrāya Chālmēnāya ēka-bhāgaḥ | Mādirattāḍi(h)ḍa=taśya bhā-*  
 58 *ryyā [Chijana]pā tayōḥ putrābhyām(bhyām) Mānikana-Dugganābhyām ēka-bhāgaḥ [h<sup>2</sup>] Du-*  
 59 *[ga]natattāḍi(h) ta(h)ḍa=taśya bhāryyā Gavakū tayōḥ putrābhyām Ka-*

*Fifth Plate, First Side*

- 60 *ṭana-|<sup>1</sup> Viṭṭanābhyām(bhāyam)|<sup>2</sup> ēka-bhāgaḥ | tē bhāga(gāḥ) panch-āpy-ēka-bhāga śva |*  
*ayam bhāgō=pi | Gava-*  
 61 *ḍa-niyōgaḥ(gah) Chandraditya-niyōgaḥ(gah) cha [iti] [h<sup>2</sup>] grāma-chaturbhāga(r-bhā)gā=cha*  
*samānamē(nā)śya*  
 62 *|| punar-āpy-ayam grāmah santāmababhāgā[h<sup>2</sup>] kṛitvā(tā)=tēshu bhāgēshu madhyā ||*  
*Kāśya(kya)pa-gōtr-ōṭpa-*  
 63 *ana-Kāyasthaḥ(śha)|<sup>3</sup> Chāḍu-nāyakah taśya....<sup>4</sup> pā | tayōr-ijjābhyah<sup>5</sup> tēbhyāḍi|*  
*|<sup>6</sup> Dāmara-*

<sup>1</sup> Read *gah=ch*.<sup>2</sup> Read *ya=ch*.<sup>3</sup> This *daśa* is unnecessary.<sup>4</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.<sup>5</sup> The two letters after *pa* may be read as *bhāryyā*. The *śha* preceding *pā* seems to be *va* and there is only one letter before that. The proper name may be restored as *Sattapa*.



- 64 nōyaka-<sup>1</sup> Viparāyīnāyakā<sup>2</sup>=a[trē(tr=ai)kaika]-bhāgaḥ || I[ddachāha]pa-matēbhya-  
 65 h<sup>3</sup> pradatta m=aamūbhīrbhā(r=bbhā)viḥbhīrbhā(r=bbhā)miḥpāla(r=Manunā<sup>4</sup> Dha)-mms-  
 gauravāt=para(ri)pālaniya-  
 66 m=iti || [Ēlhi] Chījūmōjasya sūnu(navē) Nūmkamōjāya...<sup>5</sup> richa manavarttik<sup>6</sup>-samin grāmā  
 prā-  
 67 data(ttaḥ) || paśchāta(śchāt) śri-Vajrahastadēvēna (Māvē[ūḍi]-grāmāḥ) Ariavalli-grāmāḥ  
 prā-  
 68 vēya(āya) pradattaḥ || chaturthā-bhāgam-aśṭadhā kṛtvā tatra dvan bhāga Kāyastha-  
 Nūmkap-ākhyā.

*Fifth Plate, Second Side*

- 69 \*ya [i\*] punas=tatr-aika-bhāgaḥ Kāyastha-varāśvaram(ru)-Sūmanāth-ākhyasya | punar-ēka-  
 bhā-  
 70 gēm(gaḥ) Kāyastha-Dāmar-ākhyasya | punar-ēka-bhāgaḥ(ga)ś-oka turttha-varāś-ōḍbha-  
 71 va-Chīḍan-ākhyasya śtēshāśi Raṭṭaḍa-Vumch-ākhyā dvan niyōgō(gau) bhavata-  
 72 h || Puṇḍi-niyōga-Pāṇchāl-niyōgavatō Bhaddināyakasya bhāgasya svā-  
 73 mitvē(nau) Chiriyājanāyaka-Chīḍapōtanāyakau Apitamanāyaka-putrē(trā)bhīyāśi  
 74 Pinnamanāyaka-Māvuranāyakābhīyām tatra Bhadimanāyaka-bhāgē arddah(rādhām) da-  
 75 ttavamtai(tau) [i\*]

<sup>1</sup> This danda is unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> Read nōyakaḥbhya-.

<sup>3</sup> The intended reading seems to be \*mattha.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'lak=Manunāśita.'

<sup>5</sup> About three akṣaras are lost here.

<sup>6</sup> The expression manavarttika is possibly the same as Telugu manavartti, manavarti or manavarti interpreted by Brown as 'maintenance, support or allowance'. It occurs also in the Boḍḍapāḍi plates of Vajrahasta III which are being edited in this journal.



## No. 38—SHIGGAON PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 630

(2 Plates)

G. S. GAI, OBTACAMUND

These plates were discovered by me in December 1945 in the course of my official tour in search of inscriptions in the Shiggaon Taluk of the Dharwar District in the present Mysore State. They were found in the house of one Dr. Faruqui at Shiggaon, the headquarters of the taluk. It was through the kind efforts of my friend Dr. K. G. Kulkarni, who was then Medical Officer at Shiggaon, that I was able to secure the plates. They are registered as No. A 49 in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1945-46*. The inscription on the plates is edited here for the first time.

The set consists of five copper-plates, each measuring 10.5 inches by 5.25 inches. To the left margin of each plate is a hole .75 inch in diameter, through which passes the ring about 3.5 inches in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured by a seal, the countersunk surface of which bears the figure of a standing boar facing proper right. The seal is rather oval in shape and measures about 1.65 inches by 1.5 inches. The rims of the plates are slightly raised in order to preserve the writing.<sup>1</sup> The first, fourth and fifth plates are incised on one side only while the second and third plates have writing on both sides. This is a rare case of two consecutive plates being engraved on one side only. Apparently this was done in order to prevent the writing being exposed, if the second side of the fourth plate had been used. In such cases, a blank plate is often used at the end. The plates, together with the ring and seal, weigh 329 tolas.

The characters belong to what is known as the southern class of alphabets and are regular for the period and the region to which the grant belongs. They resemble the characters of the other known grants of the king.<sup>2</sup> In respect of orthography, the following may be observed: the sign for *jihedimāliya* is used in line 48 and that for *upadhāniya* in lines 16, 23, 23 and 27; *aha* is written for *ava* in *chinka*, lines 19 and 24; *ihā* for *ālā* in *prullā*, line 36. Dravidian *j* is found in lines 43 and 45 and *l* in line 31. Final *m* occurs in line 40. The language is Sanskrit and except the invocatory verse at the beginning and the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the text of the record is in prose. Sandhi rules have not been observed in some cases. The construction known as *sati septamī* is used in passages like *Panadvīm-śyātavati Vijayāditya-vallabhēndrē* (line 32).

The inscription belongs to the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśvara Bhāṭṭāraka Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya* of the Western Chalukyas of Hādāmī. The text giving the genealogy of the family, from Pulakēśin I to Vijayāditya, is identical with that found in other records of the king as well as those of his successors.<sup>3</sup> The plates are issued when the victorious camp was at Kianvojal. The object of the record is to register some grant made by the king when he had gone to Banavāsi in order to see the Ālupa ruler Chitravāhana. The grant was made, at the request of Chitravāhana, to the Jaina monastery, which was caused to be constructed by Kūṭakumadēvi at Purigere.

<sup>1</sup> The state of preservation of writing is not satisfactory in many places and the fourth plate has suffered much damage in the lower part so that lines 57-59 of the text cannot be read satisfactorily.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Above, Vol. X, pp. 14 ff. and plates; *ibid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 21 ff. and plates; cf. also the Kender plates of Kirtivarmān II, above, Vol. IX, pp. 200 ff. and plates.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Above, Vol. X, pp. 14 ff.; *ibid.* Vol. XXV, pp. 21 ff. and *ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 200 ff.



The details of the date on which the grant was made are — Śaka-varaha 630 (specifically mentioned as expired), eleventh regnal year, Ashādha, purnamāsi. The date is not verifiable, since the week-day is not given. Fleet has shown, on the strength of the Aihole inscription,<sup>1</sup> that the month Śrāvana of Śaka year 619 current (A.D. 696) was the first month of the first year of this king.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly Ashādha of Śaka 630 current would fall in the eleventh regnal year and not of the expired Śaka year as mentioned in the record. The date mentioned in the record would fall on Monday 20th June, A.D. 797.<sup>3</sup>

The inscription under study is interesting in more than one respect. The grant was issued when the royal camp was at the place called Kisuvoḷa. This place has been identified with modern Pattadkal in Hungund Taluk, Bijapur District. It occurs as Kesuvoḷa in the Mahākūṭa inscription of Maṅgalāśa<sup>4</sup> and as Pattadakisuvoḷa in later records.<sup>5</sup> Pattadkal, together with Bādāmi and Aihole, formed the metropolis of the early Chālukyas of Bādāmi and it was specially at Pattadkal that the festival of *pañña-bandha* (fillet-binding, i.e. coronation) was being celebrated. It may be pointed out that Kisuvoḷa is called a *sthāna* in our inscription whereas Vātāpi, i.e. Bādāmi is styled as *adhiśṭhāna* in some of the early records.<sup>6</sup> Some of the other grants of Vijayāditya have been issued from Rāśanagara,<sup>7</sup> Karahāṭanagara,<sup>8</sup> Ālāpura,<sup>9</sup> Kuluṇḍinagara,<sup>10</sup> and Raktapura.<sup>11</sup> The last name Raktapura also occurs as the place of royal camp in the Kendur plates of Kirtivarman II, the grandson of Vijayāditya.<sup>12</sup> While editing the Kendur plates, Prof. K. B. Pathak suggested the identification of Raktapura with modern Lakshmīśvar in the Shirahatti Taluk of the Dharwar District. Fleet also was inclined to hold the same view.<sup>13</sup> This view is, however, not correct. We know that the ancient name of Lakshmīśvar was Puligere, Purigere, Pulikara, or Purikara. In the inscription under study itself the forms Purigere, Pulikara and Purikara occur. We have to identify Raktapura with Kisuvoḷa from where the grant under consideration was issued. In fact Kisu or Kesu-voḷa in Kannaḍa means 'red city' (*kisu* = red, *voḷa* = *poḷa* = city) and it is quite clear that Raktapura is only a Sanskrit rendering of the Kannaḍa name.

In line 32 of the inscription under study it is stated that Vijayāditya had gone to Vanavāsai in order to see the Ālupa king and lines 32-34 inform us that the name of this Ālupa ruler was Chitravāhana and that he belonged to the Pāṇḍya lineage. The early history of the Ālupa rulers is still shrouded in obscurity.<sup>14</sup> We know from the Sornā plates<sup>15</sup> of the Chālukya king

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 370, note A.

<sup>3</sup> See *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, part II, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> *Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay Province, 1941-1946*, p. 54.

<sup>6</sup> *Kannada Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2 and 4. For a discussion of the terms *sthāna* and *adhiśṭhāna* meaning celebrated centres of religion, see Introduction to the same volume, pp. III-v.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 123.

<sup>8</sup> *Above*, Vol. X, pp. 146 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IV, p. 425.

<sup>10</sup> *An. Rep. S. I. E.*, 1934-35, App. A, C. P. No. 22.

<sup>11</sup> *Above*, Vol. XXV, pp. 21 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 201 ff. A few stone records of Vinayāditya, Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya found at Lakshmīśvar are also found from the city of Raktapura. Fleet has pointed out that these records, which are in the nature of copper-plate grants, were put on stone sometime later in the 10th century A.D. See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 366, 373 note I and p. 376.

<sup>13</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 304 note 6.

<sup>14</sup> The Haimili inscriptions of Kadamba Kāṣṭhika dated circa 450 A.D. mentions one Ālupa (*Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1926, p. 73) and the Mahākūṭa inscription of Maṅgalāśa (*Ind. Ant.* XIX, p. 17) refers to an Ālupa. We do not know whether they belonged to the early Ālupa or Ālupa dynasty.

<sup>15</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 146 ff.; *B. G. Gaz.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 571.



Vinayāditya, dated in A.D. 692, that he made a grant at the request of Guṇasāgara Ālupendra's son Chitravāhana who was in the possession of Eḷuvol district in Banavāsi province. Further a stone inscription from Kigga in the Koppa Taluk of the Kadur District in Mysore State<sup>1</sup> states that when Ālvarasa Guṇasāgara was ruling Kadamba-maṇḍala i.e., Banavāsi province, he, (his) queen and (his son) Chitravāhana made some grant. On the assumption that the Chitravāhana mentioned in the Sorah plates and the Kigga inscription was one and the same person, Hultzsch suggested that Guṇasāgara was the governor of the Banavāsi province in or immediately before the time of Vinayāditya and that his son Chitravāhana succeeded to the governorship of Banavāsi.<sup>2</sup> This view is supported by our inscription in which it is stated that Vijayāditya had gone to Banavāsi to meet Chitravāhana which shows that Chitravāhana was in possession of the Banavāsi province. There is no doubt that this Chitravāhana was the same as his namesake mentioned in the Sorah plates referred to above.<sup>3</sup> The grant under consideration discloses, for the first time, that this Ālupa ruler Chitravāhana continued in his office during the time of Vijayāditya also till A.D. 707 at least, the date of the present grant. We also learn, for the first time, that this Chitravāhana belonged to the Pāndya lineage.<sup>4</sup>

It is stated that Vijayāditya made the grant, at the request of Chitravāhana, to the Jaina monastery which was caused to be constructed by Kunkumadēvi at Purigere. The relation that existed between Kunkumadēvi on the one hand and Vijayāditya or Chitravāhana on the other is not specified in the record. This Kunkumadēvi is mentioned in another contemporary record of Vijayāditya<sup>5</sup> dated A.D. 703, which likewise does not specify the relationship between them. But we know from a late record<sup>6</sup> found at Guḍḡeri in the Dharwar District and dated in A.D. 1070 that Vijayāditya had a sister named Kunkumamahādēvi and that she caused to be constructed a Jaina monastery called Ānasejeyabasadi at Purigere. Since Vijayāditya was her brother and since the grant to the Jaina monastery caused to be erected by her was made at the request of Chitravāhana, it is tempting to suggest that she might have been the wife of the Ālupa ruler Chitravāhana. The expression *sa-hṛidaya-prahādana-kāṛiṇyā* applied to Kunkumadēvi in lines 36-37 might refer to Chitravāhana. Thus he might have been related to the king as brother-in-law. And the way in which Vijayāditya's visit to Banavāsi is described might lend further support to this view; cf. *Ālupendrah śaśthūṣa Puvavāsiṃ āyātavati Vijayāditya-vallabdhendro* in line 32. This suggests that the king had gone to Banavāsi as if to pay a courtesy visit to his brother-in-law and not in the capacity of an over-lord. It is interesting to note that the actual camp of the king at the time was at Kieuvoḷa and that the king appears to have gone to Banavāsi to pay a personal visit to Chitravāhana. It is also likely that the Ālupa ruler Chitravāhana was an elder-relative of the king since he figures in the grant of Vinayāditya dated A.D. 692 referred to above.

The Jaina monastery which was caused to be constructed by Kunkumadēvi at Purigere and in respect of which the king made the grant might have been the same monastery as the one called Ānasejeyabasadi in the Guḍḡeri inscription referred to above.

The gift-village was Guḍḡigere, stated to be the centre of Jaina religion specially for the teaching of Sūrasta branch of Māla-saṅgha. Guḍḡigere is modern Guḍḡeri which is about 8 miles west of Lakshmeśvar (ancient Purigere). Its Sanskritised name is given as *Dhruva-taḍḍa* in the Guḍḡeri inscription mentioned above.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Car., Vol. VI, Kp. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Chitravāhana of the Sorah plates is called Chitravāhana I by Hultzsch in view of another Chitravāhana (II) found in later records. See above, Vol. IX, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Some Ālupa kings of a later date trace their descent from the Pandya race. See *ibid.*, pp. 21-23.

<sup>5</sup> *As. Rep.* no. 8, L. E., 1934-35, App. A, No. 22.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 33 ff.



Lines 41-46 of the record mention the boundaries of the gift-village *Guḍḍigera*. They were as follows: in the south, the lake called *Vāṇṣ*; in the south-west, *Mānūlika* hill; in the west, the lake *Kupāra*; in the north-west, the *Koḍi* lake and the road leading to the *Tapavi* lake; in the north the *Pañivāra* lake and the junction of *Virayā*<sup>1</sup> and the highway of the *Parikata* town; in the east, the field including the village of *Ipakā*; in the north-east the lakes *Matkunda* and *Araṣi*, including the boundary field, and in the south-east, the row of stones starting from *Lakaviraya*.

Lines 46-50 give details of further gifts of land and villages, apparently made to the same Jaina monastery mentioned in line 38 of the inscription. The details of the boundaries of the gift villages *Uppaḷi* and *Pāṇḍi* are as follows (lines 48-50): with the highway of *Alagundi* as boundary, as far as the northern road of the main monastery; then from the south of that high road up to the *Kurukella* lake-bound, excluding the *Saṃmagōra* and *chāṇḍāla* street and including the vegetable and marshy ground, and from the road of the *Sūralivirāga* garden up to the boundary of *Siggalli*.

The next gift to be made was the group of fields of *Sāgūlika* to the north of the village and up to the northern road of *Guḍḍigera* village. Then the village *Maraguppi*, situated to the north of *Vanavāsi* town, was granted with all privileges. Likewise was granted the *Kaḥpār* village in *Kandavūr* District. The boundaries of this village were (lines 53-56): in the west, the *Suvarga* tree on the eastern bank of *Pagaravirayā*; in the north-west the limit of *Sankuviraya*; in the north, the lake called *Mahishiyāra*; in the north-east, up to the first *tamarind* tree; in the south-east, the *Pāḷi* lake, and in the south, up to *Pagaravirayā*.

Lines 60-62 state that the grant should be protected by the future Kings. This is followed, in lines 63-67, by the usual imperatory verses.

### TEXT

#### First Plate

- 1 Svasti | [\*] Jayaty-āyishkritam Vishṇu-vrārahāṇa kaśōhīti-āṅṅavam(vam) [|\*] dakṣiṇ-  
dhanata-damohṣṭa-āgra-viśrānta-bhuvanaṇa vapuḥ [|\*]
- 2 Śāmatām sukala-bhuvana-sāmatāyamaṇa Maṇavya-sagōtrāgām Hāriti-patrāgām sapta-  
lōka-mā-
- 3 tribhūḥ sapta-mātṛībhir-ābhivarddhītānām Kūrtitṛtī)kōya-parirakṣaṇa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-parāṇi-  
parāṇām līlaga-
- 4 van-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāśrīta-varāha-lāṇchhan-ākṣaṇa-vatīkṣit-dāśha-maḥi-
- 5 bhūpitām Chakrāyānām kulam-ānūkarishṇuḥ sāvamēdh-āvabhūṣita-sāṇa-parivṛṭṭita-  
gātrāya-
- 6 śrī-Pulakṣi-vallabha-mahārājasya sāmāḥ parākram-ākrānta-Vanavāsi-āṇi-
- 7 para-nripati-māṇḍala-praṇibhādha-viśōdha-kīrti) śrī-Kūrtivarmma-pṛithivī-vallabha-mahā-
- 8 rāja-sasy-āṭina)va-samata-sam-akṣa-sakni-Ōttarīpāthēvata-śrī-Haraha-varōdhaṇa-parā-

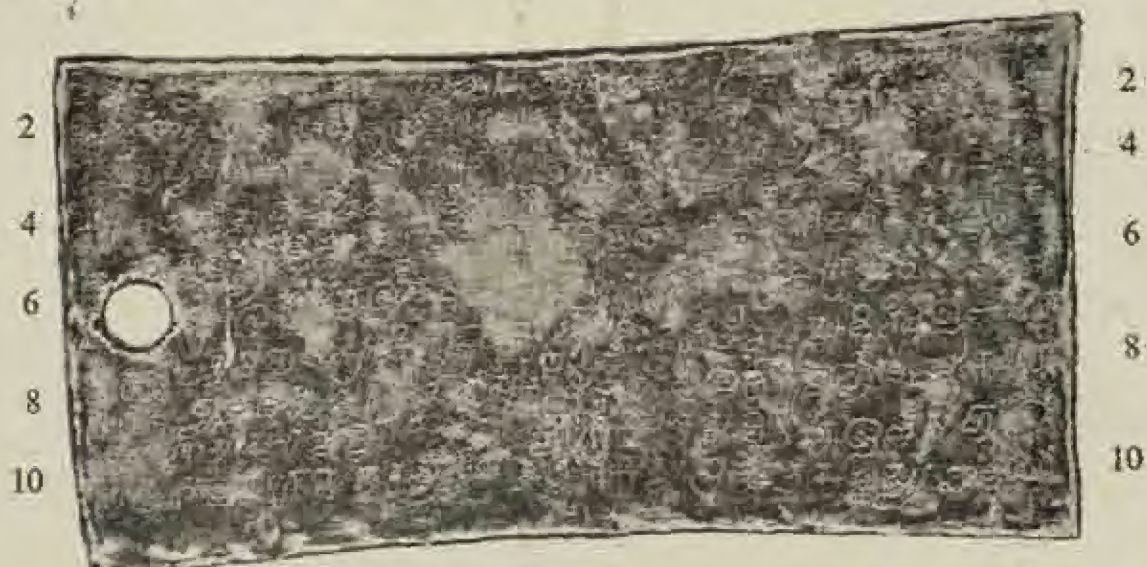
<sup>1</sup> This word seems to indicate a stream. We have a *Lakaviraya* in line 45, *Pagaravirayā* in lines 53 and 56 and *Sankuvirayā* in line 54 of this inscription. They may represent the names of the streams. The word *viraya* is not found in the lexicons.

<sup>2</sup> The word *chāṇḍāla* is taken here in the sense of 'line', 'extending'; the alternative meaning would be 'tamarind trees infested with figs'.

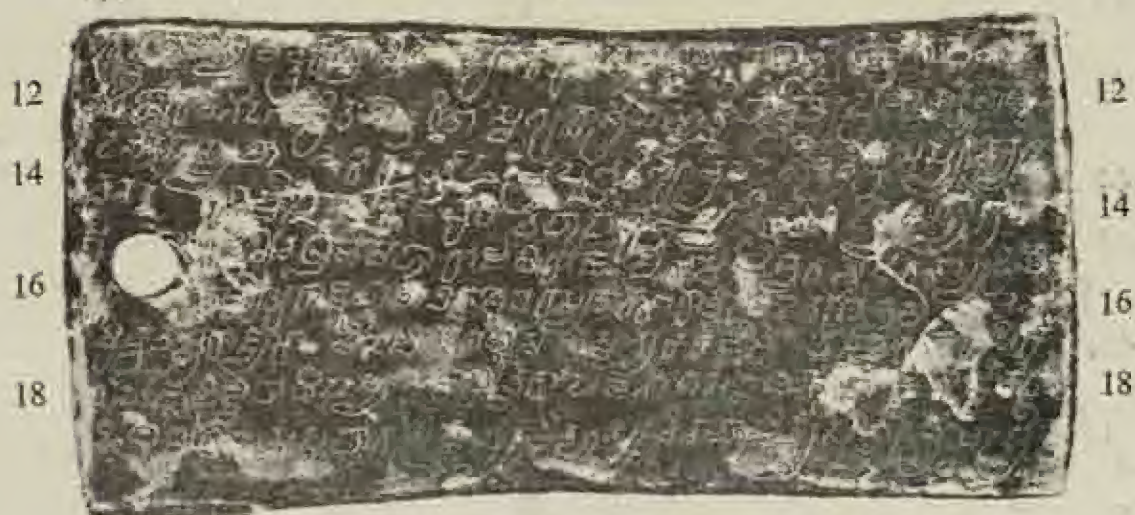
<sup>3</sup> From the original plates and impressions.



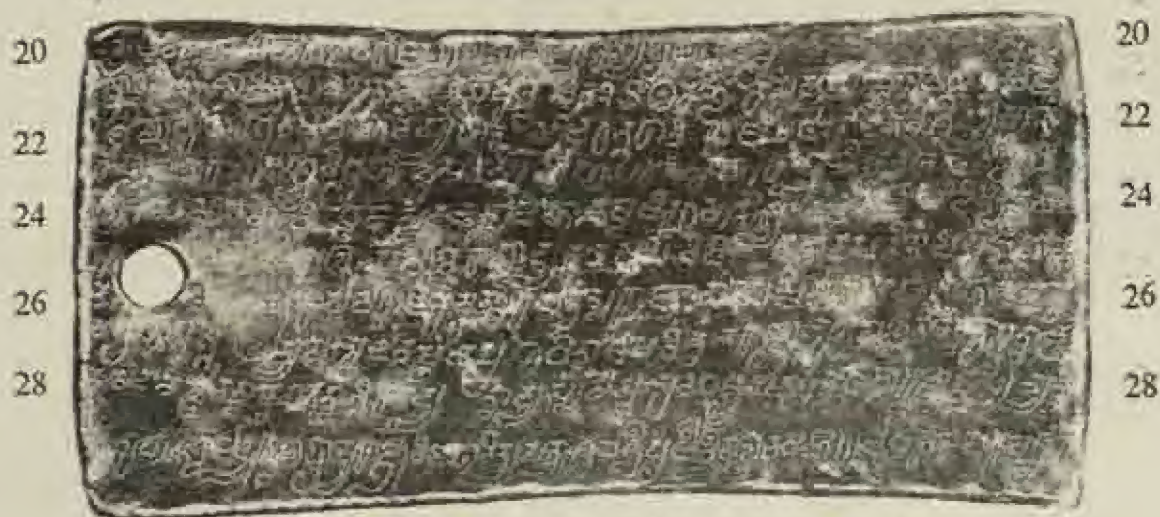
SHIGGAON PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 630—PLATE I



ii, a



ii, b



Scale : One-half



iii, a

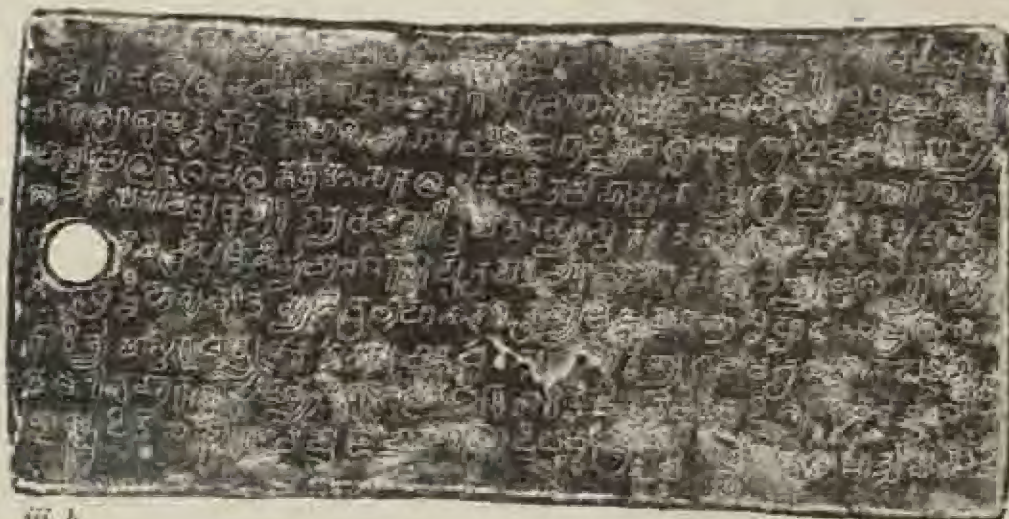
30

32

34

36

38



30

32

34

36

38

iii, b

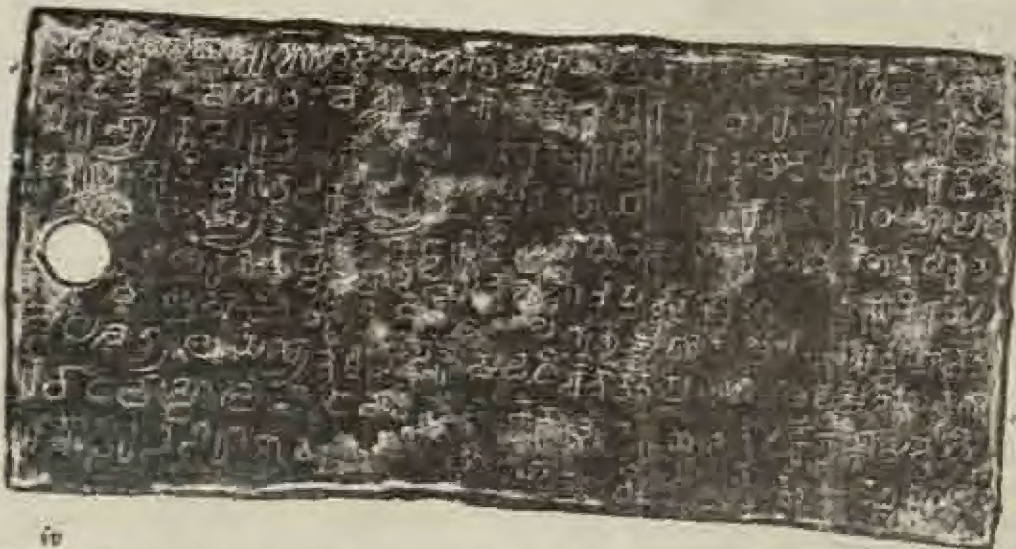
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iv

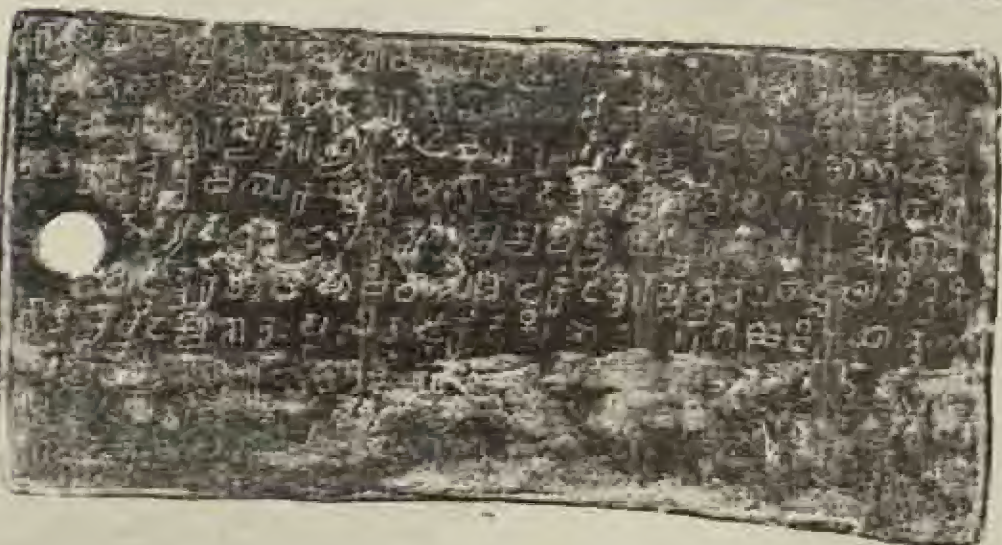
50

52

54

56

58



50

52

54

56

58



- 9 jay-ōpātta-paramēśvara-śabdasya<sup>1</sup> Satyāśraya-śi-prithivī-vallabha-mahārā-  
10 jādhirāja-paramēśvarasya priya-śanayasya prajāśa-mayasya lhaṅga-mā-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 11 tra-mahāyasya Chitrakēṭha-śhāśhāna-pravara-tura[ni]lgamēn-sakēn-(śi)ṛ-ōtāśi-(śi)ṛ-  
śāśha-viji-  
12 glahōr-śvanipati-tritay-āntarītām eva-gurō<sup>2</sup> śriyam-ātmesātkṛtya prabhāva-kulha-  
13 śālita-Pāṇḍya-Chōḷa-Kēraṇa-Kalabhra-prabhṛiti-bhūlīpād-ādabha-vihhramasy-śanay-ā-  
14 vanata-Kāśchīpati-ma<sup>3</sup>kuṭa-chumbita-pād-śmīhujasya Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-  
15 śrī-prithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭāśraya priya-  
16 sūnōḥ-pātur-śrīṇayā Dāli[ś]ōndusēkharsaya Tāśakārātīr-eva dāityabalam-śtisa-  
17 modhatata trairāja-Kāśchīpati-balam-avashṭabhiya karadikṛta-Namō-(śi)ra-Pāśaśha-  
18 Śikhṣā-śi-śiṇḍīp-śāhipasya sakal-Ōttarāpātha-mātha-mallan-ōpārjīt-śrjīta-pā-  
19 jidhvaj-śi-samasta-pāramaiśvaryya-chinḥa(śha)ṅga Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya-śi-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 20 prithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭāśraya priya-ātma-jat-samasta eva-  
śāśhāt-śāśha-śatra-śā-  
21 śirō-śakṣin-śāś-vijayini pītāmabā samamāhṛita-nikhila-kapṭaka-sambhātīr-uttarāpātha-vij-  
22 glahōr-gurōr-āgrata. ēv-śhava-vyāpāram-śchakarann-śrīti-gaja-pṛaśō-pātana-vāṇīvyatāka-  
23 kṛpāṇa-śhāra-samagta-vigraha-āgrēsara-saṇ-śāśha-saṇkaḥ-parṣṇamukhikṛta-  
śatra-maṇḍalō-  
24 Gaṅgā-Yamunā-pājidhvaja-pādājhaśhā-mahāśāśha-chinḥa(śha)ṅga-māṇikya-mataṅga-śi-  
pitṛśāt-  
25 kurvan-pamā-<sup>4</sup>pālāyamūnair-śśādyā kathamapi vālu-vāśād-śpantirō pi pratāpād-ō-  
26 va viśaya-prakōpam-śāśjakam-utsārayan-Vaśarāja iv-śāśpākṣit-śpāra-śāśayabha-  
śa-  
27 [d<sup>5</sup>]-avagrahān-nirgatyā eva-bhuj-śvashṭantibha-pāśaśhīt-śāśha-vārambhāt-  
prabhur-śkhamōita-śakti-trayatvāch-chha-  
28 tru-māda-bhāṇaivād-udāratvān-niravadyatvād-yaś-samasta-bhuvan-śśrayaś-sakala-  
pāramaiśvaryya-vyakti-  
29 kētu-pājidhvaj-śdy-nīva(jīva)la-prāyya-śāśyō Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya-śi prithivīvallabha-  
mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-

<sup>1</sup> Read śāśha-māṇikya.<sup>2</sup> Read gurō.<sup>3</sup> This śāśha is partly damaged.



## Third Plate, First Side

- 30 bhettarakah sarvān-āvam-āññāyati viditān-ātmā rō-amābhīḥ trimśad-utara-  
śat-śhatśoḥ Saka-varaśśeḥv-atī.
- 31 mah-śkādāt pravardhamāna-rājya-sarivatsarē Kuruojal-nāma-śthānam-adhiyastī  
vijaya-śkandhā.
- 32 vārō Ārupēndrastī āraḥjūm Venavāsm-āyastavati Vijayāditya-vallabhēndrē Āśāḍha-  
paurāṇamāsyām
- 33 Pāṇḍy-āmala-kulam-alamkurvataḥ sakala-lōka-vidita-mahāprahhāsaaya ananya-śā-  
dhārāṇa-tyā
- 34 g-ōḍaya-samipat-samutārit-ānya-vadānya-kirtti-matānaya āva-karataḥ-vidhyata-niḥita-  
niatritāśa-sam-
- 35 [ghā]pa-vitrasta-viśtryamāp-ānka-ripa-nṛpati-matta-mātanga-samghātaaya Chalukya-  
rājy-ā-
- 36 bhivṛbhīḥ-śetu-bhūtaaya Chitravāhana-narēndraaya vijāpanayā āva-krīdaya-prahhā(hā)  
dana-
- 37 kāriyā hasti-rath-ādy-ānka-dāna-pudāna-pura-śara-hisanyagarih-ārahhyūha-śmāna-  
pavitrikī-
- 38 ta-śarītayā Kuṅkumadēvyā Purigere-nagarē kārītāḥ Jina-bhavanam-uddiāya āva-  
karmma-kha-
- 39 pā-āphāḥṣita-samākāra-dēva-pūjā-dāna-tāl-ādi-dharmma-pravaritan-ārtham sakal-ārhat-  
samāya<sup>2</sup>-tī-

## Third Plate, Second Side

- 40<sup>1</sup> laka-śrī-Mūlasaṅgh-ōḍgha-Bhō<sup>2</sup>(Sā)taṣṭa-dharmma-ōpādā(ōt)śāna(x-ā)śāśa-nikāya-samāna-  
śatr-āśāsam(āś) Guḍḍigere-grā-
- 41 mām(mō) dattāḥ [1<sup>3</sup>] dukahigataḥ<sup>4</sup> Vēṅṇē-tatākam dukahig-āpatataḥ<sup>5</sup> Mākūlika-  
giri(b) a-
- 42 parasyān Kupēra-tatākaḥ<sup>6</sup> apar-ōttarataḥ Kōḍi-tatākaḥ tathā Tapavi-tatāka-vi(vī)dhī-  
(thī)
- 43 uttarataḥ Puḥivūra-tatākaḥ tasy-ādihō Virayāyāḥ Purikaranagara-mahāpatha-
- 44 sya cha samgamaaya<sup>7</sup> pūrvataḥ<sup>8</sup> Ittākā-padra-sahitam<sup>9</sup> pūrv-ōttarataḥ Matkupa-ta(ā)kaḥ  
ta-

<sup>1</sup> Śaśāḥ has not been observed here.

<sup>2</sup> There are faint traces of some letters engraved previously in the place of these seven akṣaras.

<sup>3</sup> This has also has some traces of previous writing which has been effaced.

<sup>4</sup> The akṣara seems to have been first written āśa and then corrected to āśa.

<sup>5</sup> Śaśāḥ has not been observed here.

<sup>6</sup> The letter *va* was first omitted and then inserted between *pa* and *ya*. Read *vaḥpamāḥ*.

<sup>7</sup> Śaśāḥ has not been observed here.

<sup>8</sup> A word like *śakṣṛōḥ* seems to have been omitted here.

<sup>9</sup> This letter seems to have been originally written as *pa*.



- 45 thā Arasi-tatākam pāli(li)-kabētra-sabitan pūrva-dakṣiṇataḥ Lakavīrayam  
 46 mūḥḥaḥ<sup>1</sup>molle pāshāṇa(pa)-vidbhī(vibhī) | Alagundi-mahāpatham āman(mām) kṛtvā  
 yāvat  
 47 mūla-chaityālayasy-ōttara-khā(vā)ḥkām-avadhīm(dhīm) kṛtvā<sup>2</sup> tataḥ pūrvvasamāpa-  
 (t-pa)thō dakṣiṇam(nataḥ) anvan(mma)gā-  
 48 ra<sup>3</sup>-vāta-chaṇḍāla-vāta-varjaḥ sa-sāka-bachchham Kurubkella-taḥkām(ka)-pāli(li)ni-ava-  
 dhīm(m)ḥ(dhīm)  
 49 kṛtvā Sūralivirāpa-patha(thā)ḥd-ārāmāt yāvat Siggalli-sūm-āntam tataḥ Ketigala-ta-

## Fourth Plate

- 50 tāk-āntam dattaḥ Uhpatti-grāmō (mah) Pātali-padma-cha | Nēḥḥika-padma<sup>4</sup>sy-ōttara<sup>5</sup>syām  
 diśi  
 51 Guḍḍigere-mahāpatha(thā)ḥd-uttaraḥ sa-sūm-āntō Nēḥḥika-kabētra-rāṣṭr-ōdattaḥ tathā  
 52 Vanavāḥ-nagara<sup>6</sup>sy-ōttara<sup>5</sup>syām diśi Maragundi-nāma-grāma(h\*) | sa-bhōgō dattaḥ  
 53 tathā Kundavūt-vishay<sup>7</sup> Kāhpūr-unāma-grāman(mō) datta(h\*) pāchīmataḥ Pagaravira-  
 yāyāḥ(yā)  
 54 taaya(syāḥ) pūrva-taḥ<sup>8</sup> Suvarṇa-plakham pāchīm-ōttaraḥ Samkuviray-āva-  
 55 dhī<sup>9</sup>ḥ<sup>4</sup> uttarataḥ Mahishivāsa-tatākam uttara-pūrvvataḥ sā(sā)rdūla-tintini(dī)-  
 56 k-āntam pūrva-dakṣiṇataḥ Pūli-tatākam dakṣiṇataḥ Pagaraviray-āntam  
 57\* [(iy-āḥ)<sup>10</sup>-prakāś Pulikara-nagara ...<sup>11</sup> maṇḍala ...<sup>12</sup>  
 58 [padma]-mahāpatha ...<sup>13</sup> taḥ anvarṇa-plaksha-tintini(dī)k-āḥi-<sup>14</sup> prakāḥ(rita)-  
 59 ...<sup>15</sup> vāsa ...<sup>16</sup> pātana ...<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The upper parts of *le* and *la* have suffered damage by the lower portion of the ring-hole which seems to have been made after the engraving of these letters.

<sup>2</sup> These two words are redundant.

<sup>3</sup> The word *sammagāra* in Kannada means 'a worker in leather, a shoe-maker' and is to be derived from Sanskrit *charmo-kāra*.

<sup>4</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>5</sup> This and the following two lines are badly damaged and the engraving also is rather indifferent. This portion apparently continues the description of the boundaries.

<sup>6</sup> The reading is not certain.

<sup>7</sup> Two *śīḥaras* are lost here.

<sup>8</sup> About eight letters are indistinct here.

<sup>9</sup> About five letters are indistinct here.

<sup>10</sup> About four letters are damaged at the beginning.

<sup>11</sup> About four letters are lost here.

<sup>12</sup> About thirteen letters are lost here.

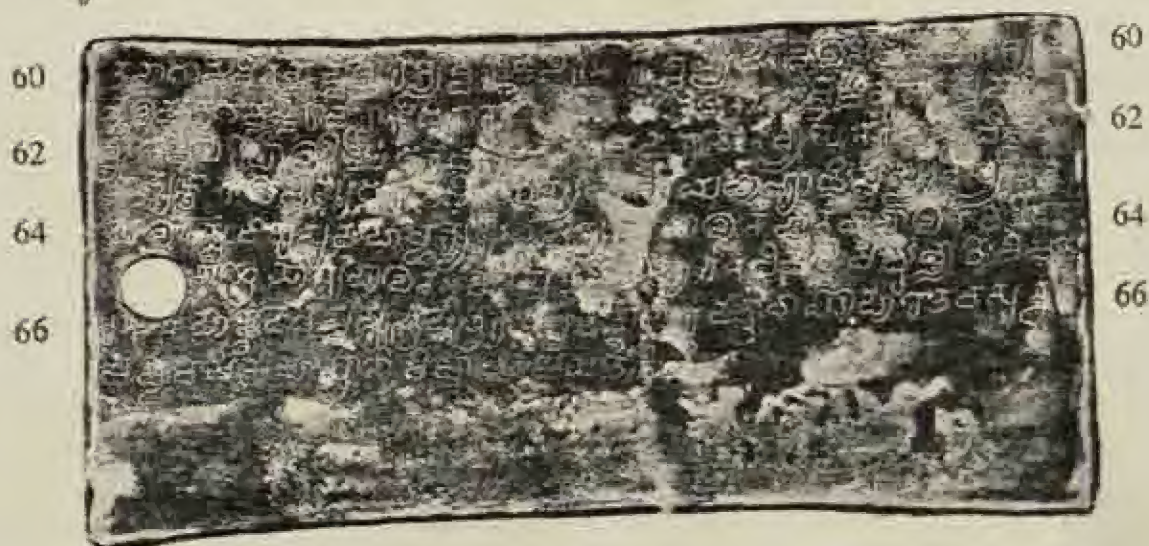


## Fifth Plate

- 60 tad-āgāmibhir=amad-vamśyah=anyasā=cha rājabhir=ārya-aiśvarya-ādinaśa vilāsitam=achi-  
rātsu-chaṇ-
- 61 chalam=avagachchadibhir=ā-chandr-ārka-dhat-ārnavo-śāhiti-sams-kālam yaśas=chirbi-  
shubhāśra-dattā-m-
- 62 rrvisham paripālanyam(yam) [\*] uktam cha bhagavatā Védavyāsena Vyāsaṇa ||  
Bahubhir-vvam-
- 63 dā bhuktā rājabhir=āgar-ādibhih [\*] yaaya yaaya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā  
64 phalam(lam) || Svam dātum samach=chakram duḥkham=anyaya palanam(nam) [\*]  
dānam vā palanam v-śi dā-
- 65 nāchhā(ch-chhā)ya-nipālana(nam) || Dēva-svam tad-vishā(m) gh-ōtam na viśam viśa-  
n=uehyatē [\*] viśam-ā-
- 66 kākūchhant(dēvasvam putra-pautrikam(kam)) || Sva-dattāh para-dattāh vā yō harēta  
vasundharām(rām) [\*]
- 67 āchutīm varaha-sahasrāṇi viśthāyam jāyatē krīmī ||



SHIGGAON PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 630—PLATE II



SEAL



(from a Photograph)







## No. 39—SONEPUR INSCRIPTION OF BHANUDEVA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OGTACAMUNDI

The inscription under publication is written in eight lines engraved on a slab of stone lying in front of the temple of the goddess Khamēśvari (Khambēśvari or Stambhēśvari) at **Sonepur** which was formerly the headquarters of the State of that name but now belongs to the Bolangir District of Orissa. It was briefly noticed by B. C. Majumdar<sup>1</sup> and B. Mitter<sup>2</sup> but has been recently edited by K. B. Tripathi<sup>3</sup> with a translation but without any facsimile. Majumdar and Mitter assign the inscription to the twelfth century A.D. The epigraph is edited in the following pages since, in our opinion, it has not been correctly deciphered and interpreted.

The inscribed area on the stone slab measures about two feet in length and one foot in height while individual *akṣaras* in the record are about one inch and a quarter high. The characters are Gaudīya with certain characteristics of the Oriya alphabet. The sign for medial *l* is of the Oriya type; but *m* and *s* are written in the Bengali fashion. In *Sonapūra* in line 2, the letter *a* shows a curve and peculiar form (cf. also the shape of the same letter in *raṣṭri* in the same line). *Chh* is of the *chhh* type as in modern Oriya and not of the *kā* type as found in records like the Oriya supplement of the Veligalani grant of 1458 A.D.<sup>4</sup> The form of initials is later than that in the Alagum inscription (line 10) of 1141 A.D.<sup>5</sup>, the Bhubaneswar inscription (line 1) of 1218 A.D.<sup>6</sup> and the Nagari plates (lines 132-33) of 1230-31 A.D.<sup>7</sup> But it is found in some records of the time of Anagabhīma III (c. 1211-58 A.D.) such as the Puri inscription (No. 4, line 5) of 1237 A.D.,<sup>8</sup> while the earlier form is also noticed in later records like the Puri plates of 1395-97 A.D.<sup>9</sup> *Y* and *p* are written alike as in other mediæval Orissan epigraphs. The numerical figures 1 and 2 in line 6 as well as 7 in line 2 are of the Telugu-Kannada type while 3 is also of the same type sometimes found in the mediæval records of Orissa.<sup>10</sup> On palaeographical grounds, the epigraph may be assigned to a date in the **thirteenth or fourteenth century A. D.** This suggestion is supported by the fact that it refers itself to the reign of **Vira-Bhānudeva** who is undoubtedly one of the four kings of that name belonging to the imperial branch of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. Of these four rulers, Bhānu I began to rule about 1264 A.D., Bhānu II about 1305 A.D. and Bhānu III about 1353 A.D., while Bhānu IV ascended the throne sometime before 1414 A.D. It is difficult to assign the record to any one of these four kings with precision; but palaeography seems to point rather to Bhānu I or II or III than to Bhānu IV since Oriya inscriptions of the fifteenth century generally exhibit more developed Oriya forms of the letters.

The language of the inscription is old Oriya. Interesting from the orthographical point of view are words like *śiṣya* (Sanskrit *śiṣya*) in lines 4-5 and *vidya* (Sanskrit *vidya*) in line 5. Contractions as in *paṭiśāstra* in line 3 is often found in mediæval Orissan records, though

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Bengali Language*, p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> *Odipi Bhāṣā Itihāsa*; cf. *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. XVII, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian Linguistics*, op. cit., pp. 46-49.

<sup>4</sup> *JAS*, Letters and Science, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, pp. 13 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Above* Vol. XXIX, pp. 44 ff., and Plate.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 236, and Plate.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 230 ff., and Plate.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 263, and Plates.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 302 ff., and Plate.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64, note 2.



our inscription also has *rājāśāra* in line 4. Similarly it employs both the forms *kapālī* (line 7) and *kapālat* (line 8) as the locative of *kapāla*. Interesting is also the words *vijāṣ* (Sanskrit *vijaya*) in line 2 and *apicapa* (Sanskrit *apicapa*) in line 8. The old dative form in *śāraśāra* in line 5 is of grammatical interest. It is found in the form of *śāra* in such medieval records as the Puri inscriptions of the time of Anantabhadra III (c. 1211-38 A.D.).<sup>1</sup>

Tripathi reads the year of the date at the beginning of line 2 as 16 or a 6 supposed to stand for the *śaka* year 6. The year no doubt refers to the *śaka* reckoning since the ordinary regnal reckoning was not popular with the Gaṅga kings during the period in question. It is, however, well known that 6 and numbers ending with 6 were omitted in the *śaka* reckoning and therefore either of the readings 16 and 6 is impossible. At the beginning of line 2, we propose to read *[ar]ṣ 7 arāhi*. It seems that *ar* of *arāhi* was redundantly engraved before the numerical figure through oversight. After *arāhi*, Tripathi reads *Mina-kṛishṇa* 2. But the figure read as 2 here is different from 2 in line 6. We are inclined to read the passage as *Mina-kṛishṇa* 3 since, as indicated above, 3 of this type is sometimes found in the medieval records of Orissa.

The date quoted in lines 1-2 of our record thus appears to be Saturday (*Sauri-rātra*), the 3rd of the dark half of the solar month of *Mina* in the 7th *śaka* or 5th regnal year of *Bhānu* 1, II and III appears to have corresponded to 1268-69, 1302-10 and 1356-57 A.D. respectively. Among these years, the details suit only March 3, 1268 A.D., and therefore the king referred to may be *Bhānu* I although it is difficult to be definite on this point.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word *santa* and the passage *śrī-viṣa-Bhānu* *pravardhamāna-vijāṣ-rāṣ* *santa* *[ar]ṣ 7 Mina-kṛishṇa 3 Sauri-rātra* (Sanskrit *śrī-Viṣa-Bhānu* *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rāṣe* *santavare* 7 *śaka* *Mina-kṛishṇa 3 Sauri-rātri*) in lines 1-2. The above is followed in lines 2-4 by *Sūnarpura-koṭaka-Pachima-dāś-ādikāri-sāmantapadīrā-Viṣa-paṭirāṣṭra adhikāri* (Sanskrit *Sūnarpura-koṭaka-Pachima-dāś-ādikāri-sāmantapadīrā-Viṣa-pratirāṣṭra adhikāri*). In the name *Viṣa-paṭirā*, *Paṭirā* is the family name; but *Viṣa*'s official designation was also *Sāmantapadīrā*. Tripathi reads *sāmantapadīrā* and takes the name of the officer as *Ira* (Sanskrit *īra*) and his family name as *Paṭirā*. The last *akṣara* of what we have read as *Viṣa-paṭirā* may possibly be also read as *ra* considering the form of the same *akṣara* in *Sauri-rātri* in line 2 while the second *akṣara* may also be *ra* or *ra*. But the first *akṣara* of the name is clearly *vi*. In any case, the passage quoted above from lines 2-4 refers to the tract under the government of a viceroy of the Gaṅga king, who enjoyed the designation *Sāmantapadīrā* and ruled over the western province of the Gaṅga empire with his headquarters at *Sūnarpura*, i.e. modern Sompur where the inscription has been found.

The following passage in lines 4-6 records the purpose of the document and reads: *śrī-viṣa-Bhānu* *pravardhamāna* *śanta-kām-ārthā* *śrī-Vaidyanāthadēvān* *Nāṭa-viṣaya-grāma* *vāra* *dāta* *12* (Sanskrit *śrī-Viṣa-Bhānu* *pravardhamāna* *śanta-kām-ārthā* *śrī-Vaidyanāthadēvān* *Nāṭa-viṣaya-grāmā* *dātā* *12*). It is stated that twelve villages situated in the *viṣaya* or district of *Nāṭa* were granted to the god *Vaidyanātha* for the longevity and the fulfilment of the desire of king *Viṣa-Bhānu*. The names of the villages are not enumerated nor is the name of the donor specified. It seems that the king or his viceroy was the donor. The god *Vaidyanātha*

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 197 ff. Cf. *śāraśāra* in lines 5-6 of No. 1; *śāraśāra* in line 5 of No. 4. See also *śāraśāra* in line 4 of No. 2. This apparently exhibits the same case-ending under another spelling, though I offered a different suggestion while editing the inscription in question.

<sup>2</sup> The figure has some resemblance with certain forms of 7 illustrated by G.H. Ojha in his *Pāṭha* *Lipī*, Plate LXXI (Section II, last column), Plate LXXV (Section II) and Plate LXXVI (Section II). But the upper ends of the two vertical strokes here do not appear to be joined by a curve as in other cases.



is still worshipped in a temple on the river Tel near Sonapur. What we have read as 'Nāṭḍa-viṣaya-grāma rūraha has been read by Tripathi as *ina Eḍaviya-papamu vira*, in which *ina* has been taken to be a local word meaning 'here' and the purpose of the document has been supposed to be to record the grant of twelve coins called *Eḍaviya-Paga* in favour of the god. But, in such a case, *ina* would be meaningless in the context. A coin called *Eḍaviya* (the last *akṣara* is certainly *su*)-*Paga* is also as yet unknown from any other source.

The next sentence in lines 6-8 reads *ehā jē haraḥ harānī tāhāra kapālē Śiva-tāle Vrahma-tāla Viṣṇu-tāla tiri tāle paḍai* (Sanskrit *etāt yaḥ harati hārayati* [vā] *tasya kapālē Śiva-tālah* [cha] *Brahma-tālah* [cha] *Viṣṇu-tālah* [cha] *trayaḥ tālāḥ pātanti*). The word *kapāla* has been used here in the literal sense of 'forehead' and the figurative sense of 'lot' and *tāla* (literally, 'the palm of the hand') apparently to indicate 'a slap'. A 'blow on the forehead' figuratively means in the East Indian languages 'the destruction of one's good luck' or 'one's ruin'. The idea here is that, if any person confiscates the gift land or causes its confiscation, his forehead would be struck by a blow each from the hands of the gods Śiva, Brahman and Viṣṇu. Tripathi and others read *Rudra-tāla* in the place of *Viṣṇu-tāla* without noticing that *Śiva-tāla* is mentioned side by side. The word *tāla* is translated by Tripathi as 'a bolt', although it means 'a bolt' only in the sense of 'the bolt or lock of a door'.

The last sentence of the inscription in line 8 reads: *tāhāra kapālāḥ nirvṛṣṇaḥ hēi* (Sanskrit *tasya kapālē nirvṛṣṇaḥ bhavati*). To become *nirvṛṣṇa* means 'not to have any progeny', or 'to lose all of one's own children and their progeny', i.e. 'to have none in one's line to offer one a *puṣṭa* after death'. The sentence means to say that the loss of progeny would fall to the lot of one responsible for the resumption of the gift land. Tripathi reads *tāhāra kapāla ina hē vasa hēi* and translates the sentence as 'His forehead becomes subdued or ruined'. The *akṣara* *hē* has been inadvertently introduced in the text while *vasa* (the reading is clearly 'vaseṣa) has been taken to stand for Sanskrit *vāsa*. The word *ina* (meaning 'here' according to Tripathi) has been left out in the translation. As a matter of fact this word does not occur in the inscription under study or in any other Oriya inscription known to me.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it testifies to the inclusion of the district around Sonapur in the dominions of the Imperial Gaṅgas in the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D. We know that the Telugu-Chōḍa king Sāmśvara-dēvarman III was ruling at Sonapur about the second half of the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> He was also a devotee of the god Vaidyanātha (Śiva) whose temple may have been built by the Telugu-Chōḍas. It now appears that the Gaṅgas ousted Telugu-Chōḍa rule from that region. But it is difficult to determine as to which of the Gaṅga kings was responsible for the achievement.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are Sūnapūra, the location of which has already been indicated above, and the district of Nāṭḍa the name of which reminds us of the locality called Laida about 33 miles from Sambalpur.

#### TEXT\*

1 Svast[ī] [ ]\* śrī-vira-Bhāpudēvasya pravādhyamūna-vijāṭ-rājē samvata

2 [śr]ī\* 7\* arāhi Mīna-kṛishṇa 3\* Sa\*ūri-vārē Sūnapūra-kṛaka

\* Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 293 ff.

\* From impressions.

\* This *akṣara* is redundant.

\* Tripathi reads 16 or a 6.

\* Tripathi reads 2.

\* Originally *rā* had been written in the place of *sa* and it was later changed to *sa*.



3 Paçhima-dēsa-adhikāri Sāmanta-paḍītrā Viśa-paḍī[rā]śakra<sup>1</sup>

4 adhikārē śrī-vīra-Bhāpudēvarā]śākara śi-

5 nava-kām-āritā<sup>2</sup> śrī-Vaidyanāthadēvaśakū<sup>3</sup> Nāḍḍa-vi-

6 śaya-[gr]āma<sup>4</sup> vāraha<sup>5</sup> data 12 [||\*] śhā jē harai harai

7 tāhāra kapālē Śiṣya-tāla Vrahma-tāla Viśṇu<sup>6</sup>-tāla tī-

8 nī tāla paḍai [||\*] tāhāra kapālai nīvanasa<sup>7</sup> hōi ||<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tripathi reads *paḍītrā-śra-paḍīśakara*.

<sup>2</sup> Tripathi reads *śīra-śīlī* and corrects it to *śīra-āritā*. He takes the expression to stand for Sanskrit-*āyush-kām-āritā*.

<sup>3</sup> This is for modern Oriya *śāśana* and Sanskrit *śāśana*.

<sup>4</sup> Tripathi reads *na śāśana-paṇama*. The last *śāśana* may be read as *na* also.

<sup>5</sup> Tripathi reads *vāra*.

<sup>6</sup> Tripathi and others read *śakra*.

<sup>7</sup> Tripathi reads *śāśana* *na* *na*.

<sup>8</sup> The *śāśana*-like sign before the double *śāśana* is a part of the mark of punctuation.



SONEPUR INSCRIPTION OF BHANUDEVA

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Scale : Three-Eighths







# No. 40—SILVER COIN OF BHAIKAVASIMHA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SINGH, OOTACAMUND

About the end of November 1957 I was passing through Patna where I met Prof. R. K. Choudhary of the G. D. College, Begusarai, Monghyr District, Bihar. Prof. Choudhary kindly showed me a silver coin with legend on both obverse and reverse. As I had little time to devote on the coin just then, I prepared plasticine moulds of both sides of it and returned it to the Professor. Some plaster casts of the coin were later prepared out of those moulds for my study.<sup>1</sup>

The coin is round in shape and has a diameter of one inch. Its weight is stated to be 10.52 grams or 162.37 grains. On both obverse and reverse of the coin there is a square made of raised lines, within a circular line of the same type. In the four semi-circular spaces between the arms of the square and the outer line, there is in each case a letter or one or more numerical figures between two angular ornamental designs. Inside the square the legend is written in raised letters in five lines diagonally arranged between the upper and lower angles on both the obverse and the reverse. The reverse legend is a continuation of the writing on the obverse. There are thirteen letters on the obverse and an equal number of them on the reverse. Of these thirteen letters arranged in five lines, line 3 in the centre has five aksharas, lines 2 and 4 have three each and lines 1 and 5 only one each. The same arrangement has been followed on both the sides.

The characters belong to the Gaudīya alphabet as prevalent in Bihar in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D. The letters *r* and *l* have been written both in the Dēvanāgarī and Gaudīya fashions. The two types of *r* are very similar respectively to *n* and *ne* as found in the legend, while *y* resembles *p*. Some letters of the legend have suffered from the effects of later punching by the shroffs.

The writing on the obverse and reverse reads as follows :—

Obverse	Reverse
1 Ma-	1 Ti-
2 hārāja-	2 rahhukti-
3 śri-Da[rppa]nārā-	3 rāja-śri-Bhaira-
4 yaṇ-ātma-	4 vaśirūha-
5 ja-	5 sya [l*]

The legend may be translated as : " (The coin is) of the illustrious Bhairavasimha, the lord of Tirabhukti (and) the son of the illustrious Mahārāja Darpanārāyaṇa".

In the spaces outside the square on the obverse, we have respectively in the upper left, upper right, lower left and lower right :

[Śa]	ka-
ta	7411

In the corresponding spaces on the reverse, there are similarly :

rā-	śya
[I]	5

<sup>1</sup> Partial and inaccurate readings of the legend on the coin have since appeared in *JNSI*, Vol. XX, pp. 55-61 (Plate IX, No. 5), where it has been wrongly attributed to king Rāmabhadra of Mithilā. It is stated that the coin belongs to a hoard discovered at Bairao in the Darbhanga District of Bihar.



Of the writing on the reverse, the central slanting line of *yya* is not clearly made, while the left part of the figure for 1 is cut off. These writings no doubt quote the date of the issue of the coin under study, the obverse giving *Saka-samvatsara* (i.e. *Saka-samvatsara*) 1411 and the reverse *vijaya* (i.e. *vijaya-samvatsara*) 15, i.e. the regnal year 15. Thus the coin was issued by king Bhairavāsiriha of Tirahut (i.e. Tirhut or Mithilā, i.e. North Bihar), who was the son of king Darpanārāyaṇa, in the 15th year of his reign, which corresponded to Saka 1411 or 1489-90 A. D. Bhairavāsiriha thus ascended the throne of Tirhut about Saka 1397 or 1475-76 A. D.

There is no doubt that the king who issued the coin under study is identical with Bhairavāsiriha alias Rūpanārāyaṇa alias Harinārāyaṇa who was the son of Narasiriha Darpanārāyaṇa of the Ōinvar dynasty of Tirhut, which flourished in the period between the middle of the 14th to the first half of the 16th century A. D. The coin is the only one of Bhairavāsiriha so far discovered and one of the very few of the Ōinvar as yet published. As a matter of fact, very few of the Ōinvar rulers issued coins. Our coin throws some light on the rather obscure history of the king as well as of the local ruling family of medieval India, to which he belonged.

The history of the rulers of the Ōinvar dynasty of Tirhut is little known and their chronology full of confusion. The confusion is due to many factors such as the uncertainty about the initial year of the Lakshmanāśva Satiya or La. Satī, used in the dating of many of the literary records of the period and first in question, the possibility of contemporaneous or conjoint rule for some years of the predecessor and successor in several cases, and the unreliability of some of the local traditions. Since the late medieval period, the La. Satī is calculated as starting from 1119 A. D.; but as regards the earlier dates the initial year varies between 1108 and 1119 A. D.<sup>1</sup> For the sake of convenience, we have tentatively taken 1119 A. D. as the starting point of the era in our calculations in the following pages. Another great difficulty is that even when the La. Satī year is mentioned together with the corresponding Saka year and verifiable astronomical details are provided for a date, they are generally irregular according to Swamihannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*. This is evidently due to the fact that the local almanacs from which the dates were quoted, were based on a defective calculation.

In the following lines, we are offering a sketch of Ōinvar history and chronology on the basis of the following works: (1) M. M. Chakravarti, *History of Mithilā during the Pre-Mughal Period* (*JASB*, N. S., Vol. XI, 1915, pp. 406-433; especially pp. 415-33); (2) R. K. Choudhary, *The Ōinvaras of Mithilā* (*JBS*, Vol. XI, pp. 98-121); (3) J. Eggeling, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, Part IV, pp. 874-76, No. 2564; (4) G. A. Grierson, (a) *Vidyāpati and his Contemporaries* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, 1885, pp. 182 ff.); (b) *On some Medieval Kings of Mithilā* (*ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, 1899, pp. 57-58); (c) *An Introduction to Mithilī Language*; (5) S. N. Singh, *History of Tirhut*, 1915; and (6) U. Thakur, *History of Mithilā*, 1936, Chapter VI: The Ōinvaras (pp. 290-339).

Harisiriha, the last ruler of the Karkāta dynasty of Mithilā, was overthrown by Sulṭān Ghiyāuddin Tughluq Shāh (1320-25 A. D.) of Delhi about 1324 A. D.<sup>2</sup> Sometime later, about the middle of the fourteenth century, a Brāhmana named Kāmēśvara Thākura, who may have originally been the *Rājapandita* at Harisiriha's court, obtained the Zamindari of a considerable part of the country from Sulṭān Firuz Shāh (1351-87 A. D.). The dynasty founded by the Brāhmana is called Ōinavāra (Ōinivāra) or Ōinvar after the village of Ōini in the Munassarpur District, which one of his ancestors received from a Karkāta king. The family is sometimes also named after

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Rec.*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 223-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Prasad, Hist. Med. Ind.*, p. 268.



Sugaunā, Kāmāśvara's residence near modern Madhubani in the Darbhanga District. After a short time, Firūz Shāh gave Kāmāśvara's throne to the latter's son **Bhōgīśvara**.<sup>1</sup> According to some doubtful traditions, Bhōgīśvara ruled for 33 years and died in 1300 A.D.<sup>2</sup> Bhōgīśvara's son and successor was **Gaṇēśvara** who, according to Vidyāpati's *Kīrtitātā*, was defeated and killed by an enemy named Aślā, apparently a Muslimān, aided probably by certain members of the Ōjavār family. The date of this event is given in the work in a corrupt passage which may mean the 5th of the first (i.e. dark) half of Agrahāyana in La. Sam. 252 (1371 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> His eldest son Virasimha seems to have been ruling over a part of the country in La. Sam. 228 (1347 A.D.) when a manuscript of the *Līngavārttā* was copied in his territory.<sup>4</sup> That he was a ruler is also suggested by the title *Mahārājādhirāja* applied to him in the *Kīrtitātā*.<sup>5</sup> Sometime after Gaṇēśvara's death, his son **Kīrtisimha** became king with the help of Ibrahim Shāh Shāmī (1401-40 A.D.) of Jaunpur. The next king was **Bhavasimha**, a younger son of Kāmāśvara, and he was succeeded by his eldest son **Dēvasimha Garuḍanārāyaṇa**. Since a manuscript of Śrīdhara's *Ētāguṇāṇapādīkāt*, composed at Dēvasimha's request, was copied on Monday, Pancha-mīdi 9, La. Sam. 299 (1418 A.D.), he seems to have ascended the throne before that date.<sup>6</sup> According to a poem ascribed to Vidyāpati, Dēvasimha died on Thursday, Chaitra-vadi 6, La. Sam. 293 corresponding to Śaka 1324 (1403 A.D.) which is supposed to be a mistake for Śaka 1334 (1413 A.D.).<sup>7</sup> As Śrīdhara's *Māyaparakāśinī* was composed on Kārtika-vadi 10, La. Sam. 291 (1411 A.D.) when Dēvasimha's son **Śivasimha Rūpanārāyaṇa** is stated to have been ruling over Tirahuktī, the son seems to have been reigning jointly with the father as *Yuvārāja* (or at least over parts of the kingdom) and to have been a patron of Śrīdhara. Dēvasimha ruled from Dāvakul about 2 miles to the north of Darbhanga while Śivasimha had his headquarters at Gajarathapura or Śivasimhapura about 5 miles to the south-east of Darbhanga. Three spurious copper-plate charters of king Śivasimha, recording the grant of the village of Bisapī in favour of the poet Vidyāpati, bear respectively the dates V.8. 1455, Śaka 1321, and La. Sam. 293 equated with V. 8. 1455, Śaka 1321 and Sam 807, i.e. probably 1399 A.D.<sup>8</sup> Śivasimha is described by Vidyāpati as the 'lord of the Five Gaṇḍas' and as one who subdued the king or kings of Gaṇḍa. This vague and conventional claim may suggest that, unlike his predecessors who owed allegiance to the Muhammadans, Śivasimha ruled for sometime as an independent monarch. The result, however, was fatal and, according to tradition, Śivasimha was defeated by the Muslimāns and carried away to Delhi.<sup>9</sup> The same source suggests that, after the tragic end of Śivasimha's reign, his queen **Lakṣmīdēvī** ruled for 12 years and was succeeded by **Padmasimha** who was the younger brother of Śivasimha (and ruled for 6 years according to one tradition)<sup>10</sup> and that Padmasimha's queen **Viśvāsadēvī** ruled for 12 years after her husband's

<sup>1</sup> *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XI, 1913, p. 416.

<sup>2</sup> *Thakur*, op. cit., p. 267; *JRS*, Vol. XI, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, op. cit., p. 416 and note 2; *JORS*, Vol. XIII, p. 297.

<sup>4</sup> *Thakur*, op. cit., p. 302.

<sup>5</sup> *JASB*, loc. cit. The same title was often enjoyed by the ministers of the Guvār rulers, e.g. Chaudhūrī and Rāmādatta, probably because they were ruling over parts of the country as viceroys or enjoyed extensive rights together with royal titles.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 417-18. Doubtful traditions assign Bhavasimha's accession to 1348 A.D. and Dēvasimha's to 1355 A.D. (Eggeling, op. cit., p. 875).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 418-19; D. C. Sen, *Bahgatāśāh-Śāhāya*, 2nd ed., pp. 216-17. *Thakur* (op. cit., p. 306) ascribes to M. M. Chakravarti the view that Dēvasimha ascended the throne in Śaka 1265 (1342 A.D.). But there is no such statement in Chakravarti's article referred to above.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Bhanderkar's *Lit.*, Nos. 736, 1126 and 1479. The date of Śivasimha's accession is assigned by tradition to 1449 A.D. (*As. Res. ASI.*, 1913-14, p. 249; Eggeling, loc. cit.).

<sup>9</sup> *Jal. Acc.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 86.

<sup>10</sup> *JRS*, Vol. XI, p. 120.



reign of one year. It is also believed that Lakṣmī, accompanied by the poet Vidyāpati, took shelter at Purāditya's court at Rājabanauli where Vidyāpati wrote his *Lakṣmīvalī* in 1418 A.D. and copied the *Bhāgavata* in La. Sam. 309 (1428 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> The next king was Harasimha, younger son of Dēvasimha, and his son and successor was Narasimha Darpanārāyaṇa whose Kandaha inscription is dated Śaka 1375 (1453 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> Narasimha was succeeded by his son Dhīrasimha Hṛdayanārāyaṇa during whose rule a manuscript of Śrīnivāsa's *Śatadarpāṇī* (a commentary on the *Śatubandha*) and another of the Karpaparyan of the *Mahābhārata* were copied respectively on Saturday, Kārtika-vadi 15, La. Sam. 321 (1440 A.D.), and in La. Sam. 327 (1446 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> For some years Dhīrasimha appears to have been ruling jointly with his father or at least over an area of the country. He was succeeded by his younger brother Bhairavasimha Rūpanārāyaṇa-Harinārāyaṇa who ruled from Baruāra in the Barchhānā Pargana of the Darbhanga District. According to some, he ascended the throne in 1490 A.D. when Vardhamāna composed his *Gaṇḍī-kṛtyavivēka* and Vāchaṣpati-miśra wrote his *Mahādānaṅgaya* (earliest copy dated in La. Sam. 392 or 1511 A.D.) during his rule, while it is also suggested that he died about 1515 A.D.<sup>4</sup> Bhairavasimha's successor was his son Rāmabhadra Rūpanārāyaṇa whose rule is placed by some before 1490 A.D. but by others in 1520-27 A.D.,<sup>5</sup> although both the theories appear to be wrong. The *Tantrapradīpa* was composed by Gadādhara (a grandson of Dhīrasimha) during his reign, while certain manuscripts are known to have been copied at Gadādhara's instance on Friday, Śrāvana-vadi 1, La. Sam. 372 (1491 A.D.) and on Wednesday, Kārtika-sudi 5, La. Sam. 374 and Śaka 1426 (1504 A.D.).<sup>6</sup> The known dates of Rāmabhadra's son and successor Lakṣmīnātha Karmānārāyaṇa offer some difficulty unless it is believed that he was ruling jointly with his father or at least over a part of the country. A manuscript of the *Dvīmūhātmya* was copied during Lakṣmīnātha's rule on Wednesday, Pausa-vadi 3, La. Sam. 393 (1512 A.D.).<sup>7</sup> Lakṣmīnātha's Bhagīrathpur inscription is dated in La. Sam. 394 (1513 A.D.).<sup>8</sup> About this time, Tihāt became a bone of contention between Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī (1489-1517 A.D.) of Delhi and Husain Shāh (1493-1519 A.D.) of Bengal; ultimately the latter's son Nugrat Shāh (1519-32 A.D.) invaded Tihāt, put the king (probably Lakṣmīnātha) to death and appointed his brothers-in-law, 'Alī-uddin and Makhdum-i-'Alam, governors of the country.<sup>9</sup> This account of the Muslim historians is corroborated by a stanza giving the date of Lakṣmīnātha's death as Tuesday, Bhādra-sudi 1,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. loc. cit. Traditions, referred to by Eggeling (loc. cit.), assign the accession of Lakṣmīnātha to 1440 A.D. and of Vidyāpati to 1468 A.D. but omit Padmasimha. According to Vidyāpati's *Lakṣmīvalī*, the work was composed (in La. Sam. 299-1418 A.D.) at the request of king Purāditya Guṇārāyaṇa of the Drōṇavāra family, who had killed a king named Arjuna and was ruling at Rājabanauli in Nepal. This Arjuna is identified with the son of Bhairavasimha's son Tripurasimha and is believed to have contributed to the murder of Gaṇḍēvara (JBRS, Vol. XI, pp. 117-19).

<sup>2</sup> JBRS, Vol. XX, pp. 15-19. Jayaswal wrongly interpreted the chronogram *śar-āśa-madana* as 1357. Traditions referred to by Eggeling (loc. cit.) omit Harasimha and assign Narasimha's accession to 1470 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> JASB, op. cit., pp. 428-29; JBRS, Vol. X, p. 47. According to M. M. Chakravarti, La. Sam. 321, Kārtika-vadi 15, Saturday, corresponds to October 15, 1436 A.D. Traditions referred to by Eggeling (loc. cit.) assign Dhīrasimha's accession to 1471 A.D.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Thakur, op. cit., pp. 333-34. Traditions assign Bhairavasimha's accession to 1506 A.D. and his successor's to 1520 A.D. (cf. Eggeling, loc. cit.).

<sup>5</sup> See JASB, op. cit., pp. 329-30.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, cit.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 430.

<sup>8</sup> JNES, Vol. XII, Part 3, pp. 271 ff. The date is given in the chronogram *vīda-madha-Haravīra*.

<sup>9</sup> Badāoni, *Musallāḥat Tawārīkh*, trans., Vol. I, pp. 415-17; *Hist. Reorg.* Banu University, Vol. II, pp. 145 ff.; *Cambr. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 272; Thakur, op. cit., pp. 338-39.

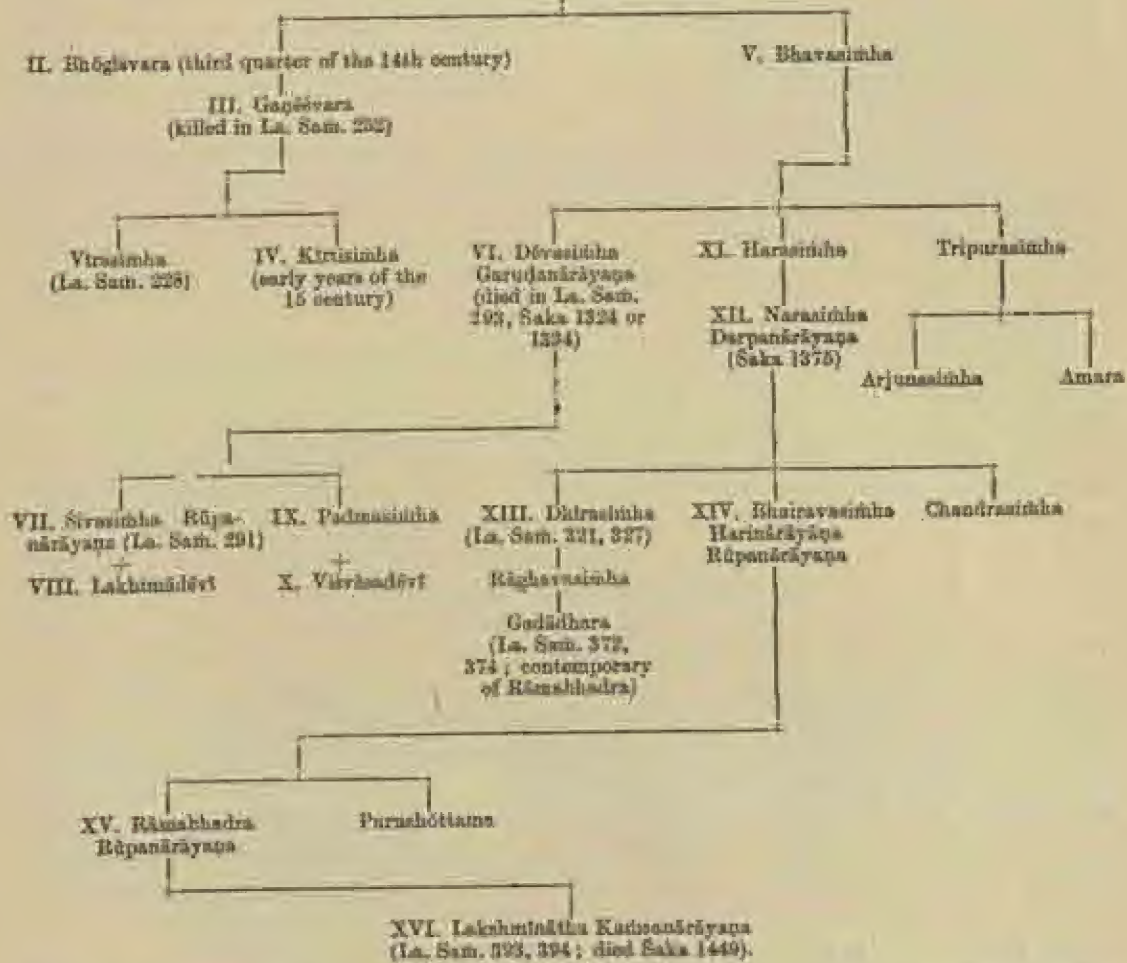


Śaka 1449 (1527 A.D.), although according to a tradition followed by Eggeling he was ruling in 1532 A.D. and according to another followed by Grierson in 1542 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

The Ōinvār or Sugunnā Dynasty<sup>2</sup>

(middle of the 14th century to 1527 A.D.)

I. Kāmśvara (third quarter of the 14th century)



<sup>1</sup> Eggeling, loc. cit.; Grierson, *Introduction to Maithilī Language*, Part II, p. 96; Thakur, op. cit., p. 339 and note 2.

<sup>2</sup> The genealogy quoted by Grierson (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV., p. 109) represents Kāmśvara as the son of Lakṣmīya, grandson of Gōvinda, great-grandson of Vīraśēṣṭ and great-great-grandson of Atirāya. Udayasiṃha is mentioned as another son of Bhavasiṃha and Sarvasimha is represented as the only son of Tripurasimha. Ratnśvarasiṃha (Ratāya), Raghvasimha Vijayanārāyaṇa and Brahmasimha Harinārāyaṇa are mentioned as brothers of Narasiṃha Darpanārāyaṇa. A brother of Chandrasimha was Durjābhāsiniṃha or Rāgasimha whose son was Vīraśiṃha Narandārāyaṇa. Rāmachandra and Pratiśvarasimha are represented as the sons of Vīraśiṃha, and Ratnasimha as the son of Rāmachandra. Purnahōtama seems to be mentioned as Garuḍanārāyaṇa. A brother of Lakṣmīnātha Kamśārāyaṇa was Rāmachandra and his two step-brothers were Bālikātha and Bhavanātha Hīdayanārāyaṇa. Mention is also made of Dhṛvasimha's son Jagannārāyaṇa whose sons were Madhusūdana, Śatākātha, Kṛtsimha, Rudranārāyaṇa and Viravara.



Besides the few facts about Bhairavasinha mentioned in the above sketch, some more are also known. It seems that he was originally ruling the kingdom (or part of it) jointly with his elder brother Dhīrasinha with the secondary name Rūpanārāyaṇa and that on his brother's death he succeeded to the throne with the name Haṣinārāyaṇa, his son Rāma-bhadra then assuming the name Rūpanārāyaṇa. The reason why Rāghavasinha, son of Dhīrasinha, was deprived of his father's throne is unknown.

Many of the Ōṇvār kings patronised men of letters. Bhairavasinha was also a great patron of learning and under his patronage Ruchipati wrote his *Anargharāghavaṇikā*, Vāchaspati-mīra his *Vyavahārachintāmaṇi*, *Kṛtyamālāraṇya* and *Mahādānanirṇaya*, and Vardhamāna-śrīpādhyāya his *Danḍavivēka*. Vāchaspati was his *parishad* or *pārishada* (i.e. councillor) and Vardhamāna his *dharma-dhikaravika* or judge. Vāchaspati's *Devānirṇaya* was written at the request of Bhairavasinha's queen Jayā or Jayātmā, mother of Rājādhirāja Puruṣhottama who seems to have ruled a part of the kingdom under his father. Mīra-mīra wrote his *Vivēdachandra* and *Padārthachandra* at the instance of the wife of Chandrasinha who was a brother (probably step-brother) of Bhairavasinha. According to the *Mahādānanirṇaya*, Bhairavasinha excavated many tanks, gave away some towns and townships and performed a *Tulāpurushādāna*.<sup>1</sup>

Vidyāpati's *Durgābhaktīrāṅgiṇī* mentions Bhairavasinha as *śaury-āvarjita-pañcha-Gauḍa-dharaṇisātha* and Vardhamāna's *Danḍavivēka* describes him as *Gauḍ-īkara-pratīśarīm-atipratāpaḥ Kēṭārārāyaṇa-avagachchhati dāra-tulyam*.<sup>2</sup> The vague claim of victory over the rulers of the Five Gauḍas, which is conventional and seems to point to the independent status claimed by Bhairavasinha, reminds us of the fact that the only other Ōṇvār ruler with similar claims is Śivāsinha who is called *Pañcha-Gauḍ-īkara*, i.e. lord of the Five Gauḍas, in Vidyāpati's songs and is described in the same poet's *Sainisārasaṁsāra* as *śaury-āvarjita-Gauḍa-nubhāṇa* (i.e. one who conquered the king or kings of Gauḍa by his prowess) and in his *Puruṣaparīkṣā* as one having earned fame in battles with the kings of Gauḍa and Gajjana.<sup>3</sup> These facts appear to show that amongst the Ōṇvārs at least Śivāsinha and Bhairavasinha aspired for independent status. Besides the Muslim rulers of Delhi, those of Jaunpur and Bengal were also each eager to spread his influence in Tihāt and the Ōṇvārs, who owed allegiance to Delhi, had sometimes to submit to these powers as well.<sup>4</sup> But on occasions a few of them got an opportunity to assume independence temporarily as a result of quarrels amongst the said Muslim powers or of their weakness or preoccupation. It is interesting in this connection to note that, as feudatories of the Muslims, the Ōṇvārs were not expected to issue coins in their own names. That Bhairavasinha ruled for sometime as an independent

<sup>1</sup> For references, see *JASS*, op. cit., pp. 428-29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 436, note 2; p. 427, note 4. Kēṭārārāyaṇa, whom Bhairavasinha treated as his own wife (i.e. as a subordinate), may have been a general of the Muslim king of Bengal. The ruler of Tihāt probably defeated and humiliated him. The claim may be compared with the title *Ripu-rāja-gōṣṭi-gōṣṭi* assumed by a medieval ruler of Sylhet (*Hist. Recg.*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 256).

<sup>3</sup> *JBRBS*, Vol. XI, p. 121, note 4; Thakur, op. cit., pp. 310-11. By Gajjana rulers, the successors of the representatives of the early Ghazna rulers at Delhi appear to be meant.

<sup>4</sup> We have seen how Kāmōṭara and Bhāgīratha obtained rulership from Firuz Shāh Taghluq of Delhi and Kirtisinha from Ibrahim Shāh (1402-36 A. D.) of Jaunpur. Kirtisinha Jahān (1394-99 A. D.) of Jaunpur succeeded in extending his influence in Tihāt (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 231) and Husain Shāh (1458-79 A. D.) crushed the semi-independent landholders of that country before 1490 A. D. (*Ibid.*, p. 235). For a short time Ilyās Shāh (1345-67 A. D.) of Bengal occupied Tihāt (*Ibid.*, p. 176). Some of the songs attributed to Vidyāpati speak of Muslim rulers like Gyāmadīna Surastīna, Nāṭra Sīha, *Pañcha-Gauḍ-īkara Śāha* *Naṣrat* Śāha and Ālama Śāha (*JBRBS*, Vol. XI, p.p. 107-10). There is considerable difference of opinion about the identification of these rulers.



ruler of Tirhut is indicated by his issue of silver coins, one of which is now under study. It is also interesting to note that Śivasimha is the only other Ōinvār king whose coins have been discovered.

In 1913 three small gold coins, out of a lot discovered at the village of Pipra in the Champaran District, were received in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. They were noticed by R. D. Banerji in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1913-14, 248-49, Plate LXVIII, Nos. 1-3. The coins are round in shape with diameters varying between 3 and 3.25 inch and weights between 13.6 and 14 grains. As on the coin of Bhairavasimha under study, the legend on the Pipra gold coins runs on from the obverse to the reverse. The legend on the obverse reads *Śri-* and that on the reverse in two lines runs (1) *Śiva-* (2) *aga*. King Śiva, who issued these coins, has been rightly identified by Banerji with king Śivasimha of the Ōinvār dynasty of Tirhut. A similar coin was previously published by Cunningham in his *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 54, Plate VI, No. 18. Banerji seems to assign the copper coins bearing the name of Champakāranya to the dynasty of Śivasimha; but they were issued by the rulers of the Karpāta dynasty of Simraon (Samaragrāma) and not by the Ōinvārs of Tirhut.

The importance of the coin published here is two-fold. In the first place, it shows, as already indicated above, that Ōinvār Bhairavasimha ruled for sometime as an independent monarch and signalled the achievement with the issue of some silver coins. Secondly, we learn for the first time from it that Bhairavasimha ascended the throne about 1475-76 A. D. and ruled at least for about 15 years down to 1489-90 A. D. The view assigning his accession to 1496 A. D. is thus certainly wrong.

## POSTSCRIPT

### Another Silver Coin of Bhairavasimha

Shortly after my paper on the silver coin of Bhairavasimha had been sent to the press, Mr. A. N. Lahiri, one of my Epigraphical Assistants, had occasion to visit Calcutta where he studied some coins in the cabinet of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum. In the course of his study, Mr. Lahiri luckily came across another silver coin of Bhairavasimha, closely resembling the one discussed above. On his return to Ootacamund, he kindly placed at my disposal the plaster casts of the coin, which he had prepared with the permission of Mr. R. C. Kar, Superintendent of the Archaeological Section.

This coin was examined by V. A. Smith and was noticed as No. 3 under the head 'Sundry Coins' at the last page (p. 333) of his *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, 1906. He correctly gives the metal, weight and size of the coin respectively as silver, 164 grains and .9 inch. Unfortunately, Smith, who thought that the provenance of the coin might be Nepal, failed to read any part of the five-line (not four-line as supposed by him) legend on the obverse and the reverse. In the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1913-14, p. 259 (Plate LXIX, No. 31), R. D. Banerji made an unsuccessful attempt to read the legend.

The present coin (No. 2) was struck on a flan slightly smaller than that of Bhairavasimha's other coin (No. 1) dealt with above. As a result of this, some of the letters and numerical figures that can be seen on Coin No. 1 are cut off on Coin No. 2. The two coins, although they apparently bear the same date, were struck from two different dies. In some cases, the forms of the letters are different on the two specimens; cf. *h* in *mahārāja*, *s* in *śimha*, etc. As on Coin No. 1, some letters on Coin No. 2 are damaged owing to later punching by the shroffs; cf. *ya* in

\* See V. A. Smith, *JASB*, Vol. LXVI, 1897, Part I, p. 309; and *Catalogue (Indian Museum, Calcutta)*, p. 298; O. J. Bodgers, *Catalogue (Lahore Museum)*, p. 12, Plate IV.



*nārāyaṇa* and *re* in *Tirakbhukti*. Similarly, two forms of the letters *j*, *r* and *h* have been used in the legend on No. 2 as in that of No. 1. The *akshara* *īrī* before *Bhairava*, which exhibits the sign of later punching on coin No. 1, seems to be badly shaped on coin No. 2. In spite, however, of these differences, the arrangement of the letters and numerical figures in the legends on both the coins is the same. But, as indicated above, some of these letters and figures in the spaces outside the central square are cut off on Coin No. 2. The legend in the central squares on both sides of Coin No. 2 reads as follows :

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
1 Ma-	1 Ti-
2 hārāja-	2 rabh(u)kti-
3 [āri]-Darppanārā-	3 rāja-[ār]-Bhaira-
4 yaṇ-ātma-	4 vas(iu)ha-
5 ja-	5 sya [i]*]

Of the letters and numerical figures in the spaces outside the square on the obverse, *Se* in the upper left is partly visible while *ka* in the upper right is quite clear. *Saṁ* in the lower left is almost totally cut off, though only the lower parts of the figures 1411 in the lower right are lost. Similarly, in the spaces outside the central square on the reverse of the coin, it is difficult to recognise *rā* in the upper left and *ya* in the upper right, while the numerical figure in the lower left and that in the lower right are both cut off. The *akshara* *ya* is fully preserved but is not properly shaped.



# SILVER COIN OF BHAIRAVASIMHA

1



Enlarged Size



Actual Size

2



Enlarged Size



Actual Size

(from Photographs)







# No. 41—AIVARMALAI INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA II, SAKA 792

[ 1 Plate ]

S. SANKARANARAYANAN, OOTACAMUND

The subjoined inscription<sup>1</sup> is engraved on the neatly dressed portion of the rock above a natural cave on the hill called **Aivarmalai** in the village of Aiyampālaiyam in the Palani Taluk of the Madurai District. I edit it with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

This epigraph in seven lines is in the Tamil language and Vattejutta characters. Unlike in the Ambāsamudram inscription<sup>2</sup> of Varaguna II, the letter *k* assumes the slanting form and the double *kk* is never written as a group. As in the Śuchindram inscription<sup>3</sup> of Mārāṇḍajaiyan, two forms of *i* are used, the one with ends of the two arms joined (cf. *Kāḷaitu* in line 3) and the other with separated arms (cf. *\*nūṟṟu-ito\** in line 1; *amaittu* in line 6). Though the syllable *po* in *pon* (lines 6-7) resembles that in the Ambāsamudram record, the syllable *pō* in *pōndana* (line 2; cf. *mō* in line 6) is distinguished by the signs for *ś* and *ṣ* added to *p*.<sup>4</sup> A loop at the end added to the sign of medial *i* makes medial *ī*. The syllable *śru* in *Pāridra* (line 4) is written in Grantha characters.

This inscription is of great importance as it is dated in the eighth regnal year of Varaguna equated with **Saka year 792 expired**, and thus provides one of the two<sup>5</sup> most important dates in early Pāṇḍya chronology. It records a gift of 502 *tēṇam* of gold to the Jaina monk Śāntivira-kkuravar of Kāḷam, who was a disciple of another Jaina monk named Gupavira-kkuravaiḡaḡa. The former is said to have renovated the figures of Pāravanātha and the Yaśohita (*Iyakkī\*arvāigal*), probably attending on Pāravanātha, at Tiruvayirai, i.e., Aivarmalai.<sup>6</sup> The gift is said to have been made for food offerings (*evi*) to the deities and for feeding (*iṣṟu*) one Jaina ascetic (probably daily).

Though there is much disagreement on the identification of Varaguna mentioned in records like the inscriptions from Tiruvellai and Iāḡṇḡḡ,<sup>7</sup> there can be no difference of opinion in ascribing the present inscription to **Varaguna II**. For the Saka date of this record is too

<sup>1</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1905, No. 703.

<sup>2</sup> *Above*, Vol. IX, pp. 89 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *TAS*, Vol. IV, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>4</sup> This seems to go against the view that the distinction between *po* and *pō* is an innovation later than the Ambāsamudram inscription (*above*, Vol. IX, p. 85).

<sup>5</sup> The other is the Ānaimalai inscription of Mārāṇḍajaiyan alias Parāntaka Varaguna I (cf. *above*, Vol. VIII, pp. 317 ff.).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the popular village deity called *Iyakkī* in South India.

<sup>7</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1905, No. 702, also, like early Tamil works (cf. *Padiṟṟoppattu*, verses 21, 70 and 79), refers to the Aivarmalai, from which it comes, by the same name. Thus the present record and other fragmentary inscriptions (*A. R. Ep.*, 1905 Nos. 691-703) from the place show that the hill Aivarmalai had been a Jaina hermitage in the 9th century A. D. But at present there is only a Gāṇḡa temple, and popular belief connects it with the Paḡḡa (*Paḡḡas* (*A. R.*)).

<sup>8</sup> For conflicting views, see *above*, Vol. XI, p. 253; Vol. XXVIII, p. 38 on the one hand, and Vol. XX, pp. 49 ff., p. 50, note 8, on the other.



late for his grandfather<sup>1</sup> who has been identified<sup>2</sup> with Varaguna (I) of the Larger Sīnāmanūr grant<sup>3</sup> and Jaṭila-Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan of the Vēlvikkudi plates<sup>4</sup> and for whom the Ānimalai records offer the date Kali 3871 (expired)—A. D. 770.

With regard to the date of our record, the first thing to be borne in mind is that the Śaka year quoted, viz. 792, was expired (*pōḍaṇa*). Thus Varaguna's eighth regnal year is coupled with Śaka 793 current (between March 870 A. D. and March 871 A. D.). He therefore ascended the throne sometime between March 862 and March 864 A. D. and not exactly between March 862 A. D. and March 863 A. D. as has generally been believed.<sup>5</sup> The view assigning the king's accession to 861-62 A. D. overlooks the expression *pōḍaṇa*.<sup>6</sup> Secondly, the eighth regnal year of the record should better be taken as current rather than expired. For the first regnal year of a king is likely to be counted from the first day of his accession and not from the date of the expiry of the first year.<sup>7</sup> But those who regard the Śaka year 792 of our record as current and at the same time the regnal year<sup>8</sup> as expired prelate the king's accession by two years.<sup>9</sup> Our record seems to necessitate a reconsideration of the dates suggested for the records from Tiruvēlūnai,<sup>10</sup> Laṅḡḡ<sup>11</sup> and Javanṭinṭṭhapuram,<sup>12</sup> all of which are dated in the 4+9th regnal year of Varaguna who has been identified with Varaguna I by some but with Varaguna II by others.

#### TEXT<sup>13</sup>

1 Śakara-yāṇḍu eḷu-nūṟṟu-tōṇṇōṟṟ-irayḍu

2 pōḍaṇa Varagunaṅku yāṇḍu eṭṭu Ūṇaṟā-ḷku-

3 raṇaḍiḷa]-māṇṣka[?] Kāḷat(u) Sāntivira-

4 kuraṇar Tiruvāyirai Pōṟṟa-(Pāṟṟa)-paṭṭhaṭṭāraṇayum-(yak-

5 ki-ayvaṇḷaḷayum poṭuḷḷ-irayḍuḷku-muṭ-

6 [ā-vāyiyum-ṭṭ-āḍiḷaḷku] (ṭṭōṇṇa)<sup>14</sup> aṇaitta [iḷ-

7 p-āi-nūṟṟ-āiṇḍu kāṇam<sup>15</sup> |||<sup>16</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> Sauer, *The Pāṇḍya Kingdom*, pp. 39-41. The identification seems to be corroborated by the Perumbōḷlī inscription of Varaguna II (above, p. 371).

<sup>3</sup> *SI*, Vol. III, pp. 451 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *A. R. R.*, 1906, paragraph 25; above, Vol. VIII, p. 319; Vol. IX, p. 84. The actual date of the King's accession, however, cannot be determined without further evidence.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 29. Our record does not presuppose that the quoted Śaka year 792 was the current year<sup>7</sup> (above, Vol. XI, p. 223) nor does it give room for the doubt that it may be either current or expired<sup>8</sup> (*QJMS*, Vol. XLIII, p. 132).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *JOR*, Vol. IX, p. 217.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 223; *QJMS*, Vol. XLIII, p. 132.

<sup>9</sup> Two dates have been suggested. The one is the 22nd November 874 A. D. (above, Vol. XI, p. 223; Vol. XXVIII, p. 28); but it is doubtful (cf. *QJMS*, Vol. XLII, p. 137; Vol. XLIII, p. 138). The other date viz. 7th November 874 A. D. has been suggested by ascribing the record to Varaguna I (above, Vol. XX, p. 51). This also seems to require a reconsideration if we assign the Ānimalai inscription to that king.

<sup>10</sup> The proposed date is the 6th December, 875 A. D. (loc. cit.; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 42) by taking the regnal year as expired.

<sup>11</sup> The date suggested is the 5th December, 875 A.D. (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 29).

<sup>12</sup> From impressions.

<sup>13</sup> Read *ṭṭōṇṇa-ḍa*.

<sup>14</sup> I am indebted to Mr. K. G. Krishnan for some valuable suggestions in the preparation of this article.



AIVARMAIAI INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA II, SAKA 972



Scale : Three-Tenths







## No. 42—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF GANAPATI

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

About the end of the year 1932, I visited Gwalior with the purpose of attending the Fifteenth Session of the Indian History Congress and examining the inscriptions preserved in the **Gwalior Museum**. Among the epigraphs copied by me in the said Museum two were stone inscriptions<sup>1</sup> belonging to the reign of the Yajvapāla king **Ganapati** (known dates between 1292 and 1300 A.D.) of Nalapura (modern Narwar in the Shivapuri District of the former Gwalior State). These two epigraphs are edited in the following pages. They have both been noticed by several scholars. The first of them, stated to have been originally found at **Surwāya** in the Shivapuri District of the former Gwalior State, was noticed by Hirananda Sastri in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1903-04, Part II, pp. 289 f., and this notice was followed in D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions in Northern India*, No. 630, and H. N. Devēdi's *Gwalior Rājyale Abhilekh*, No. 163. But unfortunately Sastri's notice of the inscription contains some errors, the most important of which is that the epigraph does not record the benefactions of **Rāpā** Adhigadēva of the Mochhalaka family but of **Rāpā** Chāchigadēva of the Labdhaka dynasty. The other epigraph, found at **Narwar** in the same District, was noticed by A. Cunningham, *ASIR*, Vol. II, p. 316; F. Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 8; M. B. Garde, *ibid.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 241, and *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State*, V.S. 1971, No. 8; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 642; and H. N. Devēdi, *op. cit.*, No. 174. It has been said that the eulogy in question was composed by Śiva, son of Lohada. Actually, however, the poet's name was Śivunābhaka who was the son of Lohaja. The name of the person responsible for writing the letters on the stone is given as Anantashila, though it is really Arantashila. There seems also to be some confusion about the week-day in the date of the record, which has sometimes been taken to be Friday, although it is actually Thursday. In any case, the published notices of both the inscriptions appear to be based on their inaccurate and incomplete transcripts since some of the interesting informations supplied by them have been altogether ignored.

The inscriptions contain each a eulogy recording the construction of a step-well during the reign of the Yajvapāla monarch Ganapati. An interesting feature of these epigraphs as well as some others<sup>2</sup> of the type belonging to the time of the Yajvapāla kings of Nalapura (modern Narwar) is that they speak of a number of people who settled in the Yajvapāla dominions from Gōpāṇi or Gōpāchala (modern Gwalior). This was no doubt the result of the extinction of Hindu rule and establishment of the hold of the Turkish Muhammadans at Gwalior.<sup>3</sup> A number of these displaced people appear to have been of Māthura Kāyastha origin. Some of them (or at least their ancestors) were probably servants of the Hindu kings of Gwalior and a good many of them appear to have been absorbed in the services under the Yajvapāla kings of Nalapura. The inscriptions also show that some of the Kāyasthas of the Māthura community were assiduous students of Sanskrit literature and composed poems of no mean order.

### 1. *Surwāya Inscription of V. S. 1330*

The inscribed stone is a squarish slab, the lines of writing being engraved on an excavated bed having a raised margin on all the four sides. There are 23 lines in the inscription, the last of

<sup>1</sup> These are Nos. 145 and 142 of *A. S. Ep.*, 1932-53, App. B.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, Nos. 139 and 141; *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 31 f.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. XXX, p. 149.



which is incised on the lower border. The writing in the excavated bed occupies an area about 16½ inches in length and 17 inches in height. The letters are neatly and carefully engraved and the preservation of the writing is fairly satisfactory although a few letters are damaged here and there.

The characters belong to the Devanāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century and resemble those in other records of the age and region in question.<sup>1</sup> The letter *ḥ* has been indicated by the sign for *c*. The language of the record is Sanskrit and, with the exception of a few passages at the beginning and end, the whole of it is written in verse. It is a *prastāvi* written in 23 stanzas in different metres. The verses are consecutively numbered. As regards orthography, it may be observed that consonants are only in some cases reduplicated after *r* and *anuvāsa* is used in most cases in the place of *claus nasāl* and generally also of final *m* at the end of the halves of stanzas. The date quoted in line 22 is V. S. 1350, Kārttika-vadi 7, Wednesday. It corresponds to the 23rd September 1293 A.D. The *śaptamī tithi* began on that date at 19 of the day.

The inscription begins with the *śuddhā* symbol followed by the passage *Om namah Śivāya*. Next follow the 23 stanzas of the *prastāvi* in lines 1-22. Verses 1-3 contain adoration to the god Śambhu (Śiva), the goddess Mahārūpā and the composition of good poets. Mahārūpā was apparently a form of the Mother-goddess. Another epigraphic record<sup>2</sup> suggests that she was the family deity of the Yajvapāla kings. The goddess was possibly also worshipped at the city of Surwāyā (old Saravastipattana)<sup>3</sup> which lay within the dominions of the Yajvapālas and where the record under study was found. Since the word *rūpā* means 'a headless trunk', it is possible to connect Mahārūpā with the well-known Chinnamastā aspect of the Mother-goddess.

Verses 4 ff. describe the family of the hero of the *prastāvi*. The first stanza of this section (verse 4) introduces the Lubdhaka family, the members of which are stated to have been always engaged in *pārta-dharma* (i.e. meritorious works such as feeding Brāhmanas, digging wells, planting groves, building temples, etc.). According to Sanskrit lexicons, the word *lubdhaka* means 'a hunter', but the name Lubdhaka in our record is no doubt the same as Lōdhā as found in contemporary inscriptions found in the same area.<sup>4</sup> Since the stanza further states that the Lubdhaka family belonged to the Kātyapa *yātra*, it could scarcely have anything to do with the hunters who represent one of the lowest strata of the society. The Lōdhās of the neighbouring Agra region are stated to be an agricultural community.<sup>5</sup>

Verses 5-6 introduce Gūdhala of the Lubdhaka family, who was famous for his liberality, while verses 7-9 describe Padma who was the son of Gūdhala. While the father may be taken to have served many kings (*śāseras*) who cannot be identified, the son is stated to have possessed immense wealth and to have been a great devotee of the god Śambhu (Śiva). Padma is also described as a protector of the people. Verse 10 introduces the lady Siyā who was the wife of Padma. The following three stanzas (verses 11-13) describe the two sons of Padma and Siyā. The elder of the two brothers was Kākali and the younger Chāchiga who enjoyed the title *Rājaka*. Chāchiga is described as a *dharma-putra* (i.e. one theoretically accepted as a son) of king Gōpāla who is no doubt the Yajvapāla king of that name. Yajvapāla Gōpāla, whose known dates range between 1279 and 1289 A.D., was the father of king Ganapati mentioned below. Verses 14 ff. describe the activities of Chāchiga who is stated to have visited the holy places of the gods Kōdāra and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 145 ff. and Plate; Vol. XXVI, pp. 323 ff. and Plates.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. No. 126 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1953-52, App. B; below, Vol. XXXIII, p. 39, text line 4.

<sup>3</sup> H. N. Devvedi, *op. cit.*, No. 180.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, No. 162 in the Gwalior Museum, dated V. S. 1349 (1293 A. D.), which records the excavation of a tank by Mahatā Jaitānātha of the Lōdhā community.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Whitworth, *Anglo-Indian Dictionary*, s.v. 2 of Wilson's Glossary, s.v.



**Sōmēśa** (i.e. **Sōmēśvara** or **Sōmanātha**) as well as **Prayāga** and **Gayasīrsha** (i.e. **Gayā**) and to have offered *puṇḍa* to his dead ancestors at the last-named place. Verse 16 states that Chāchiga's activities in the various *śithas* and (fields of) battle also-olved him from his debt to his master **Gōpāladēva**. The next stanza (verse 17) mentions the lady **Bahajā** who was the wife of Chāchiga.

Verse 18 records the excavation of a *vēpi* by Chāchiga. Since the following stanza (verse 19) refers to the sound of its waves, the word *vēpi* would appear to indicate here a tank rather than a step-well. But the inscriptions of the area in question use the word generally in the sense of a step-well. The reference to the waves, etc., in the description of the *vēpi* thus appears to be merely poetical exaggeration. Verse 20 states that Chāchiga also made a *vāṭikā* or garden apparently around the *vēpi* or in its neighbourhood. The garden is described as containing plants for both flowers and fruits. Verse 21 mentions **Rāpaka Chāchau** (apparently a colloquial form of the name **Chāchiga**) as a servant of **Ganapau**, no doubt the Yaṇapāla king of the same name, who was the son and successor of **Gōpāla**. As already indicated above, the known dates of Ganapati range between 1292 and 1300 A.D. The stanza prays for the prosperity (*śukha*) of the *puṇya-śithāna* (i.e. sacred place) meaning the area containing the *vēpi* and the *vāṭikā*.

Verse 22 states that the poet **Jayasīrsha**, who belonged to the Māthura Kāyastha community and was the son of **Lohata**, composed the eulogy. **Lohata** is also mentioned in several other contemporary epigraphs (including the one of V. S. 1355 from Narwar edited below) which were composed by another of his sons, named **Śivanābhaka**. The next stanza (verse 23), with which the *prahastānda*, says that the eulogy was written by **Maharāja** who was the son of **Sōmarāja** of the same community of the Māthura Kāyasthas. The name of the writer is spelt as **Maharāja** in the same stanza occurring elsewhere also.\* It should not therefore be regarded as a mistake for **Maharāja** unless it is believed that *maṇā* was changed to *maha* for the requirement of the metre. The word *likhita* in this stanza shows that **Maharāja** wrote the letters of the record on the stone in ink or a paint since, as stated in line 23 incised on the lower border of the inscribed slab, the engraver of the document was one **Dēvasīrsha**.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the holy places of **Kōṣāra** in the Himalayas and **Sōmēśa** or **Sōmanātha**, i.e. modern **Pāra** **Sōmāth** in **Kashīnagar**, as well as **Prayāga** near modern **Allahabad** in **U.P.** and **Gayasīrsha**, i.e. **Gayā** in **Bihār**, are well known. The community of the Māthura Kāyasthas received their name from the city of **Māthura** headquarters of the District of that name in **U.P.**

### TEXT<sup>†</sup>

Metres: verses 1-11, 15-17, 19-20, 22-23 *Anuṣṭup*; verses 12, 16 *Uṇpātī*; verse 13 *Indravajrā*; verse 14 *Śālāṇī*; verse 18 *Paṇṭalīkā*; verse 21 *Āryā*.]

1 Siddham<sup>‡</sup> || Om<sup>§</sup> namah Śivāya || Śrīyam śīśata vaḥ Śacībhar=maṇḍalini śaṭṭa[n]avi kulā |  
Kāla-vyāha-kṛit-ānēka-juga-<sup>¶</sup>

2 ā-vyāpatti-bhāṣṇi || 1 Yā smṛit-āpi satām karoti manō vāk-kāya-mahābhavad(vam) | aghaṭ  
at tritālat-vratādyā Mahāsmṛitā

3 puṇḍa vaḥ || 2 Śat-ānanda-mayin vaṇḍi sa-mahā sat-kavē-gīram(ram) | na-yatra niyamō  
Dhātub prāgābhyan=avaladva(na)-

\* See No. 139 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B, below, Vol. XXXIII, p. 40, text line 27.

† From impressions. This is No. 140 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B.

‡ Expressed by symbol.

§ There is an unnecessary *dupda* here to cover a little space at the end of the line.



- 4 tā || 2 || **Luvdha(bdha)kānā'm-ahhūdevumāh** puṇyāh **Kṣeyapa-gōtrajaḥ** | pūr[ti]ḥ[ti]a  
karmamāḥ āśva[ti] jagat-samtōha-pōha-<sup>2</sup>
- 5 kuḥ || 4 Tatt-ājani janair-mūḥyāḥ puṇya-karmas kōcidab | Gōd[ti]hā]lō mārgay-anatida-  
kand-dillāsa-nāy-āhru(bu)ḥab || 5 ||
- 6 Kṛt-ānāk-ēvara-pūtā-s-kimpurusha-sūritah | anugra-mitrō yō bhū[ti] Rājārāja iv-āparah ||  
6 Tasya Padm-ābhi-<sup>3</sup>
- 7 [dha]ḥ putrō va(ba)bhūv-ābhayaḥ nṛpātā(pām) | yatra sarv-ātmanā chakrē Padmā padma  
iva [at]h[ti]h[ti]h[ti]m || 7 Anantā-vasannā yūna tāpa-ām-<sup>4</sup>
- 8 ti-kṛtā kṛtā(m)(tam) | chaitrīp-eva jagat-sarvam yatai-chandrikayā śītam(śītam) || 8  
Manah śa[m]bhru-sinjita yūna karō vaau-viasrjjanā | pa-<sup>5</sup>
- 9 r-ōpakatapē ru(bu)ddhir-vvāḥ satyē nṛyōjīh || 9 Prāpōbhyō[pi\*] priyā tasya Siyā nām-  
ābhavat-priyā | satya-tila-<sup>6</sup>
- 10 kulāsa-tulyā patipā(vaitrī-dhūri)chitā || 10 Tasyām-utpāditan tāpa sūtan-śukṛta-śālinā | sad-  
gūṇa-iva yau puṇyai-<sup>7</sup>
- 11 va(e-va)ddhishpabhir-alamkṛitau || 11 Tatt-ādimm Kākāli-nāmadhēyāḥ kalām cakabō-jau  
nirvīpakahāḥ | yasy-āmaratā(g)ḥ bhīṣam-uttā-<sup>8</sup>
- 12 raṁgāḥ puṇyair-aganyair-achalatvam-āpi || 12 Tasy-ānujaḥ śēḍyau jōṅgākō **Gōpālā-**  
bhūmipati-dharmā-putrah | kākāir-maya pātram sa-<sup>9</sup>
- 13 mahāt-va-rīdyah tri-rāpakā-**Chāchigadāva-saṁjīhāḥ** || 13 Śrī-**Kedāram**-roddhay-ābhya-  
rohya samyak śrī-**Sōmēśam** pūjayitvā cha kāmam(mam) || mātā<sup>10</sup>
- 14 tīrthō pāvanē śrī-**Prayāgē** yē-āpt-ēchchah pāvanatvaya utmā || 14 Śraddhālmā yēna  
**Gay-āsurasya** āśrahē pūṇihyō vimalam vi-<sup>11</sup>
- 15 tīrya | pūḍam kṛtā triptir-āśai-bhōgā samoddhṛitam svastōha(svastya) [m]jati kulānām-  
(nām) || 15 Vidhāy-āśkadhā kṛityam āśrahāhu chā ragōha cha | śrīmad-**Gō-**<sup>12</sup>
- 16 **pālādēvasya** yā vihhōr-āṇṇō va(ba)bhū || 16 Sahaj-ākhyā pūyā tasya samahōit-salm[air]-  
gūṇāḥ | chōtō-har-āśhīnām nṛyam haraditi vaau-<sup>13</sup>
- 17 bhū-syathāt(tām) || 17 Tēv-āśhīram kalayātā vaau jīvitam cha puṇy-ātmanā sakala-  
jauṭa-kṛpō-patēga | sva-āśyāśm mātā-vrīddh[ti]-karō-dhyupā-<sup>14</sup>
- 18 yō mat-ēyam-achohha-śa(m)llā nīramāp rāp[ti\*] || 18 N-ānyō-ati mat-patō lōkē puṇya-  
hōtur-a-iva yā | m[ti]hāta-nādā-lā-lā-ka-<sup>15</sup>
- 19 bhāt-ābhigatjati || 19 Phal-puṇya-pat-āśka-ākhī-chokkannā-dig-antara | adhvaṇya-  
śrāntāhā vāna vāpik-ēyam chā karitā ||<sup>16</sup>
- 20 20 Śrīmad-**Gaṇapati-nṛpati**-dhyitō yō rāpakā-**Chachau-saṁjīhāḥ** | tasy-ānanta(āva)-  
ram-śtat-puṇya-āhāmāśhāhā bhavata || 21 Śrīman-**Mā-**<sup>17</sup>
- 21 thara-**Kāyasthō** Lōhāsy-āṅga-samīdhavāḥ | **Jayasimha**-kaviś-chakrē praband[ti]h[ti]  
rachitām-āmām(mām) || 22 Māchur-āṇvaya-**Kāyasthō-Sōnu-**<sup>18</sup>
- 22 tāj-āṅga-janmanā | lkhītā Mahārājāna praband-āram-uttamā || 23 **Sarvat** 1350  
**Kārttika-vadi 7 Va(Bu)dha-vāsare** || chha<sup>19</sup> ||<sup>20</sup>
- 23 ākīrṇā Dhavasimhāna | kama[ti]hā[ti]madhā<sup>21</sup>,...

<sup>1</sup> An unnecessary parenthesis above this letter is rubbed off by the engraver.

<sup>2</sup> There is an unnecessary *daḥ* here to cover a little space at the end of the line.

<sup>3</sup> There is an unnecessary double *daḥ* here with a cancellation mark.

<sup>4</sup> There is a mistake here due to a syllable being dropped inadvertently. Read *paṇḍitāśhāḥ*.

<sup>5</sup> There is an unnecessary *daḥ* here together with a cancellation mark.

<sup>6</sup> This indicates the end of the writing (cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 219).

<sup>7</sup> There may be two personal names, viz. Kamadhā and Suddhā.



TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF GANAPATI—PLATE I

I. Surwaya Inscription of V.S. 1350

५०॥ चैनमशिसा॥ अिसदिशुवः शमोर्ध्वे द्विती ताशवी कला कालेद्या नु कृताने ककुता  
 २ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 ४ पुता उवः ॥ २॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 ६ त ५॥ ३॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 ८ कशा ॥ ४॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 १० कृता जके श्रुमीतिर किं पृथगसि दितः ॥ ५॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 १२ ४॥ ५॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 १४ तिकृता कृतिवदितो वक्रतामवदशश्च डिक द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 १६ साप करणो बुद्धिबोली सत्ता जिदो जिता ॥ १०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 १८ काले सुत्ता पति पंद्री पुरिष्ठिता ॥ १०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 २० वद्विष्टा मिरल कृतौ ॥ १०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 २२ रौ ॥ १०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 २४ कषु विद्यः श्री गणेश आभिरुद वमजो ॥ १०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 २६ ती ॥ १०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 २८ ती ॥ १०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 ३० गाले ॥ १०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 ३२ मिरा ॥ १०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 ३४ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 ३६ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 ३८ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 ४० द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 ४२ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 ४४ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 ४६ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 ४८ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥  
 ५० द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥ द्यापत्रिदा विप्री ५०॥

Scale : Two-Fifths







2. *Narwar Inscription of V. S. 1355*

This inscription is engraved on a rectangular slab. There are 21 lines of writing in the record, which cover an area about 23 inches in length and 16 inches in height. The letters are as neatly and carefully incised as in the Surwayā inscription edited above, but the preservation of the writing is more satisfactory in the present case, the number of damaged letters being fewer.

The **characters** are similar to those of the Surwayā inscription. There is little distinction between the sign indicating a final consonant and that of the medial *ā* mark. In some cases, the *ḍanda* has been placed so close to the preceding letter as to look like an *ḍ-mātrā*. The **language** is Sanskrit and, like the Surwayā inscription, it is written in verse with the exception of a few passages at the beginning and end. There are altogether 28 stanzas in various metres in the eulogy under study. The verses are numbered consecutively. The inscription resembles the other record in point of **orthography**; but it exhibits several cases of the use of final *va* at the end of the first and second halves of verses. Consonants are occasionally redoubled after *r*. The **date** of the record is quoted at the end. It is **V.S. 1355, Kārttika-vadi 5, Thursday**, which corresponds to the **25th September 1298 A.D.** The *pañchamī tithi* commenced on that date at 28 of the day.

Like the Surwayā inscription, the present record also begins with the *Siddhara* symbol followed by the passage *Om namo Śivāya*. Then come the 28 stanzas of the *prāsa*. Verses 1-2 contain allusion to Maṇmathasūdana (Śiva) and the Sun-god who is described as the husband of **Rannā**. In epic and Puranic mythology, the names of the Sun-god's wives are given as Saṇjūā, Chhāyā, Rājā, Nīlakhubhā or Nīlkanthā, Savarohā, etc. The Prakritic name **Rannā** (probably derived from the name *Rājā*) is not found in Sanskrit works. But there is evidence to show that **Rannā** was a popular deity regarded as the Sun's wife in the western parts of Northern India. An inscription of V.S. 1420, Chaitra-sudi 6, Sunday (March 10, 1364 A.D.), on the metal image of a goddess discovered in Gujarat, refers to the deity as **Rannādevī** and describes her as the wife of the Sun styled **Sāmbāditya**,<sup>1</sup> a well-known aspect of the god. Our inscription actually speaks of the god as 'one whose abode is at **Samīsthala**'. This seems to refer to a temple of the god at a place called **Samīsthala** which is, however, difficult to identify. The place may have formed a part of Narwar or lay in its vicinity.

Vers 3 introduces the city of **Nalapura** (i.e. Narwar) which was the capital of the Yajvapāla kings mentioned in the following stanzas (verses 4-7). The kings mentioned are **Chāhaga**; his son **Npivarman**; his son **Āsalladēva**; and his son **Gōpāla**. Among the epithets of **Āsalladēva** *tri-vāha* *śikhā* *śrī* *śrī* *śrī* in verse 6 is interesting. The idea may be compared with that contained in the epithet *śāmpati-gajapati-mahapati-rājya-drayādhipati* found in the string of royal epithets in many medieval records.<sup>2</sup> This epithet seems to represent a king as the lord of three-fold sovereignty, i.e. the three wings of sovereignty, viz., the cavalry, elephant force and infantry, while the passage quoted above from the record under study appears to refer to the supreme position of **Āsalla** among kings who were regarded as *śāmpati* or *gajapati* or *narapati* according as they were strong in cavalry or elephant force or infantry. It seems that some kings considered themselves as sufficiently strong in all the three wings although their neighbours were inclined to apply to them any one of the three epithets with reference to the wing in which they were regarded as especially strong.

Vers 8 mentions **Gōpāla's** son and successor **Ganapati** who was the reigning monarch. **Ganapati** is here stated to have captured **Kirtidurga**, while the next stanza (verse 9) continues

<sup>1</sup> See *Jour. Dr. Inst.*, Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 406. A temple of **Rannāditya** or **Ragnāditya** existed at Pushkara according to certain inscriptions of the tenth century A.D. (cf. Nos. 319 ff. of *A.R.R.*, 1906-07, App. B).

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., the charters of the Gūhādavalas (above, Vol. IV, pp. 400-04, 119, etc.), Cf. *CHI*, Vol. IV, pp. c-cf.



the description of the same king. The Deogarh fort was built by Mahādihara, Chief Minister of Chandēlla Kirtivarmān (c. 1070-88 A.D.), and was named as Kirtigiri after the Chandēlla king.<sup>1</sup> The fort called Kirtidurga may thus be the same as the fortress of Deogarh in the Lalitpur Subdivision of the Jhansi District, U.P. The Chandēlla contemporary of Yajvapāla Gaṇapati is difficult to identify as his reign period falls between those of Bhōjavarmān whose known date is 1288 A.D. and Hammīravarmān who is known to have ruled in 1308 A.D.<sup>2</sup> When exactly Gaṇapati led an expedition against the Chandēlla kingdom cannot also be determined. There is no reference to his struggle with the Chandēllas in any other record, although Chandēlla Viravarmān's invasion of the Yajvapāla (Jajapāla) kingdom in 1281 A.D. and his war with Gaṇapati's father Gōpala is referred to in several inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> It may be that Gaṇapati was a subordinate ally of the Muslim Sultāns of Delhi and helped the latter in their struggle with the Chandēllas.

Verse 10 introduces the fort of **Gōpāchala** (i.e., Gwalior) and verse 11 a Māthura Kāyastha family of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* originally residing there. The next stanza (verse 12) mentions Alhara of the said family while verse 13 speaks of Alhara's son Kānhaḍa who was a devotee of the god Kṛishṇa (Viṣṇu). Verse 14 describes Kānhaḍa's son Vijahḍa as a *montre* (minister) engaged in the service of a king. But the name of Vijahḍa's master or the family to which he belonged is not mentioned. It is thus uncertain whether the king referred to had his headquarters at Gwalior or Narwar. Verse 15 mentions Vijahḍa's wife Śiṅgaḍā while the next stanza (verse 16) states that, having worshipped the river-goddesses **Gāṅgā** and **Yamunā** at **Prayāga** (near Allahabad, U.P.), Vijahḍa got two sons who were named after the said deities as **Gāṅgadōva** and **Yāmunadōva**.

Verses 17-18 describe **Gāṅgadōva** and his wife **Lōṇā** and verse 19 refers to their four sons. The next stanza (verse 20) gives the names of the four sons of **Gāṅgadōva** as **Palhaḍi**, **Harirāja**, **Śivatrāja** and **Harimurāja**. Verse 21 describes **Palhaḍi**, no doubt the same as **Palhaḍ**, as his master's favourite, and verse 22 states that he constructed a *dharma-sthāna* (i.e., a sacred place) for the merit of his brother **Harimurāja** who was dead. Verses 23 ff. disclose the nature of this *dharma-sthāna*. The first stanza of the section (verse 23) records the excavation of a *vāpi*. As already indicated above, the word *vāpi* is generally used in the inscriptions of the Malwa-Rajasthan region in the sense of a step-well, although the description in the present case, as in the *Surwāyā* inscription, seems to suggest a tank rather than a step-well. This may be due to an amount of exaggeration in the description as in the *Surwāyā* inscription edited above. Verse 24 adds that a *chaitya* (i.e., shrine) for the god **Śambhu** (Śiva) and his consort, the goddess **Umā**, was also constructed apparently in the vicinity of the *vāpi*. Verse 25 speaks of the plantation of a *bhī-mṇa* or pleasure garden full of fruit trees and flowering plants probably around the *vāpi*. Verse 26 prays for the permanence of the *dharma-sthāna* (i.e., the sacred place consisting of the *vāpi*, *chaitya* and *keli-cana*) created by **Palhaḍ** or **Palhaḍōva** for the merit of his deceased brother **Harimurāja**.

Verse 27 introduces a family of Kāyasthas (*Lipikṛt-kula*) hailing from **Gōpādrī** (Gwalior) in which Māthura Dāmōdhara is stated to have been born. The family thus belonged to the Māthura Kāyastha community. The son of Dāmōdhara was **Kōśādhipa** (i.e., treasurer) **Lōhaṭa**. The name of the king whom **Lōhaṭa** served as a treasurer is not mentioned. Whether he was a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Alhandarīn's List*, No. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Ray, *DHSI*, Vol. II, p. 736.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 226ff.; *IEQ*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 438. The *Budhau* (Bhūvapuri District) pillar inscription of V.S. 1361 and Śaka 1218 (1294 A.D.) is stated to mention *Paramabhaṭṭarāja* *Padmarāja* of Kirtidurga. See *Prisedi's List*, No. 170; *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the United States*, V.S. 1938, No. 23. Really, however, there is no mention of a king named *Padmarāja* in the inscription which is a record of the time of Yajvapāla Gaṇapati. See below, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 168 ff.



king of Gwalior or Narwar is also not clear.<sup>1</sup> There is, however, no doubt that Lohata mentioned here is the same as the Māthura Kāyastha of the same name mentioned in the Surwāyā inscription edited above. Lohata's son Śivanābhaka, described as a master of *paṭa* (vocabulary, etymology or grammar), *pramāṇa* (logic), *karitā* (poetry) and *śāhitya* (literary composition or the science of rhetoric), is stated to have composed the *prastāvi* or eulogy under study. It will be seen that the Surwāyā inscription was composed by Śivanābhaka's brother Jayasinha. This Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from Gwalior and settled at different places (such as Surwāyā and Narwar) in the Yajvapala dominions thus produced a number of scholars. The same stanza is also found in several other *prastāvis*<sup>2</sup> composed by Śivanābhaka with the third foot differently worded.

Verse 28 states that the eulogy was written (i.e., written on the stone to facilitate the work of the engraver) by Arasinka who also belonged to the Māthura Kāyastha community and was the son of Abhinanda. A prose passage following the above stanza states that the record was engraved by the *Sūtradhāra* (architect) named Dhanauka.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Nalapura, Gopādrī or Gopāchala and Prayāga are well-known. We have suggested the identification of Kirtidurga with the fort of Deogarh in the Jhansi District, U.P., although it is not quite certain. Śantāthala, as indicated above, cannot be satisfactorily identified.

#### TEXT\*

(Metres : verses 1, 5, 12-13, 17, 24-25 *Upajāti*; verses 2 *Pajjhaṇikā*; verses 3, 20 *Āryā*; verses 4, 7, 10-11, 15, 18-19, 22-23, 26, 28 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 6 *Indravajrā*; verses 8, 14 *Ūti*; verse 9 *Upajāti*; verse 16 *Upajāti* (*Indravajrā* and *Indravahā*); verse 21 *Śloka*; verse 27 *Śāradā*.)

- 1 Siddham<sup>3</sup> || Ōm<sup>4</sup> namaḥ Śivāya || Svabhāva-piṅgav<sup>5</sup> śaśi-raśmi-subhāśa bhujāṅga-ratn-  
āṅkura-nīla-bhāṣaḥ | rakṣasātū vā Maumathasūdasasaya jayah(ṭāḥ) śiśi(ṭ)-āṇḍa(bḍa)-  
atha-surāyudh-ābhāḥ || 1 A-kāṣam-api yaḥ
- 2 kalayati kīlakaḥ nija-gaty-air-āmita-mahim-ālam | Rann-śaṣaḥ kṛita-timira-nirāśaḥ pātu  
Raviḥ sa Śa(Ṣa)mitāthala-vāsaḥ || 2 Āstā puṇyair-lahyadh pura<sup>6</sup>-ratnam Nalapuram  
tucchi(ḥ) śrīmat | iya-
- 3 nṛapi valati sa-guruvā ca-pālyā vasumatī yēna || 3 Tatrāṁ(tr-ā)jani jagad-vaṇḍyaś-  
Chāhaḍaḥ prithivīpatib | pratāp-ānala-dagdh-āri-bhūbhṛd-vaṇḍo nay-ārayaḥ || 4  
Abhin-nṛpaś-śaśa autō Nṛivarmā
- 4 vyarthikṛit-āśaḥa-vipakṣa-karmā | aśārarmā(aram-ś)v-āhita-sādhu-sa(śa)ṛmā yaśaḥ-  
parābhīṣita-Manuśyadharmā || 5 Asalladēvas-tri-vidha(ḥ)(dha)-kṛit(ṭaḥ)(sa)-chūḍā-  
maṇi-bhūmipatiś-tatś-bhūt | āpā-
- 5 nītam yasya bhṛṣadh yaśobhīrva(r-bṛa)lmāṇḍam-āpat-tam-ākhyā-dāśam || 6 Śrī-  
Gōpālō nṛpaś-tasmād-ābhūḥ-taś-tair-[n]jair-gupāḥ | gām-imām-akhilām-uchohair-  
yaḥ pupūḥa-dudḥa[cha] || 7
- 6 7 Ga[na]pati-nṛpatiś-tasmād-nīdhīr-śkaś-tāśām-ajani | śāśya Kīrti-durggati-chakrō  
kīrtiś-ānandavarś-īha yaḥ || 8 Tasmān-gamayati sakalām vaṇḍhā[ḥ]<sup>7</sup> ma(sa)ś[āś]  
pāṇala-tāśama(śam) |

<sup>1</sup> No. 146 of A.R.Ep., 1932-33, App. B, seems to suggest that Lohata's master was Yajvapala Chāhaḍa of Nalapura. Cf. below, Vol. XXXIII, p. 68, 69 (text line 14; note 6).

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Nos. 139 and 141 of A.R.Ep., 1932-33, App. B. Cf. below, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 139.

<sup>3</sup> From *impeniens*. This is No. 142 of A.R.Ep., 1932-33, App. B.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>5</sup> An *anusvara* above *pa* seems to be rubbed off by the engraver.



- 7 satat-śrita-niṣa-tōjas-taraṇi-kar-āpāsta-santamaśānu(sām) || 9 Asti Gōpāchalō durggah  
avarggāḍ-apt-manō-harah | anōkō dharadō yatra śrīyō-py-arthi-kṛgā(m-ā)paḥ || 10  
Tatra Kā.
- 8 āyapa-gōtrānāni Māthurānāni sa-mēdhasām(sām) | Kāyasthānām-abhūd-vachāś naya-  
vikrama-kālinān(sām) || 11 Tamaśnū(m-a)bhūd-Alhaṇa-nāmadhēyah śrīyō-nidhīh  
sarva-kālan daksah | yam-arthinaḥ prā-
- 9 pya-manahāt-ārth-ādihika-pradant taryajur-arthi-lhāvam(vam) || 12 Sa Kānhaḍ-ākhyam  
anta'm-śaṣṭa vīkāt-Kṛishṇ-ānir-saṣa(rōja-hyridgamigam) | yē-ānirābhīh śhiram-  
mphaḍābhīh spharāḥ yam(h\*) śrī-
- 10 [bhīh-alam viśnō || 13 Ya(Ja)]B Vīshaya-sa(h\*)jā's-tara vatta(nōjō jū-ārī-shaḍ-vaṛgah  
| kahirpati-kāryō dhuryō madari-varishah vikāt-sakṛta-ār(h) || 14 Taya-chandira-kata-  
śrī-subhagah tarvatō yatah |
- 11 Mējanag-ākhyā\* priyā Jajhā-nurpā pari-dēvatā || 15 Ārādhyā Gaṅgā-Yamunō Prayāgō  
sa prāpa putran prathitan tad-ākhyayā | śrī-Gaṅgādēvam guṇmā gāriṣṭhar śrīyō-  
nōhīh Yāmunādēvam-utta-
- 12 mān(mam) || 16 Dēva-dv-ārādhanā-lavilha(bha)-varṇah kutmāya(ba)-bhaktah pitti-  
tōha-kāri | śhītō gurūpām vachanō mayajhah śrī-Gaṅgādēvah sukṛti vibhāti || 17 Kirtti-  
pūta-lhuvac-taya chāritra-vrata-
- 13 śālini | asti Lōa-ābhūhā patni kṛmāva(ba)-guru-va(t)sa || 18 Tasyām-utpādītās-tāna  
tanayā naya-ālinah | chutvāra-chaturāḥ puṇya-kṛtyēśa eha kalāna eha || 19 Jajhā  
Palhāḍ-
- 14 sadjōḥ Harirājan-tat-am sat-kalā-dakṣiṇ | Śivārāja-Hemārājau nirmala-guṇa-vārāhī  
ādhiyan || 20 Bhartur-viśrambha-bhāmīh para-hita-nimtaḥ saṣya-pūṭ-āntāraṅgō  
vāgnī vānehchhā(chh-ā)dhī-
- 15 kair-yō achayati guṇmāh vitta-dēvāh pramōdam | saktah puṇy-ōpapatyan(tau) naya-  
vinaya-vidhān-agrahīh sad-guṇ-ādhyah phullat-pamkōja-bhūdhīr-sāhavalajyati jagat-  
kirttibhūh Pa-
- 16 hadēvali || 31 Śāyās Hamaśrājasya līrātah prāṇ-ādhibhāyā sah | dāyād-divan gataś-  
ēdant dharmanā-śhānam-akārayat || 23 Svādubhīh śhīrāir-achchhāirputchchhāh pu-  
āhpati sukṛitam jalah | sāvast-ga
- 17 rjati vāp-iyam vīhī-sandya(gha)ttajai ravah || 23 Sudhā-śham līhāsa-chitra-lākhm  
an-kānti Kāllāsa(sa)m-iv-ātī-tudgam | s-āchharach-chaityam Um-āvitāyā Sambhūr-  
yūh-puṇya-
- 18 tatār-unilārah(uam) || 24 Raṇa[d\*]-dvīrēpham vikasat-praśosa(h) | surabhyama(vat-  
avāda-phal-ābhīrāmat | tōp-āpāha-chchhāyam-ū-āndriyāpām sukham navat kāl-ranah  
vith-ēdam || 25 ||
- 19 Bhātā(īrā) nirmāpitam yāvach-chandira-sūryam [ha]jyaty-alam | śrīyās Hamaśrājasya  
dharmanā-śhānam-īdam śubham || 26 Gōpādrau Lāpīkri-kulē samāhhavad-Dāmōdarō  
Māthurah pa\*
- 20 putras-taya viśuddha-kirtti-saṁghah kō-ādhipō Lōhajaḥ | putras-taya pada-pramāna-  
kavitā-sāhitya-dhuryah kṛti-chakrō śrī-Śivanābhakō nṛpaṇmā-erittah prāśastīh  
subhād(bhām) [(i)] [27\*]
- 21 27 Śrīman-Māthura-Kāyastha-vamśa-muktā-maṇīh kṛit || Arasūhā-likhād-ālmān  
Abhinānī-āngasambhavaḥ || 28 utkṛyā sāmadhām-Dhānukēna || Samvat 1355  
Kārttika-vadi 5 Gurau ||

\* An unnecessary *namah* above the letter was rubbed off by the engraver.

\* There is an unnecessary mark above this letter.

\* An unnecessary *namah* above this letter seems to be cancelled. The intended name may be Mēnāḍ.

\* This *abhar* is redundant.



## TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF GANAPATI—PLATE II

2. Narwar Inscription of V.S. 1355

[illegible]

Scale: Two-Fifths







# INDEX

By B. R. Gopal, M.A., Ootacamund

[The figures refer to pages, \* after a figure to footnotes, and add. to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used : au.=author ; ca.=capital ; ch.=chief ; Chron.=Chronicle ; ci.=city ; co.=country ; com.=composer ; de.=deity ; di.=district or division ; di.=ditto ; dy.=dynasty ; E.=Eastern ; engr.=engraver ; ep.=epithet ; f.=family ; fe.=female ; feud.=feudatory ; gen.=general ; gr.=grant, grants ; hist.=historical ; ins.=inscription, inscriptions ; k.=king ; l.=locality, l.m.=linear measure, land measure ; m.=male ; mta.=mitre ; mo.=mountain ; myth.=mythological ; n.=name ; N.=Northern ; off.=office, offices ; pl.=plate, plates ; pr.=prince, princes ; prov.=province ; q.=queen ; reli.=religious ; r.=river ; S.=Southern ; s.a.=same as ; set.=settlement ; te.=temple ; Tel.=Telugu ; ter.=territorial division ; til.=tile ; tn.=town ; tk.=taluk ; vi.=village ; W.=Western ; wt.=work ; w.=weight.]

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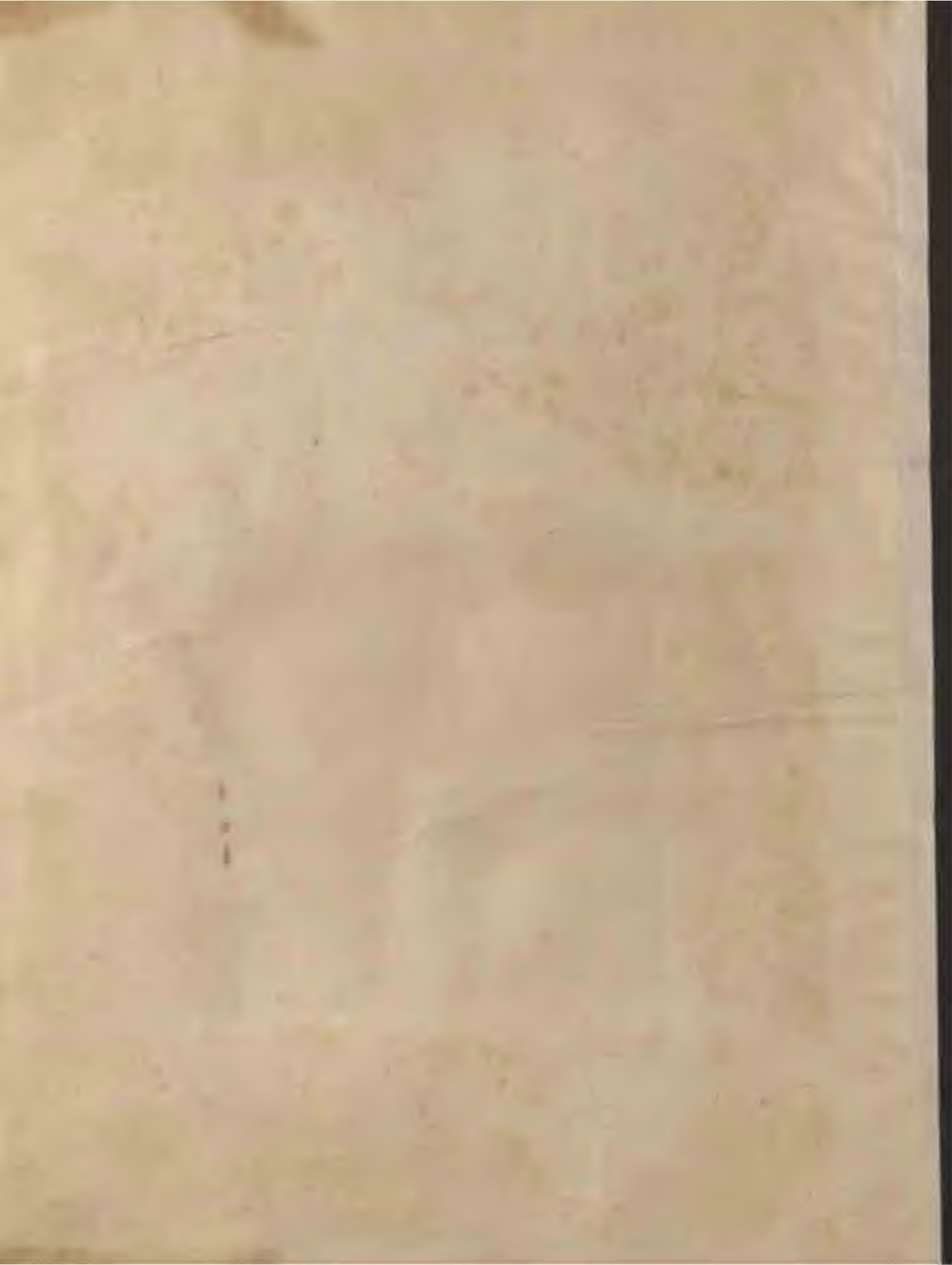














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